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Irano-Aryan
FAITH AND DOCTRINE
As Contained in the
Zend-Avesta



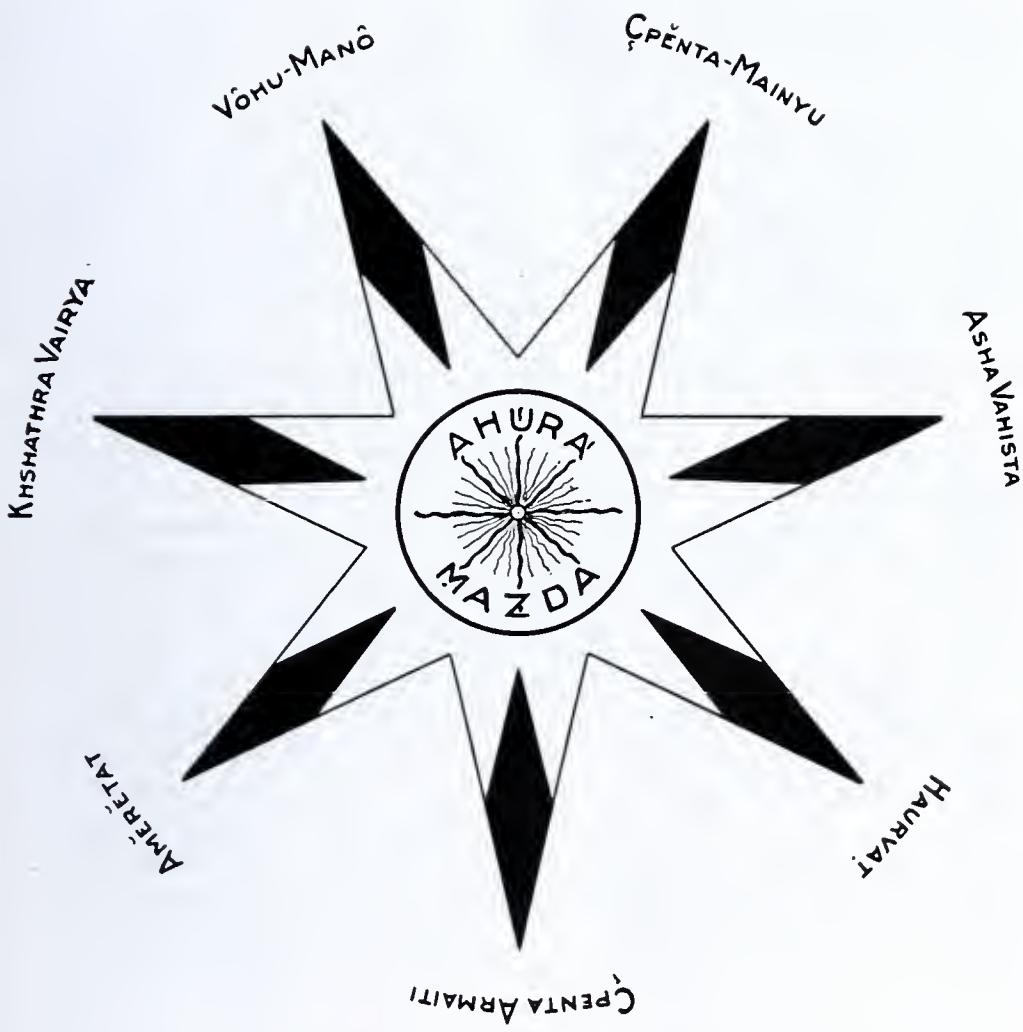
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THE SEVEN AMEsha-ÇPĒNTAS

FOREWORD.

Such words as "colour," "favour," "honour," "labour," "saviour," "splendour," "vapour," "vigour," and such other like words as "unfavourable," etc., are printed as they were spelled by the author more than fifty years since, when such spellings were proper.

Suppose, if one can, that the immortal works of Shakespeare had remained unpublished until to-day—those works to which English literature owes so much—those works which opened the souls of men—which did so much for civilization through the genius of this great dramatist and historian as shown in his exposition of the character and passions of humanity.

Our great apostle cultivated another field, a new and almost sacred field of intellectual endeavor.

He knew, as well as did Max Müller, that the Proto-Aryans and the Indo-Aryans were our physical, linguistic and philosophical ancestors; and he knew that the monotheistic Irano-Aryans were our religious, religio-philosophical and spiritual ancestors; and with his transcendent genius he places before our mental vision the habitat, migrations and early pre-historic history of these our ancestors.

He made his own environment, struggling in an isolated life, though filled with the highest dignity, that of ennobling genius, happy in the thought that he would give us something by which we might be made much happier and better men, and that he might live in our memories for what he had been to us and for us.

These pages show his familiarity with the work of: Anquetil duPerron, Benfey, Bleek (translation of Spiegel), Bopp, Bunsen, Burnouf, Haug, Muir, Müller, Neriosengh, Panini, the Rawlinson brothers (Sir Henry and Mr. George), Roth, Spiegel, Westergaard, Whitney and Windischmann.

He, who had written poems on the gods of Grecian mythology before he was twenty years of age, which poems were accorded high praise in Blackwood's Magazine, and who was thoroughly familiar with the works of Plato and Philo in the original Greek, who was thoroughly familiar with the works of the Church Fathers and with those of the Christian and Pagan historians, may well be regarded as familiar with classical Greek; who had translated the Pandects of Justinian and the Maxims of the Roman Law, might well be regarded as familiar with Latin; who had, more than fifty years ago, written a translation of and Commentary on the Hebrew Kabalah, as a Hebrew scholar; whose translation of and Com-

mentary on the Vedic Hymns, in twenty large volumes, won for him fame as one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of his period; whose *Lectures on the Aryas* in eight goodly volumes (four on the Irano-Aryans and four on the Indo-Aryans) and other works like the present one show that he had well earned the title given him forty years since as "the greatest living Orientalist."

The task which he had assigned himself in this work was to search out all the evidence which his phenomenally well-stored mind and his well-schooled powers of discriminative analysis could bring to bear upon this great problem of religious philosophy, which so fascinates every thoughtful person. Having been a Chief Justice of a Supreme Court, he had been schooled to weigh evidence.

The quotations from the Bible, written before the publication of the Revised Version, are evidently frequently from the Hebrew or Greek editions of the Books of the Bible, or from the Vulgate.

Should there arise a question of the rendering of passages in a more or less fragmentary manner, written in a language of which there was no dictionary in existence, the reader should consider the rendering of the Pentateuch written before the days of Masoretic points, when even highly skilled Hebrew scholars could not agree as to passages.

This is not a book to be read cursorily.

It is not difficult to realize that in such a combination of quotations, extracts, paraphrases and commentary, written rapidly, with quill pens of his own make, in a small, cursive hand, the transcriber may have occasionally failed to give due credit for authorship. Those who knew the General and his literary habits, know how foreign and detestable to him was plagiarism.

The writer, who has attempted to transcribe faithfully this great Work, filled with reverence for the memory of its gifted author, desires that all sins in this category in this work be ascribed to

M. W. Wood,
Transcriber.

September, 1924.

PREFATORY.

I appended to the Work on *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans*, a chapter upon the Zendic Compositions contained in the collection known as the "Zend-Avesta," the more recent correct name for which is the "Avesta-Zend." The slight examination which I then made of these most ancient embodiments of Aryan thought, so interested me as to persuade me to a more careful and extended one; and has resulted in this attempt partially to discover their meaning.

It is to be a book chiefly of conjectures and suggestions. I make no pretensions to any critical knowledge of the Zend or Bactrian language, and have for the most part had, as aids to interpretation, only the English text, furnished by Bleek (from Spiegel) and by Dr. Haug, with the notes accompanying their translations. Therefore I know, of course, that this work can be of no great value; and can only hope that it may be found to contribute something towards correct interpretation of these old and mutilated monuments of the Aryan race. I daresay that my conjectures will be often found to be over-bold, but I will not apologize for that, where conjecture is so often the forced resource for interpretation.

Few names of antiquity are oftener mentioned than that of Zoroaster; few ancient Orders of Priests or Men than the Magi; and every man of moderate acquaintance with the ancient religions has read of Ormuzd and Ahriman, the rival principles of good and evil, light and darkness; of the creative word Honover, and the Amshaspands, Devs, Izeds and Ferouers, and of Zeruane Akherene, the primal Time, of Mithra the Sun-God, and Sosiosch the Saviour to come.

The Persians were conquered by and received their religion from the Medes, who were Aryan emigrants from Bactria. The earliest account of the religion of the Magi given by a Grecian writer is that by Herodotus, in Book 1, Chapters 131-2. He says:

I know that the Persians observe these customs. It is not common among them to have idols made, temples built, and altars erected; they accuse of folly those who do so. I can account for that, only from their not believing that the Gods are like men, as the Hellenes do. They are accustomed to bring sacrifices to Zeus on the summits of mountains; they call the whole circle [hemispherical vault] Zeus. They bring sacrifices to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds, these originally being the only objects of worship; but they accepted from the Assyrians and Arabs the worship of Aphrodité, the Queen of Heaven, whom the Assyrians call Myletta, the Arabs Alitta, the Persians Mitra.

The Persians bring sacrifices to the aforesaid gods in the following manner: They neither erect altars nor kindle fires when they are about to bring a sacrifice.

They neither use libations, nor flutes, nor wreaths, nor barley; but when any one desires to bring a sacrifice he then carries the sacrificial beast to a pure spot, and after having twined round his turban a great many wreaths of myrtle, in preference to any other leaf, he invokes the Deity. The sacrificer ought not to pray only for his own prosperity; he must also pray for the welfare of all the Persians, and for the King, because he is included among them. When he has cut the animal into pieces, he then boils its flesh, spreads the softest grass he can get, especially preferring clover, and places the pieces of flesh on it. After having made this arrangement, one of the Magi who is present sings a theogony, as they call the incantation. Without one of the Magi no sacrifice can be brought. After waiting a short time, the sacrificer takes off the pieces of flesh, and uses them as he likes.

[This custom is still maintained by the Parsees. The offering is first consecrated by the Priest, then left for a short time near the fire, and finally taken off by the sacrificer, to be used by him. It is never thrown into the fire. *Haug.*]

He also says that they believed Fire to be a God, wherefore Cambyses committed a great sin in burning the corpse of the King Amasis. Lying was regarded by them as the most discreditable thing, and next to it the incurring of debt; chiefly for the reason that the debtor is often compelled to tell lies. They would not spit into or wash their hands in a river, nor allow any one else to do so; for they paid a high reverence to rivers.

It is useless to quote what is said by other Greek writers or by those of Armenia or the Mohammedans, in regard to the tenets of the Persian faith; since these had greatly changed after the times of Zarathustra and his disciples and immediate successors. They will be found quoted by Dr. Haug, in Chapter I, of his "History of the Researches into the Sacred Writings and Religion of the Parsees," which forms the first part of his *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees*, published at Bombay in 1862. We must ascertain what the original tenets of the religion of the Irano-Aryans were from the Zend-Avesta itself, and from the oldest compositions of that collection.

Dr. Haug divides the languages of Persia, commonly called Iranian, into two divisions:

1. Iranian languages in the strictest sense.
2. Affiliated tongues.

The first division comprises the ancient, middle age and modern languages of Iran, i. e., of Persia, Media and Bactria, or chiefly of those countries which are styled in the Zend-Avesta the Aryan countries (*Airyādā Dāñhāvō*). We may class them as follows:

(a) The East Iranian or Bactrian branch, extant only in the two dialects in which the scanty fragments of the Parsee Scripture are written. The more ancient of them may be called the *Gāthā* dialect, because the largest and most important pieces preserved in this peculiar idiom are the so-called *Gāthās* or songs; the younger, in which most of the books which now make up the Zend-Avesta

are written, may be called ancient Bactrian, or the classical Zend language, which was for many centuries the spoken and written language of Bactria. . . . The Bactrian languages seem to have been dying out in the third century, B. C., no daughter of them having been left.

Zend, Dr. Haug says elsewhere, is quite a pure Aryan dialect, the elder sister of Sanskrit, but not of the Sanskrit of the Veda. He says further:

(b) The West Iranian languages, or those of Media and Persia. They are known to us during the three periods, antiquity, middle ages and modern times; but only in one dialect, viz.: that which at every period served as the written language, throughout the Iranian provinces of the Persian Empire. . . . Of the ancient Persian, a few documents are now extant in the cuneiform inscriptions of the kings of the Achæmenian dynasty, to be found in the ruins of Persepolis, on the rock of Behistun, near Hamadan, and some other places of Persia. This language stands nearest to the two Bactrian dialects of the Zend-Avesta, but shows, however, some peculiarities. . . . It is undoubtedly the mother of the modern Persian; but the differences between the two are nevertheless great; and to read and understand the cuneiform inscriptions, written in the ancient Persian, the Sanskrit and Zend, although they are only sisters, have proved to be more useful than its daughter, the modern Persian.

The Pehlevi, that form of the Persian tongue current in Persia during the Sassanian rule (235–640, A. D.), and into which the chief parts of the Zend-Avesta (Yaçna, Vispered and Vendidâd) and some minor pieces were translated, is the language of the Bundešh and other books, and, with variations, of many coins and inscriptions. It is a mixture of Semitic and Iranian elements, the Semitic part being always identical with Chaldee forms and words, and the Iranian with Persian. The non-Iranian element is called by the Parsee Priests, Huzvoresh or Huzvaresh. About 700, A. D., the Pehlevi ceased to be a living language, by the restoration of pure Iranian words, and the extermination of the foreign Huzvoresh words, in writing commentaries on religious subjects. The restored language, so purified, was called Pâzend. This was used from 700 to 1100, A. D., when modern Persian took its place, a vast number of Arabic words being incorporated with the Pâzend or Parsee tongue, which still form an inseparable part of the language.

It is also to be noted that the Semitic influence caused the Zend to be written, like Hebrew, from right to left, while the Sanskrit is written from left to right.

Dr. Haug thinks that:

the chief reason of the grammatical defects of the present texts of the Zend-Avesta is owing to the want of grammatical studies among the ancient Persians and Bactrians. The Zend is a highly developed idiom, rich in inflexions, in the verbs and nouns. In the former, where three numbers and eight cases can be distin-

guished, it agrees almost completely with the Vedic Sanskrit; and in the latter it exhibits a greater variety of form than the classical Sanskrit. Besides, he says, we find a multitude of compound words of various kinds, and the sentences are joined together in an easy way, which is apt to contribute largely towards a quick understanding of the general sense of passages. It is a genuine sister of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Gothic; but we find her no longer in the prime of life; she is presented to us rather in her declining age.

There is every reason [he thinks], to believe that the grammar of the Bactrian language was never fixed in any way by rules, as the Sanskrit was; so that corruptions and abbreviations of forms were unavoidable, and almost all knowledge of the exact meaning of the terminations died out, when the ancient Iranian languages underwent the change from inflected to uninflected ones. After that, the Priests, ignorant of grammar, merely copied out the Zarathustrian books mechanically, or wrote them out from memory, of course full of blunders and mistakes; for which reason the copies now in use are in the most deplorable condition as regards grammar.

In the translations by Bleek, from the German of Professor Spiegel, of the Avesta-Zend, the different portions are not arranged according to their age. First comes the Vendîdâd (*vî-Daêvo-datem*, what is given against Daevas), in 22 Fargards, or chapters; which is followed by the Vispered (said by Spiegel to mean "all Lords" or "to all Lords," invocations being understood. Haug says it is *Vîçpê ratavô*, meaning "all heads"), a collection of prayers, composed of 23 chapters according to Haug, and of 27 according to Spiegel. Then follows the younger Yaçna, in 27 chapters; and then seven Gâthâs (hymns, songs, or odes), numbered as chapters of the Yaçna from *xxviii. to lv.* They are the Gâthâs Ahunavaiti (Yaç. 28 to 34); Haptañhâiti (35 to 41); Ustvaiti (42 to 45); Çpênta Mainyû (46 to 49); Vohu-Khshathra (50, 51); Vahistoisti (52); and the Airyana Ishyo (53 to 55).

Then follow the Çrosh Yasht (56), and Yaçna (57 to 71). Last is the Khudah Avesta, containing among other pieces, twenty Yashts (*yesti*, "worship by prayers and sacrifices"), addressed to and lauding various Deities, and containing many Aryan legends.

But of all these, the Gâthâs are very much the oldest. Anquetil's translation, Dr. Haug says, may, in the Vendîdâd and other books, serve as a guide for ascertaining the general sense; but in the Gâthâs, he is utterly insufficient as a guide even for that. "The chief reason," he says, "is the peculiarity of this portion as to language and ideas. They contain no description of ceremonies and observances, as the Vendîdâd does, nor any enumeration of the glorious feats of angels, as the Yashts do, but philosophical and abstract thoughts, and they differ widely from all other pieces contained in the Zend-Avesta. As they have been unintelligible to the Parsee priests for several thousand years, we cannot expect Anquetil to have given a faint approximate statement of their general contents."

We shall see hereafter that Dr. Haug has a wholly different general idea of these compositions from that of Professor Spiegel, and that the rendering of almost every verse by one is widely different from that of the other. Whether they contain philosophical and abstract thoughts, and are correctly understood by either translator, and if so, by which, we must endeavour to discover.

Meanwhile, I may say here, that I am satisfied, from internal evidence amply furnished by the Hymns themselves, as I understand them, that Dr. Haug is correct in saying and repeating at pages 39, 115, 138 and 218 of his *Essays*, that "the Gâthâs contain the undoubted teaching of Zarathustra himself, as he imparted it to his disciples;" and that the five Gâthâs, Ahunavaiti, Ustvaiti, Çpënta Mainyus, Vohu-Khshathrem and Vahistoistis, really, as cannot be doubted, contain the sayings and teachings of the great founder of the Parsee religion, Zarathustra Çpitama himself.

"While the other parts," he says,

are nowhere said to be the work of Zarathustra Çpitama himself, he is, in the Çrosh Yasht distinctly and expressly mentioned as the author of these ancient and sacred songs. Whereas in the other works of the Zend-Avesta, Zarathustra is spokeñ of in the third person, and even occasionally invoked as a divine being, in the Gâthâs he speaks of himself in the first person, and acts throughout as a man who is commissioned by God to perform a great task. We find him placed among men, surrounded by his friends, Kavâ-Vîstâçpa, Jâmâspa and Frâshâostra, preaching to his countrymen a new and more pure religion, exhorting them to leave idolatry and to worship the living God only.

And we shall find, I think, that these Gâthâs are really patriotic effusions, intended to arouse and unite the Aryan population against the Infidels from the North who had invaded and conquered the country or a large part of it; and the revolted indigenous Turanians who had allied themselves with him, that Zarathustra succeeded in inspiring with courage and the fervour of religious zeal the lukewarm and disheartened of the oppressed Aryans, was himself a brave soldier and skillful leader, and not a Priest, and finally, achieving complete victory, became the King of the Mother Country and its Colonies.

The Yaçna Haptâñhâiti, which Spiegel includes among the Gâthâs, as the third, is to be distinguished, Haug thinks, from the Gâthâs, though written in the Gâthâ dialect, and undoubtedly very old. There is no sufficient evidence, he thinks, to trace it to Zarathustra himself. It is not praised among the Gâthâs, in Fargard xix. of the Vendîdâd, and in Yaçna lxx., "all five Gâthâs" only are spoken of. And, besides, Zarathustra not only does not speak in it, but Mazda and Zarathustra are praised in it together.

Haug points out the principal differences between the Gâthâ dialect and the classical Zend, and concludes that its grammatical forms evidently represent a more primitive state of the Bactrian language, nearer to its Aryan source; and that other features "indicate a more ancient stage of language in the Gâthâ dialect than we can discover in the common Zend." But the two, he thinks, "represent one and the same language, with such changes as might be brought about within the space of one or two centuries;" wherefore, he thinks the Gâthâ dialect to be only one hundred or at the utmost two hundred years the older.

The Gâthâs are metrical pieces, that were sung; and the metres used in them are of the same nature as those that are found in the Vedic hymns. There are no rhymes, and the syllables are merely counted, without much attention being paid to their quantity. Each of the five Gâthâs exhibits a different metre, verses of the same metre being put together, irrespective of their contents. The first Gâthâ contains verses, each of which consists of 48 syllables; in the second, the metre is of 55; in the third, of 44, etc. The number of syllables is not always strictly observed; there being now and then, one less or one more. In the first Gâthâ, each verse consists of three lines, each line comprising sixteen syllables. In the second, there are five lines in each stanza, each of eleven syllables; in the third, four, each of eleven syllables; in the fourth, six, each of seven; and in the fifth there are various metres.

The Yaçna Haptanhaiti, or "Book of Seven Chapters," is next in antiquity to the Gâthâs, and appears, Dr. Haug says, "to be the work of one of the earliest successors of the Prophet, called in ancient times 'Zarathustra' [which he insists is a dynastic or family name, like 'Pharaoh,' borne by his successors as well as himself], a 'Zarathustrôtema,' who, deviating somewhat from the high and pure monotheistic principle of Çpitama, made some concessions to the adherents of the ante-Zoroastrian religion, by addressing prayers to other beings than Ahura Mazda."

The language in which these books are written is erroneously called "Zend." Its proper name is Iranian. "Zand" or "Zend" was a translation or commentary on the Avesta, and in the Pehlevi translation of the Yaçna, the scripture is, if mentioned, always denoted by "Avesta-Zend," showing that the Zend was regarded by the translators as part of the scripture. "Zend" never was a name of the people or the language. The proper name of the people, indeed, was "Arya," as that of the people of the Punjab was. It was the name of the race; and I style the two branches "Indo-Aryan" and "Irano-Aryan."

We dare say [Dr. Haug remarks], that Zend as well as Avesta is preserved to a certain extent, and to be found in the texts which now go by the name Zend-Avesta. . . . The Avesta is to be found chiefly in Yaçna (or Szeshne),

while all the other books represent pre-eminently (not exclusively) the proper Zend literature.

The Pehlevi translators, he says, used the denominative, *Avesta u Zand*.

The Vendīdād, Haug thinks, is the joint work of the successors of Zarathustra Çpitama, the Supreme High Priests of the Iranian community. The Chief High Priest is called, in the Vispered, Zarathustrôtemô, which word literally means (*tema* being the superlative affix), the greatest Zarathustra. The works of these successors of the Great Leader and Liberator are almost equally revered with those of himself; and the Yaçna Haptanhâiti is often named particularly, by itself; in the later writings, and styled "Holy," and "Victorious"—meaning that it has an inherent efficacy to give victory and success.

The Yashts are analogous to the Puranic literature of the Brahmins. They consist chiefly of two classes of works; 1, Songs; and 2, Conversations with Ahura Mazda. They contain fragments of ancient epic poetry or ballads of the Bactrian Aryans, such are also to be found in the younger Yaçna and Vendīdād. In the present form, the Yashts, though containing many fragments of more ancient compositions, and really ancient legends, are the most modern portions of the Zend-Avesta, and were composed when the religion taught by Zarathustra had greatly degenerated, partly by intermixture with the religions of the people of the countries conquered by the Aryans; partly by that natural process whereby phrases misunderstood cause the creation of mythological fables and the advent of new Deities, and partly, perhaps, by the popular demand of the Aryan common people themselves, for the restoration to their old places as Deities, of stars and other supposed potencies of nature.

Thus, Mithra (the Sun), Ardvîçûra, the goddess of water or rivers, Drvâçpa, Rashnu, and the stars Tistrya, Vanant, Haptôiringa, etc., came to be worshipped as Deities, and are celebrated in the Yashts, as well as Ahura Mazda and his Emanations or Hypostases, the Amêsha Çpêntas. Not the least trace of any adoration paid to these new Deities is found in the Gâthâs.

Dr. Haug thinks that the Yashts had their origin from 350 to 450 years before Christ. He assigns a not much *later* date than 1200, B. C., to the Gâthâs, and fixes that of the much larger part of the Vendīdād at 900 or 1000, B. C.; and that of the younger Yaçna at about 700 to 800. But he also says that the ancient Iranian literature was, of course, the work of centuries; that the different parts of it bear the same relation, the younger to the older, as the Talmud and the books of the Old Testament other than the Pentateuch do to the Pentateuch itself; that the sacred literature of the Jews, from the early times of Moses (1300 or 1500 before Christ) to

the close of the Talmudic literature (960, A. D.), comprises a space of about 2400 years; and that, if we were to apply the same calculation to the Zarathustrian literature, its beginning would be imputed to as early a date as 2800, B. C., which would not in the least contradict the statements of the Greeks, as to the time at which Zarathustra lived.

I think that the Gâthâs are much older, even, than that, and perhaps older than the Rig Veda. They were certainly composed in Bactria, not very long after the Irano-Aryans crossed the Oxus and settled there, and when Bactria was the Mother Country, and it and its Colonies were under one government; when Media had not been reached by any stream of Aryan emigrations, and consequently long before the Medo-Aryan race was in existence, and longer still before that race conquered Persia and afterwards Assyria.

Dr. Haug is of opinion that the number of Zarathustrian books was very considerable, and that most of them are lost. The names of all the books, with short summaries of their contents, are still extant. The whole scripture consisted of twenty-one parts, called "Nosks" (*naçko*), each one containing Avesta and Zend, i. e., the original text and a commentary on it. The names of the sections, and the number of chapters in each, with a short statement of the chief contents are still extant; and Dr. Haug gives them at page 125, according to the reports of them to be found in the Rivâyat (collections of correspondence and decisions). The whole number of chapters is 815.

Dr. Haug remarks that thousands of Brahmins are now living,

who are able to recite, parrot-like, with the greatest accuracy, even as to accents, without any mistake, the whole of one of the Vedas [and that we must therefore admit], that the same could have been the case at those early times to which we must trace the origin of the Zarathustrian religion. As long [he remarks] as the language of the songs or prayers repeated was a living one and perfectly intelligible, there was no need of committing them to writing; but as soon as it had become dead, the aid of writing was required, in order to guard the sacred prayers [and songs] against corruption and mutilation. That [he says] was, in all probability, the case already, a thousand years before the beginning of our era.

It may be added that if the old Vedic Hymns could be preserved a thousand years, as they certainly were, without writing, by the memories of men, so could the Gâthâs of Zarathustra; and that either could as well be so preserved two, three or four thousand years as one thousand. That the oldest Vedic Hymns were composed several thousand years before Christ, I think there is no doubt; and I believe the Gâthâs to be even older than these.

Dr. Haug explains the belief of the ancient Greeks and modern Parsees in the Zarathustrian authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta, by considering the name Zarathustra (corrupted by the Greeks into "Zoroas-

ter''), not as the proper name of one individual only, "but as that of the Spiritual heads of the religious community of the ancient Persians in general." Every High Priest, he thinks, was believed to be the successor of Zarathustra Çpitama, and to have inherited his spirit, so that his utterances came to be considered as sacred and divine as those that are with reason to be ascribed to the founder alone.

Dr. Haug considers Çpitama to be a family name, which, he says, is given to the Hechatâspas also [Yaçna *xvi.* (*xlv.* Spiegel) 15] who seem, therefore, to have been his nearest relations. His father's name was, according to the younger Yaçna and Vendidâd, Pôurushaçpa; and his daughter is mentioned, while her name is Pouruchiçta, by the two names [Yaç. *lili.* (*lii.*, Spiegel) 3], Hêchatâçpana Çpitâmi, which can be interpreted only as "belonging to the Çpitama family of the Hêchatâçpa lineage."

But Spiegel everywhere renders Çpitama as the adjective "Holy"; and I do not find any other Zarathustra anywhere spoken of in the Avesta-Zend than the original Bactrian Hero and Liberator, the original Teacher of the Ahurian faith. The word is, in fact, an adjective, in the superlative degree, and means "most noble."



BABYLONIAN CYLINDER

(From Landseer's *Sabean Researches*, page 263)

PRESERVATION AND DISCOVERY OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

The written text of the Zend-Avesta is to be referred to the reign of Ardeshir Babegan, originally a Persian officer of royal descent, who, serving in the army of Artaban the Parthian, revolted, and succeeded in relieving Persia of the Parthian yoke, and re-establishing the ancient Empire, about 226 years after Christ.

The history of Persia as an independent nation had then been a blank for five hundred years; it having been divided into petty kingdoms, ruled over first by the Greeks and then by the Parthians, from 331, B. C., to 226, A. D.

The first care of Ardeshir was to restore the national religion to its primitive splendour; to effect which he summoned the Mobeds to collect the writings and traditions of the ancient faith. The language of the Avesta had long before ceased to be spoken. The Mobeds discharged their task honestly, without interpolating any new doctrines of their own. Occasionally, when the original text was imperfect, they introduced a few words to connect these; but these, Professor Westergaard says, are merely simple clauses or introductory words, partly found already in the ancient texts; and even these betray a want of real knowledge.

We may therefore [Mr. Bleek says, in his introduction to his translation of the German version of the Avesta of Professor Spiegel], consider it certain that the text of the Avesta which we now possess is such as had been preserved by tradition from a very early period, and that, whatever may have been its imperfections, it is at least genuine. Unfortunately, the imperfections are very numerous.

Professor Müller says (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, New York Ed. of 1869, *i.* 205):

It was chiefly through the Sanskrit, and with the help of comparative philology, that the ancient dialect of the Parsis or Fire-worshippers was deciphered. The manuscripts had been preserved by the Parsi Priests at Bombay, where a colony of Fire-worshippers had fled in the tenth century. . . . Other settlements of Guebres are to be found in Yezd and other parts of Kerman.

Professor Whitney says (*Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, 153), that when these communities in Kerman and Yezd were visited in 1843, by Westergaard, he found them in the lowest state of decay, and fast becoming extinct by conversion to Mohammedanism. He says:

They had almost lost the knowledge of their religion; they had but few manuscripts, and among these nothing that was not already known; they had forgotten the ancient tongues in which their scriptures were written, and were able to make use only of such parts of them as were translated into modern Persian. . . . In another century, the religion of Zoroaster will probably have

become quite extinct in its native country, and will exist only in the Indian colony; but it has lived long enough to transmit as an everlasting possession to the after-world, all that has for centuries been in existence of the old and authentic records of its doctrines; and having done that its task may be regarded as fulfilled, and its extinction as a matter of little moment.

Respecting the region [the same writer says (p. 166)], in which the Avesta had its origin, we may speak with more confidence; it was doubtless Bactria and its vicinity, the Northeastern portion of the immense territory occupied by the Iranian people, and far removed from those countries with which the Western World came more closely into contact. To give in detail the grounds upon which this opinion is founded, would occupy too much time and space here; they are, briefly stated, the relation which the Avestan language sustains to the Indian and to the other Persian dialects, difference of religious customs and institutions from those which we know to have prevailed in the West (as, for instance, that the Avesta knows nothing of the Magi, the Priestly caste in Media and in Persia proper), the indirect but important evidences derived from the general character of the texts, the views and conceptions which they represent, the state of culture and mode of life which they indicate as belonging to the people among whom they originated; and, especially the direct geographical notices which they contain.

During the long interval of neglect and oppression [which ended with the overthrow of the Parthian rule, and the establishment of the Sassanian dynasty], say the traditions, the sacred books, even such as were saved from destruction by the tyrant Iskander [Alexander], had become lost, and the doctrines and rites of the Zoroastrian religion were nearly forgotten. King Ardeshir gathered from all parts of the land a great assembly of Mobeds, to the number, according to some, of fifty thousand, and from their memory and recitation of the scriptures, so much of the latter as was not forgotten was again collected and committed to writing. This, too, is a notice which there is much reason for believing to be in the main authentic. The whole state and condition of the collection, as it exists in our hands, indicates that its material must have passed through some process analogous to this. The incomplete and fragmentary character of the books that compose it, the frequent want of connection, or the evident interpolations of longer or shorter passages, the hopelessly corrupt state of portions of the text, the awkward style and entire grammatical incorrectness displayed by others, all go to show that it must be, in some measure, an assemblage of fragments, combined without a full understanding of their meaning and connection. To this is to be added the evidence afforded by the alphabetic character in which the texts are written. The Avestan character is of Semitic origin, akin to the Syriac alphabets of the commencement of the Christian era, and closely resembling that of the inscriptions and upon the coins of the earliest Sassanids, of which it seems a developed form. It cannot, then, have been from the beginning the medium of preservation of the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta cannot have been written in it before the time of Christ. But it is a very difficult matter to suppose a deliberate change in the method of writing a text esteemed sacred, unless when peculiar circumstances require or strongly favour it. The character comes to partake of the sanctity of the matter written in it, and is almost as unalterable. It could hardly be, excepting when the body of scripture was assembled and cast into a new form, that it should be transcribed in a character before unused. The Sassanian reconstruction of the Zoroastrian canon, and its committal to writing in an alphabet of that period, must probably have taken place together.

The oldest existing manuscripts of the Avesta date from the early part of the fourteenth century, or not less than a thousand years later than the compilations, and most of them are considerably more modern, and, Professor Whitney says:

They all offer the same text, there are indeed very considerable varieties of reading among them, as regards the orthography and the division of the words, so that not unfrequently different grammatical forms and different combinations seem to show themselves; yet, sentence by sentence, and page by page, they are found to agree in presenting the same matter in the same order; their disagreements are to be charged to the ignorance and carelessness of the copyists. They all represent a single original. So that we have in our hands nearly or quite all the scriptures recoverable when their recovery was attempted.

Of the Zend language itself, Professor Max Müller (*Chips, i. 81, et seq.*) says:

Here, comparative philology has actually had to create and re-animate all the materials of language, in which it has afterwards to work. Little was known of the language of Persia and Media, previous to the Shahnameh of Firdusi, composed about 1000, A. D.; and it is due entirely to the inductive method of comparative philology that we have now before us contemporaneous documents of three periods of Persian language deciphered, translated and explained. We have the language of the Zoroastrians, the language of the Achæmenians, and the language of the Sassanians, which represent the history of the Persian tongue, in three successive periods. . . . All now rendered intelligible by the aid of comparative philology, while but fifty years ago their very name and existence were questioned.

I interpose here the following, from Mr. Bleek's introduction to the translation of the Zend-Avesta.

The Achæmenian dynasty fell in 331 B. C. The Sassanian rose with Ardeshir, in 226 A. D. Thirty-one kings comprised it, and extended its empire, until, in the reign of Nushirwan the Just (A. D. 531 to 579), it reached from the banks of the Phoses to the shores of the Mediterranean, and from the Red Sea to the Jaxartes and the Indus. The last of the dynasty ascended the throne in 632, A. D. In his reign the Mohammedan invasion occurred, which swept away forever the dominion of the followers of Zarathustra, in 641, A. D. In a short time, the Zarathustrian religion was almost rooted out of Persia, and the Parsees were confined to the oasis of Yezd, though a secret attachment to the religion of their ancestors lingered for many years among the landed nobility of Persia, particularly in the Eastern Provinces.

About the middle of the seventh century, and a century later, the Parsees emigrated to India, and for more than a thousand years may be said to have been all but unknown to Europe. Their ancient language, the Zend, remained in obscurity for upwards of a thousand years, and had become almost extinct, when it was brought to Europe.

It is now (1864) rather more than a century ago that a young Frenchman, by name Anquetil du Perron, happened to see a few pages in the Zend character, which had been copied from the Vendîdâd in the Bodleian Library (procured

at Surat in 1718). He immediately conceived the idea of going out to India in search of the original Zend writings; and having no other means of making the journey (a long and hazardous one in those days), he actually enlisted in a Regiment about to proceed to India. His friends now took his cause warmly in hand, and he was soon released from his enlistment, and sent out to India with a pension from the king, to enable him to prosecute his design.

After various adventures, Anquetil was successful in his attempt: he procured copies of the Avesta and other works relating to the Zarathustrian religion, made translations with the help of the Destur Darab, and returned in triumph to Europe.

His translation of the Avesta was published, being, of course, very defective, and the only wonder being that he was able to produce any translation at all, his teacher, the Destur Darab, possessing no grammatical knowledge of the Zend, and he and Anquetil communicating with each other through the medium of Persian; the case thus resembling

that of a man attempting to teach a language which he does not understand himself, by means of a language which his pupil understands but indifferently.

Anquetil returned from India in 1762, his book was published in 1771, and a German translation of it by Kleuker appeared in Germany in 1781.

For many years after this, the study of Zend made scarcely any progress. Erskine and some scholars regarded it as merely a corruption of Sanskrit, and this opinion was pretty generally received, until Professor Rask completely overturned it, and proved that Zend, though allied to Sanskrit, was a distinct language; and further, that modern Persian was derived from Zend as Italian is from Latin. His treatise, in Danish, was translated into German by Von der Hagen, and published in 1826.

But the real founder of Zend philology was Eugene Burnouf, whose "*Commentaries sur le Yaçna*," and "*Etudes sur le langue et les textes Zends*" are a monument of patient learning and critical acumen.

He compared Anquetil's translation with the Sanskrit version of Neryosengh, and carefully analyzed every word of the original Zend. His labours extended over a period of more than twenty years (1829–1852), during which time other scholars began to apply themselves to the study of the Zend. The discovery that it was one of the languages of the cuneiform inscriptions gave a fresh importance to the language of the Avesta. Sir H. C. Rawlinson translated a large portion of these inscriptions by means of the Zend, and Zend philology now made rapid progress.

Burnouf had caused the Vendîdâd Sâdé to be lithographed and published in a magnificent folio volume, and in 1850 Professor Brockhaus of Leipzig published an edition of it in Roman characters, and added to it a glossary. In 1852–54, Professor Westergaard gave a complete edition

of the Avesta and Khordah Avesta, in Zend characters. Professor Haug, in 1862, published essays on the language, writings and religion of the Parsees, at Bombay; and in 1852 Professor Spiegel published a German version of the Avesta, followed in 1859 by a version of the Vispered and Yaçna, and in 1863 by one of the Khordah Avesta. An English translation of all these, by Arthur Henry Bleek, was published in England in 1864.

I return now to Müller:

The labours of Anquetil du Perron, who first translated the Zend-Avesta, were those of a bold adventurer, not of a scholar. Rask was the first who, with the material collected by du Perron and himself, analyzed the language scientifically. He proved:

1. That Zend was not a corrupted Sanskrit, as supposed by W. Erskine, but that it differed from it as Greek, Latin or Lithuanian differed from one another, and from Sanskrit.
2. That the modern Persian was really derived from Zend, as the Italian was from Latin; and
3. That the Avesta, or the works of Zarathustra, must have been reduced to writing at least previously to Alexander's conquest. The opinion that Zend was an artificial language (an opinion held by men of great eminence in Oriental philology, beginning with Sir Wm. Jones) is passed over by Rask as not deserving of refutation.

The first edition of the Zend texts, the critical restitution of the MSS., the outlines of a Zend grammar, with the translation and philological anatomy of considerable portions of the Zarathustrian writings were the work of the late Eugene Burnouf. He was the real founder of Zend philology. It is clear from his works, and from Bopp's valuable remarks in his comparative grammar, that Zend, in its grammar and its dictionary, is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit, by simply changing the Zend letters into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit. With regard to the correspondence of the letters, in Grimm's sense of the word, Zend ranges with Sanskrit and the classical languages. It differs from Sanskrit principally in its sibilants, nasals and aspirates. The Sanskrit *s*, for instance, is represented by the Zend *h*, a change analogous to that of an original *s* into the Greek aspirate, only that in Greek this change is not general. Thus the geographical name *hapta-hendu*, which occurs in the Avesta, becomes intelligible if we re-translate the Zend *h*, into the Sanskrit *s*. For *Saptasindhu*, or the seven rivers, is the old Vaidic name of India itself, derived from the five rivers of the Punjâb, together with the Indus and the Sarasvati.

Where Sanskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from the Northern members of the Aryan family, it frequently coincides with Zend. The numerals are the same in all these languages, up to 100. The name for 'thousand,' however, *Sahosra*, is peculiar to Sanskrit, and does not occur in any of the Indo-European dialects, except in Zend, where it becomes *hazoura*. In the same manner, the German and Slavonic languages have a word for 'thousand,' peculiar to themselves; as also in Greek or Latin we find many common words, which we look for in vain in any of the other Indo-European dialects. These facts are full of historical meaning, and with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that these two

languages continued together, long after they were separated from the common Indo-European stock.

Still more striking is the similarity between Persia and India, in religion and mythology. Gods unknown to any Indo-European nation are worshipped under the same names in Sanskrit and Zend; and the change of some of the most sacred expressions in Sanskrit into names of evil spirits in Zend, only serves to strengthen the conviction that we have here the usual traces of a schism, which separated a community that had once been united.

Burnouf, who compared the language and religion of the Avesta principally with the later Sanskrit, inclined at first to the opinion that this schism took place in Persia, and that the dissenting Brahmans immigrated afterwards into India. This is still the prevailing opinion; but it requires to be modified in accordance with new facts elicited from the Veda.

The Vaidik worship was of Fire, Light, Heat, and their manifestations. Light, Heat, the softening and melting Potency were Subsistences, or Hypostases, of the one universal substance, Fire. There is no conception in the Veda of any Deity, Spirit or Power creative, intelligent or otherwise, superior to the Fire, Agni, whose name is preserved in the Latin Ignis. This philosophical creed was itself a long step forward from the original worship of the heavenly bodies and physical agents of nature, the remains whereof are found in the Veda, in the adoration of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman, the Maruts, Ushas and the Aswins. The Keltic, Sclavonic, Germanic and the Greek and Latin outflowings from the great sea of Aryan life, took place before the worship of Agni and Indra had succeeded that of the heavenly bodies, and in each race that so flowed off and colonized and conquered, the original rude faith and nature worship was developed with different results, each, perhaps even adopting at first the names given by the people whom they conquered and incorporated with themselves, to the Sun, Planets, Stars and other natural objects.

The opinion of all the commentators is, that the Iranian emigration was a consequence of the reform in the Aryan faith, instituted by Zarathustra. I shall endeavour to show that there is no evidence of any schism at all; that before Agni, Indra, Vishnu and Varuna were known as Gods, but when Mitra and Vayu were, Yima, an Aryan chief, led a large body of emigrants across the Oxus, to the South of that river, and occupied the eastern part of Bactria, leaving behind in Sogdiana those of the race whose descendants afterwards emigrated to the Indus country by the way of Kabul.

I shall endeavour to show that Yima (by the name of Yama) was remembered with veneration, ages afterward, by the Indo-Aryans, as the chief who led a large force of "the fathers" across the mighty water, and opened the way for others to follow, having free choice of routes; that Yima occupied and settled in the fertile plain, South of the Oxus, in which

the city of Balkh, anciently Bactra, stands; and that, among those of the race who had remained behind, and by their descendants in India, he came to be regarded as the first man that died, and as having conveyed the souls of the fathers across the streams, into the land of the departed; until he came to represent Death himself.

I think it will appear that while the Indo-Aryan mind was slowly attaining the conceptions of a higher nature than those of star worship, and the philosophical doctrines of the Agni and Indra worship were developing themselves, Zarathustra advanced from the Fire-worship to that of an Infinite source of Light and Life, containing within itself an infinite intellect and infinite beneficence as well as power; and to the philosophic conception of Divine action by Emanations, personifying His attributes and Potencies, and whereby only the infinite God was revealed. It will appear that this no more caused a schism in Bactria, than the advance to the Agni and Indra worship created one in Kabul or Sapta Sindhu; but all the Irano-Aryans embraced the faith taught by Zarathustra.

Indra is not named at all in the Zend-Avesta. It is generally said that he is named, once or twice. I think it will appear that he is not. The Devas, originally the luminaries of the sky, and which became spiritual beings for the Indo-Aryans, after Yima's emigration became evil spirits to the Irano-Aryans, simply because they were the Stars and other bodies that the native tribes and hostile Tâtars or Toorkhs adored.

Zarathustra lived some generations after Yima, and at a time, as I think it will clearly appear, when strong bodies of Tâtar, Scythian or Toorkish horsemen (Drukhs), had invaded Bactria and possessed themselves of a large portion of it, including the fertile plain which I have mentioned (called in the Zend-Avesta "the Best Place"); and the business of Zarathustra's life was to unite the Aryan people against these infidel invaders, and the native tribes, which, once conquered and converted, had relapsed, and, allied with the invaders, had marauded and plundered at will along the Aryan border, and far into the bowels of the land.

"Zend", Müller continues, if compared with classical Sanskrit, exhibits, in many points of grammar, features of a more primitive character than Sanskrit. But it can now be shown, and Burnouf himself admitted it, that when this is the case, the Vaidik differs on the very same points from the later Sanskrit, and has preserved the same primitive and irregular form as the Zend. I still hold that the name of "Zend" was originally a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Khanda*s, which is the name given to the language of the Veda by Pânini and others. When we read in Pânini's grammar that certain forms occur in *Khanda*s, but not in the classical language, we may almost always translate *Khanda*s by Zend, for nearly all these rules apply equally to the language of the Avesta.

In mythology, also, the *nemina* and *numina* of the Avesta appear at first sight more primitive than in Manu or the Mahâbhârata. But if regarded from a Vaidik point of view, this relation shifts at once, and many of the gods of the Zarathustrians come out once more as mere reflections and deflections of the primitive and authentic Gods of the Veda. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zarathustrians had been settled in India, before they emigrated into Persia. I say the Zarathustrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Persia and Media in general. That the Zarathustrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidik period, can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the first Fargard of the Vendidâd do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zarathustrians, but forgotten by the Vaidik poets. . . . a remembrance of times previous to their first common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zarathustrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations, subsequent to their emigration from the land of the Seven Rivers.

And Professor Müller adds, in a note:

The purely mythological character of this geographical chapter has been proved by M. Michel Bréal [*Journal Asiatique*, 1862]. Professor Spiegel considers the first Fargard, 'a most important geographical record of the countries known to the early Iranians.' 'It was formerly held,' he says, 'that this Fargard contained a series of traditions relating to the most ancient migration of the Aryan race; but the best authorities are now agreed that the idea of "successive migrations" by the Aryans into the various countries enumerated must be given up. Bunsen and Haug, however, we believe, still adhere to their previous opinion.'

We shall refer, shortly, to Baron Bunsen's opinion in regard to it, and to the time of the Iranian separation; and I only remark here that I am not at all convinced that the Iranians or Zarathustrians did not separate and flow off toward Persia, until the Vaidik period. I think that this emigration took place long before the Aryan settlement in the land of Seven Rivers or the Indus country. The religious hymns called the Gâthâs contain the pure and primitive Zarathustrianism; and were evidently written, or rather composed, at a period considerably older than the Vaidik one, and among a people of more primitive and simple habit of life than is displayed to us by the Veda. And Müller admits that these and similar questions of the highest importance for the early history of the Aryan language and mythology must await their final decision, until the whole of the Veda and the Avesta have been published.

Westergaard and Spiegel agree in considering the Veda as the safest key to an understanding of the Avesta. Professor Roth of Tübingen, has well expressed the mutual relation of the Veda and Zend-Avesta under the following simile: 'The Veda,' he writes, 'and the Zend-Avesta are two rivers, flowing from one fountain head: the stream of the Veda is fuller and purer, and has

remained truer to its original character; that of the Zend-Avesta has been in various ways polluted, has altered its course, and cannot, with certainty, be traced back to its source.'

As to the language of the Achæmenians, presented to us in the Persian text of the cuneiform inscriptions, there was no room for doubt, as soon as it became legible at all, that it was the same tongue as that of the Avesta, only in a second stage of its continuous growth. The process of deciphering these bundles of arrows by means of Zend and Sanskrit, has been very much like deciphering an Italian inscription, without a knowledge of Italian, simply by means of classical and mediæval Latin. It would have been impossible, even with the quick perception of a Grotefend, to read more than the proper names and a few titles, on the walls of the Persian palaces, without the aid of Zend and Sanskrit; and it seems almost providential, as Lassen remarked, that these inscriptions, which at any previous period would have been in the eyes of either classical or Oriental scholars nothing but a quaint conglomerate of nails, wedges or arrows, should have been rescued from the dust of centuries at the very moment when the discovery and study of Sanskrit and Zend had enabled the scholars of Europe to grapple successfully with their difficulties.

Spiegel, as quoted here by Müller in a note (p. 88), arranges the different portions in the order of their antiquity:

1. The second part of the Yaçna (the Gâthâs), as separated in respect to the language of the Zend-Avesta, yet not composed by Zarathustra himself, since he is named in the third person; and, indeed, everything intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gushtasp was alive.
2. The Vendidâd, which, though not originally composed as it now stands, it having suffered both earlier and later interpolations, is still, in its present form, of a considerable antiquity. Among the writings of the last period are the first part of the Yaçna, and the Yeshts in Khurdah Avesta. It is a significant fact that in the oldest of these writings, the Gâthâs, nothing is fixed in the doctrine regarding God. In the Vendidâd we trace the advance to a theological, and, in its way, mild and scientific system. Out of this, in the last place, there springs the stern and intolerant religion of the Sassanian epoch.

The language of the Avesta [Müller continues], though certainly not the language of Zarathustra, displayed a grammar so much more luxuriant, and forms so much more primitive [than the mountain records of the Achæmenian dynasty, the edicts of Darius], that centuries must have elapsed between the two periods represented by these two strata of language. And yet [he says], the phonetic system of the cuneiform inscriptions was more primitive and regular than even that of the earlier portions of the Avesta. The confusion in the phonetic system of the Zend grammar is no doubt owing to the influence of oral tradition; which, particularly if confided to the safeguard of a learned priesthood, is able to preserve, during centuries of growth and change, the sacred accents of a dead language; but it is liable at least to the slow and imperceptible influences of a corrupt pronunciation. There are no facts to prove that the text of the Avesta, in the shape in which the Parsis of Bombay and Yezd now possess it, was committed to writing previous to the Sassanian dynasty (226, A. D.). After that time, it can indeed be traced, and to a great extent be controlled and checked by the Huzvaresh translations made under that dynasty. Additions to it were made, it seems, after these Huzvaresh translations; but their number is small, and we have

no reason to doubt that the text of the Avesta in the days of Arda Viraj, was, on the whole, exactly the same as at present. At the time when these translations were made, it is clear from their own evidence, that the language of Zarathustra had already suffered, and that the ideas of the Avesta were no longer fully understood, even by the learned. Before that time we may infer, indeed, that the doctrine of Zarathustra had been committed to writing, for Alexander is said to have destroyed the books of the Zarathustrians; Hermippus of Alexandria is said to have read them.

Thus far the history of the Persian language had been reconstructed by the genius and perseverance of Grotfend, Burnouf, Lassen, and, last but not least, by the comprehensive labours of Rawlinson, from the ante-historical epoch of Zarathustra, down to the age of Darius and Artaxerxes II. The history of the Persian language after the Macedonian conquest, and during the Parthian occupation, is indeed but a blank page. The next glimpse of an authentic contemporaneous document is the inscription of Ardashir, the founder of the new national dynasty of the Sassanians. It is written in what was once called Pehlevi, and is now more commonly known as Huzvaresh, this being the proper title of the language of the translation of the Avesta. . . . To judge from the specimen given by Anquetil du Perron, it was not to be wondered at that this dialect, then called Pehlevi, should have been pronounced an artificial jargon. Even where more genuine specimens of it became known, the language seemed so overgrown with Semitic and barbarous words, that it was expelled from the Iranian family. Sir William Jones pronounced it to be a dialect of Chaldee. Spiegel, however, who is now publishing the text of these translations, has established the fact that the language is truly Aryan, neither Semitic nor barbarous, but Persian in roots and grammar.

From a "chip" of Professor Müller ["On the Study of the Zend-Avesta in India" (*Chips i. 118*)], we take the following:

Next to Sanskrit, there is no more ancient language than Zend; and next to the Veda, there is, among the Aryan nations, no more primitive religious code than the Zend-Avesta.

The Zend, I believe, is an older Aryan dialect or language than the Sanskrit of the Veda; and the Gâthâs older compositions than most of the Vaidik hymns, and *much* older than any other compositions now in existence.

It is well known that such was the enthusiasm kindled in the heart of Anquetil du Perron by the sight of a fac simile of a page of the Zend-Avesta, that he spent six years (1754–1761) in different parts of western India, trying to collect MSS. of the sacred writings of Zarathustra, and to acquire from the Dustoors a knowledge of their contents.

Rask, a learned Dane, collected many valuable MSS. at Bombay, and wrote in 1826 his essay, "On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend Language." Westergaard, also a Dane, went to India (1841–1843) before he undertook to publish his edition of the religious books of the Zarathustrians, at Copenhagen, in 1852. During all this time, French and German

scholars, like Burnouf, Bopp and Spiegel were hard at work in deciphering the curious remains of the Magian religion.

The translation of the Zend Avesta, published by Anquetil du Perron, with the assistance of Dustoor Dârâb, was by no means trustworthy. It was, in fact, a French translation of a Persian rendering of a Pehlevi version of the Zend original. It was Burnouf who, aided by his knowledge of Sanskrit, and his familiarity with the principles of comparative grammar, approached for the first time the very words of the Zend original. He had to conquer every inch of ground for himself, and his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna* is, in fact, like the deciphering of one long inscription, only surpassed in difficulty by his later decipherments of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian monarchs of Persia.

There are at present five editions, more or less complete, of the Zend-Avesta. The first was lithographed under Burnouf's direction, and published at Paris, 1829-1843. The second edition of the text, transcribed into Roman characters, appeared at Leipzig, 1850, published by Professor Brockhaus. The third edition, in Zend characters, was given to the world by Professor Spiegel, 1851; and about the same time a fourth edition was undertaken by Professor Westergaard, at Copenhagen, 1852 to 1854. There are one or two editions of the Zend-Avesta, published in India, with Gujerati translations, which we have not seen, but which are frequently quoted by native scholars. A German translation of the Zend-Avesta was undertaken by Professor Spiegel, far superior in accuracy to that of Anquetil du Perron, yet in the main based on the Pehlevi version. Portions of the ancient text had been minutely analyzed and translated by Dr. Haug [Professor of Sanskrit in the Poona College at Bombay, and author of *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsees* published at Bombay, 1862], even before his departure for the East.

The first volume of the German translation by Professor Spiegel was published in 1852, and the other two volumes some years after. All these are translated into English by Mr. Bleek, and the version of Professor Spiegel carefully compared with a Gujerati manuscript translation.

The Zend-Avesta [Professor Müller continues], is not a voluminous work. We still call it the Zend-Avesta, though we are told that its proper title is *Avesta Zend*; nor does it seem at all likely that the now familiar name will ever be surrendered for the more correct one. . . . Nor do we feel at all convinced that the name of Avesta Zend is the original and only correct name. According to the Parsis *Avesta* means *sacred text*; *Zend*, its Pehlevi translation. But in the Pehlevi translations themselves, the original work of Zarathustra is spoken of as *Avesta Zend*. Why it is so called by the Pehlevi translators, we are nowhere told by the translators themselves, and many conjectures have, in consequence, been started by almost every Zend scholar. Dr. Haug supposes that the earliest portions of the Zend-Avesta ought to be called *Avesta*, the later portions *Zend*; *Zend* meaning, according to him, commentary, explanation, gloss. Neither the word *Avesta* nor *Zend*, however, occurs in the original Zend texts, and though *Avesta* seems to be the Sanskrit *avasthâ*, the Pehlevi *apestak*, in the sense of 'authorized text,' the etymology of *Zend*, as derived from a supposed *zanti*, Sanskrit *gnati*, 'knowledge', is not free from serious objections. *Avesta Zend* was most likely a traditional name, hardly understood even at the time of the Pehlevi

translators, who retained it in their writings. It was possibly misinterpreted by them, as many other Zend words have been at their hands, and may have been originally the Sanskrit word *Khanda*s, which is applied by the Brahmans to the sacred hymns of the Veda.

Though the existence of different dialects in the ancient texts was pointed out by Spiegel, and although the metrical portions of the Yaçna had been clearly marked by Westergaard, it is nevertheless Haug's great achievement to have extracted these early relics, to have collected them, and to have attempted a complete translation of them, as far as such an attempt could be carried out at the present moment. His edition of the Gâthâs—for this is the name of the ancient metrical portions—marks an epoch in the history of Zend scholarship, and the importance of the recovery of these genuine relics of Zarathustra's religion has been well brought out by Bunsen in the least known of his books [*"Gott in der Geschichte"*].

We by no means think that the translations here offered by Dr. Haug are final.

Many of the passages as translated by him are as clear as daylight, and carry conviction by their very clearness. Others, however, are obscure, hazy, meaningless. We feel that they must have been intended for something else, something more definite and forcible, though we cannot tell what to do with the words as they stand. Sense, after all, is the great test of translation. We must feel convinced there was good sense in these ancient poems, otherwise mankind would not have taken the trouble to preserve them; and if we cannot discover good sense in them, it must be either our fault, or the words as we now read them were not the words uttered by the ancient prophets of the world.

In the article [“Progress of Zend Scholarship” (*Chips i. 129*)], Müller says:

There are certain branches of philological research, which seem to be constantly changing, shifting, and, we hope, progressing. After the key to the interpretation of ancient inscriptions has been found, it by no means follows that every word can at once be definitely explained, or every sentence correctly construed. Thus it happens that the same hieroglyphic or cuneiform text is rendered differently by different scholars; nay, that the same scholar proposes a new rendering not many years after his first attempt at a translation has been published. And what applies to the decipherment of inscriptions, applies with equal force to the translation of ancient texts. A translation of the hymns of the Veda, or of the Zend-Avesta, and, we may add, of the Old Testament too, requires exactly the same process as the deciphering of an inscription. The only safe way of finding the real meaning of words in the sacred texts of the Brahmans, the Zarathustrians or the Jews, is to compare every passage in which the same word occurs, and to look for a meaning that is equally applicable to all and can at the same time be defended on grammatical and etymological grounds. This is no doubt a tedious process, nor can it be free from uncertainty; but it is an uncertainty inherent in the subject itself, for which it would be unfair to blame those by whose genius and perseverance so much light has been shed on the darkest pages of ancient history. To those who are not acquainted with the efforts by which Grotefend, Burnouf, Lassen and Rawlinson unravelled the inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes, it may seem inexplicable, for instance, how an inscription which at one time was supposed to confirm the statement, known from Herodotus,

that Darius obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the neighing of his horse, should now yield a very different meaning.

The fact that different scholars should differ in their interpretations, or that the same scholar should reject his former translation, and adopt a new one that possibly may have to be surrendered again as soon as new light can be thrown on points hitherto doubtful and obscure—all this, which, in the hands of those who argue for victory and not for truth, constitutes so formidable a weapon, and appeals so strongly to the prejudices of the many, produces very little effect in the minds of those who understand the reason of these changes, and to whom each new change represents but a new step in the advance of the discovery of truth.

In many cases of the same word used in different passages, it must be equally as impossible in the Veda or Zend-Avesta as it is in the Hebrew books to find "a meaning that is equally applicable to all." The same word often has meanings that are opposites to each other; as *Kadosh*, for example, means "consecrated," "holy," and also "a prostitute," and *nekah* means "was devastated," also "escaped punishment." Derivative and secondary meanings from the same root very often so diverge as to become complete contraries. To assign later meanings to ancient words is to give incorrect meanings, also, and to use, in translating very ancient books, words that are now expressive of ideas that did not exist when the books were composed, is entirely to mistranslate; as, for example, the words "Heaven" and "Spirit" in translating the Veda.

The meaning of words changes imperceptibly and irresistibly. Even where there is a literature, and a printed literature like that of modern Europe, four or five centuries work such a change that few even of the most learned divines in England would find it easy to read and to understand accurately a theological treatise written in English four hundred years ago. The same happened, and happened to a far greater extent, in ancient languages. Nor was the sacred character attributed to certain writings any safeguard. On the contrary, greater violence is done by successive interpreters to sacred writings than to any other relics of ancient literature. Ideas grow and change, yet each generation tries to find its own ideas reflected in the sacred pages of their early prophets, and in addition to the ordinary influences which blur and obscure the sharp features of old words, artificial influences are here at work, distorting the natural expression of words which have been invested with a sacred authority. Passages in the Veda or Zend-Avesta which do not bear on religious or philosophical doctrines are generally explained simply and naturally, even by the latest of native commentators. But as soon as any word or sentence can be so turned as to support a doctrine, however modern, or a precept, however irrational, the simplest phrases are tortured and mangled till at last they are made to yield their assent to ideas the most foreign to the authors of the Veda and Zend-Avesta.

To find out how the words of the Old Testament were understood by those to whom they were originally addressed, is a task attempted by very few interpreters of the Bible. The great majority of readers transfer without hesitation the ideas which they connect with words as used in the nineteenth century to the mind of Moses or his contemporaries, forgetting altogether the distance which

divides their language and their thoughts from the thoughts and language of the wandering Tribes of Israel. How many words, again, there are in Homer, which have indeed a traditional interpretation, as given by our dictionaries and commentaries, but the exact purport of which is completely lost, is best known to Greek scholars.

Müller here instances the word *gephurai*, in the expression *polemoio gehphurai*, rendered "bridges of war," what Homer meant by it being wholly unknown; and the word *hieros*, sacred, as applied to a fish and a chariot.

Considering the difficulty of translating the passages of the Zend-Avesta, we can never hope to have every sentence of it rendered into clear and intelligible English. Those who for the first time reduced the sacred traditions of the Zarathustrians to writing, were separated by more than a thousand years from the time of their original composition. After that came all the vicissitudes to which manuscripts are exposed during the process of being copied by more or less ignorant scribes. The most ancient MSS. of the Zend-Avesta date from the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is true there is an early translation of the Zend-Avesta, the Pehlevi translation, and a later one in Sanskrit by Neriosengh. But the Pehlevi translation, which was made under the auspices of the Sassanian kings of Persia, served only to show how completely the literal and grammatical meaning of the Zend-Avesta was lost even at that time, in the third century after Christ; while the Sanskrit translation was clearly made, not from the original, but from the Pehlevi.

I copy now from Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, iii. 455, *et seq.*):

Many years elapsed after the talented Anquetil made the discovery of the Zend-Avesta, before the researches on that head were established on a firm foundation. The labours of Benfey, Spiegel, Westergaard and Haug have been added to those of Burnouf, and we now possess still more extensive investigations by the last three writers, into the records of the Zarathustrian religion. The unfortunate notion that Zoroaster's king Gustasp was Darius, the son of Hystaspes, has been abandoned by men of learning, and it would now be as unscientific to controvert such an idea, as it formerly was to advance it. We have intimated in the First Book, that the central point of the old Aryan dominion was Bactria. Haug has very recently also maintained that the language of the Zend books is Bactrian.

We take up the subject with the advantage of having two fresh resting-places. In the first place, we have additional proof of the correctness of the fact already assumed by Niebuhr; that in the year 1903 before Alexander, or 2234, B. C., a Zarathustrian king of Media conquered Babylon, and that the dynasty which he founded there reigned more than two hundred years.

Bactria, however, and not Media, was the original seat of Zarathustrian lore. This in itself compels us to inquire whether the date of the Great Founder of that religion must not be placed much earlier; and in endeavouring to fix that date, we have obtained important vantage-ground.

In the second place, we can now institute our historical inquiry upon a more certain philological basis.

Bunsen then proceeds to examine the first Fargard of the Vendîdâd, declaring that the labours of Dr. Haug had confirmed his conviction,

that the nucleus of this record dates from the most ancient times, and that its contents are nothing less than the reminiscences of the passages of the Aryans to India, in other words, the succession of the foundation of fourteen kingdoms, the last and most Southern of which was the Land of the Five Rivers, the Punjâb.

He accompanies his discussion with a sketch prepared by Dr. Petermann, which I copy here. We have seen that Spiegel and others do not agree with him in regard to the meaning of this "Geographical Chapter of the Vendîdâd", which commences abruptly thus:

1. Ahura Mazda spoke to the holy Zarathustra.
2. I created, O holy Zarathustra, a place, a creation of delight.
5. The first and best of regions and places have I created, I who am Ahura Mazda.
6. The Airyana Vaêjâ of the good creation.
13. The second and best of regions and places have I created, I who am Ahura Mazda.
14. Gaû, the dwelling-place of Sughdha.

Thus it proceeds, stating the creation of, in all, sixteen places, and the creation by Añra-Mainyûs of a curse, a plague for each. The fourth is "Bakhdi, the beautiful, with lofty standards" (Spiegel and Bleeck), or "the happy Bâkhdi with the tall banner" (Haug and Bunsen); by which Spiegel understands the modern Balkh, and Haug and Bunsen, Bactria. "The tall plumes," Bunsen says, "indicate the imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi), and refer consequently to the time when Bactria was the seat of empire."

The fifteenth place created is Hapta Hendû, the Indus country, called in the Vedas "Sapta Sindhabas" or "the Seven Rivers." And the sixteenth is "those who dwell without ramparts on the sea-coast," according to Haug; but, according to Spiegel, "to the East of Rañha, which is governed without Kings."

Certainly nothing is *said* in this Fargard about journeyings and emigrations. But Bunsen speaks thus, in regard to it:

Two successful efforts of the critical school have at last established the value, and facilitated the understanding of the celebrated first Fargard or Section of the Vendîdâd. One of these was the study of the Bactrian language (commonly called Zénd), which was commenced by Burnouf and continued by Benfey, Spiegel and Haug. The other circumstance which facilitated the explanation of the above record was the eminently successful decipherment of the first or Bactro-Medo-Persian cuneiform writing of the Achæmenids by Burnouf and Lassen, and latterly by Rawlinson's publication and elucidation of the inscription of Bisutun. Among these inscriptions, the most important in its bearing upon this record is the list of the Iranian nations who were subject to Darius in Naksh-i-Rustam.

Ritter, in 1838, materially assisted in explaining the geographical portion of it. Here, however, insurmountable difficulties already presented themselves, as to the explanation of the names of individual countries. According to Burnouf we were completely in the dark as to at least three out of the fourteen provinces mentioned between Sogdiana and the Punjâb.

It should be generally known that he [Spiegel], was with Rhode in thinking that it contains the history of the gradual dispersion of the Aryans. The first argument in favour of it is, that Sogdiana is called the Primeval land. The fact of the Punjâb being as unquestionably the most Southerly, as Sogdiana is the Northeasterly, tends to strengthen this opinion.

I start, therefore, upon the assumption that the opening of that sacred code contains as certainly an historical tradition of the Aryans, about their wanderings, expeditions and conquests as does the fourteenth chapter of Genesis an historical account of the oldest recorded war between Mesopotamia and Canaan. The historical and geographical traditions therein contained became confused and obscured in early times; but we think we can point out which are the additions, and which the original text. The Fargard is divided into two great parts, one comprising the immigrations from the Eastern and Northeastern primeval country to Bactria, in consequence of a natural catastrophe and climatic changes; the other the subsequent extension of the Aryan dominion through Eastern central Asia, which terminated in the occupation of the Punjâb.

I have spoken fully enough in regard to this ancient legend, in the *Ancient Faith and Worship of the Aryans*, and shall only repeat here that Bunsen fixes upon the slopes of the Belur (*Bolor*) Tagh, in the Highland of Pamir, between the 40th and 47th degrees of North Latitude, and the 86th and 90th degrees of Longitude, as the primeval home of the Aryans. Hence they emigrated, he holds, first to Sogdiana, thence to Margiana, and then to Bactria. He says:

There is no one single fertile district in the whole of eastern central Asia of which our Aryan ancestors did not possess themselves, except Southern Media and all Farsistan or Persia. Now, as history exhibits the Aryan race spread throughout the whole of Media, but as dominant only in Persia, it follows that Ghilan and Masandaran formed the nucleus of these ancient possessions, which afterward became so important and celebrated. There cannot, therefore, be a more unfortunate theory than the one which makes Persia the original seat of Zarathustra and his doctrine.

Philological and historical criticism has long ago set at rest the unfortunate theory that Vistâspa, who was mentioned in the books of the Zend-Avesta as the royal patron of Zarathustra, was the father of king Darius Hystaspes.

The name of Zoroaster is already known to us as a royal name, from the Armenian edition of Eusebius in the Chaldean lists of Berossus. It is the name of the Median conqueror of Babylon, who vanquished the realm and city of the Chaldees, and founded the second Babylonian dynasty in the year 2234, B. C.

The king can only have received this title from being a follower of Zarathustra, and professing the religion of the prophet: the title of 'greatest

'minstrel' is in character with that of the founder of a religion, not with that of a conqueror.

But he was preceded by a series of eighty-four Median kings. Media again was not the historical birthplace of the religion and language of the Zend books, but Bactria, the seat of a primeval kingdom.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the date of Zoroaster, as fixed by Aristotle, cannot be said to be so very irrational. He and Eudoxus, according to Pliny [N. H. xxx. 2], place him 6000 years before the death of Plato; Hermippus, 5000 before the Trojan War. The two dates above mentioned essentially agree; for 6000 years before the death of Plato [Olymp. 108. 1; B. C. 348], brings us to about 6350; and the date of Hermippus is 6300, according to the common Alexandrian chronology of the Trojan War, 407 or 408 before Olymp. 1, equaling 1184, B. C.

At the present stage of the inquiry, the question whether this date is set too high cannot be answered in either the negative or affirmative. All that we know from Berossus is, that another dynasty of eighty-four kings reigned in Media before that of Zoroaster, whose names were given by Polyhistor. In the meantime, we do not even know whether he conquered Media (that is, from Bactria), as he afterwards captured Babylon, or whether his family was Median.

The determination of the age of the founder of the religion depends upon the answer to the following question: whether the appearance of Zarathustra in Bactria is to be placed before or after the emigration from Bactria? In the latter case, the only rational explanation would be, that a schism broke out in the country of the Indus, in consequence of which the adherents of the old fire-worship (the devotees of Agni) retraced their steps.

The oldest Vedic Hymns were certainly composed at least 4000 and perhaps 5000 years before Christ, when the sun entered Gemini at the Vernal Equinox, and the stars Castor and Pollux were therefore worshipped as the Asvins. Zarathustra's reform could not have been subsequent to the composition of these Hymns, and to the subordination of the worship of the Stars and Planets, to that of the Fire and Light principles, Agni and Indra. If it had, we should have found some traces of these names in the Gâthâs.

The Vaidic *Devas* were the Heavenly orbs; and their worship had preceded that of Agni and Indra. Zarathustra proscribed this Star and Planet worship, and the *Dævas* became, for his followers, evil spirits and malevolent genii. Therefore his reform must have occurred before the worship of Agni and Indra had grown up, and at least 6000 years before Christ, probably in Bactria. The Gâthâs give positive and ample evidence of a general state of society much more primitive and simple than that of the Punjâb as reflected and painted in the Veda.

Dr. Haug, in his introduction to the First Chapter of the Vendîdâd, shows that chapter to be, even after eliminating the later additions, decidedly after the time of Zarathustra, and posterior to the Gâthâs or Songs (in which the greater part of the genuine maxims and doctrines of

Zarathustra have been transmitted). The principal ground for this opinion we shall refer to hereafter. He adds:

Though after this evidence no doubt can be entertained that the Chapter belongs to the post-Zarathustrian period, this by no means implies that it is generally of modern origin. The whole tenor of it would lead us, on the contrary, to conclude that it must be very old. A certain historical date, however, can hardly be given to it. From the names of the countries mentioned, it is clear that when it was composed, not only geographical information was very restricted, but also that the actual Aryan territory was of much more limited extent than we find it afterwards. At all events, it is older than the foundation of the Median Empire by Deioces (708, B. C.), inasmuch as several important Provinces of Media, such as Atropatene (*Aderbeigān*), and several important cities, such as Ecbatana (Haqmatana in the first cuneiform writing), are not mentioned. This would not have been the case here, where Aryan civilization and Zarathustrian faith were widely spread, had Media then have exercised that influence over Iran, which she attained under Deioces. At the date of its composition, the Aryans probably had only first begun to spread through the Provinces of Media. Further proof of its high antiquity will be found in the predicate of Bactria, *erédhwō-drafsha*, 'with the tall banner.' This would seem to refer to a time when Bactria was the centre of an empire; for it can only mean the imperial banner, the *Kāvyanī-direfsh*, a banner of the Kajanians, which is mentioned in the *Shāhnāmeh*. But the power of Bactria had been broken down by the Assyrians long before Deioces (about 1200, B. C.). We may therefore place the date of the original at a period anterior to the Assyrian conquest.

If, however, we look a little more closely into the scanty notices in this connexion, we shall find that the geography of the Zend-Avesta was not limited to the countries mentioned in this Chapter. The whole globe used to be divided into Seven Kareshvares (i. e., cultivable districts), the names of which frequently recur in the Jeshts (Yashts), (St. 10, 15, 67, 133), they are called Areza, Sava, Fradadhafshu, Vīdadhfshu, Vouru-baresti, Vouru-garesti and Qaniratha. This account must be very ancient, inasmuch as the *Seven-surfaced* or *Seven-partitioned* earth is mentioned already in the *Gāthās*, and in fact in the first (Yasht 32. 3). In Yasht 29. 7, mention is also made of the *earth*, and its *six regions* (*gavoi Khshvādemēa urushāēibjo*).

It is strange that Dr. Haug should have considered these as divisions of the whole globe, and should not have suspected that they were simply divisions of one country. A division of the whole earth into portions was entirely out of the range of thought of the composers of the *Gāthās* or *Vendidād*.

The passages cited by him from the Jeshts or Yashts (of the Khudah-Avesta), are all from the tenth or Mihr-Yasht, addressed to Mithra. They are:

[Mihr-Yasht (10) 4, 12 to 16]: Mithra, etc., who, as the first heavenly Yazata rises over Hara before the Sun, the Immortal, with swift steeds, who first, with golden form, seizes the fair summits, then surrounds the whole Aryan place [Aryan land], the most profitable; where Rulers, excellent, order round about the lands, where mountains, great with much fodder, abounding in water, afford wells

for the cattle, where are canals, deep, full of water, where flowing waters, broad with water, hurry to Iskata and Pouruta, to Mouru and Haræva, to Gau, Çughda and Qâirizâo, to Arêzahê, to Çavahë, to Fradadhafshu, to Vidadhafshu, to Vourubarsti and Vouru-saisti, to this Kareshvare Qaniratha, the lofty, the dwelling-place of the cattle, the dwelling of the cattle, Mithra, the health-bringing, goes round, who marches unto all Kareshvares, as a heavenly Yazata bestowing brightness, etc.

The meaning of this seems to me not to admit of doubt. Mithra, as the chief of the celestial luminaries, is represented before the Sun is visible, as pouring his light over the mountain tops, and then, rising, as flooding with it the whole Aryan land. In this land, wise rulers have divided the arable and pasture lands among the people by boundaries; and great mountains, heavily wooded, and abounding with water, afford springs for the cattle, while there are deep channels in which broad rivers run to Iskata and six other places or towns, watering Arêzahê and six other Kareshvares or divisions formed by these rivers, and in which the herds of cattle are pastured. This Aryan land is "profitable," i. e., productive or fertile; and the climate salubrious, for here Mithra is the health-bringing.

Mr. Bleek says, in a note, that the writer of verse 14 must have lived in the northeast of Erân, as he could scarcely have represented all the rivers as flowing North and South. In my work on *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans*, I have ventured to suggest that this Aryan land was Bactria, lying South of the Oxus, and having on the East and South the mountains of the Bolor Tagh, Caucasus and Paropamisus, from which, in the East, the great river Oxus flows, and from the South northward, seven rivers that flow into it, having between them the fertile valleys called Kareshvares.

[v. 67]: Mithra is described as riding in his chariot from the Kareshvare Arezahê to the Kareshvare Qaniratha; which shows that in the former passage these sub-divisions of the country are named from east to west.

And in verse 133, Mithra, with wide pastures, is represented as riding over all the Kareshvares, which are named, and in the same order.

"The seven-fold earth", in Gâthâ Ahunavaiti, Yaçna xxxii. 3, on which the Dævas spread abroad unbelief, is simply the Aryan-land, composed of seven districts formed by the affluents of the Oxus.

The reference to Yaçna xxix. 7, is erroneous.

Dr. Haug remarks that the circumstance of this old *mythological* division of the *earth* being omitted in the first Fargard, is an argument in favour of the historical character of the original, and its great value for ancient Aryan history. I do not think it was ever a division of the earth, or mythological: and it was omitted in the first Fargard, because that is

a geographical recital of various Aryan countries, of which Bactria was only one. Of course the division of one of these countries into portions was not alluded to. But if my conjecture is right, it establishes the fact beyond controversy, that either Sogdiana or Bactria was the birthplace of the Zarathustrian worship and creed. The home of the Irano-Aryans was a "profitable" i. e., a productive, fertile land; and in the first Fargard the fourth land of blessing is Bâkhdi. I am now convinced that Airyana Vaêjâ was the country immediately around Samarcand; Sughda, the second country, that in which the city of Bokhara now is; Mouru, the third, Merv or Margiana, South of the Oxus and West of Bactria; and Bâkhdi, Bactria. I think I shall show that this removes all difficulties.

Bâkhdi is called "the fortunate spot." Of this phrase, Dr. Haug says, that we must necessarily identify it with the modern Balkh, the Bactria of the cuneiform writings, and the classics. He says:

The difference in the terminations *tra* and *dhî* is easily accounted for by supposing *Bâkhdi* to mean principally the capital of Bactria; *Bactra*, the country itself. It is even possible that the one was in vogue in Eastern Iran, the other in Western Iran or Media. As far as the sense goes, it makes but little difference, *Bak-tra* is the 'Most fortunate,' *Bâkh-dî* 'the fortunate' spot. The predicate *sûra*, i. e., 'fortunate' exactly suits the name.

In his note to verse 5 of the first Fargard, Dr. Haug gives the original of the words translated by "Aryan-place," in the Mihr-Yasht. They are:

Airyo Shayanem, the latter being, he says, an 'abstraction' from *shi*, 'to dwell', and signifying 'the dwelling, dwelling-place, country, district'. The shining Qaniratha, the seventh Kareshvare, is *gava shayanem*, the 'land of cattle.'

Bunsen says (iii. 570):

The language of our Zend books is the old Bactrian of the home-country, worn down; that is, East Iranian. It forms a contrast to the Vedic as well as Sanskrit languages. That of the first cuneiform character, on the contrary, is West Iranian of a later epoch.

Dr. Haug's etymological annotations may be correct. I give them as I find them. I find no Sanskrit verb *shi*, and I find no other words resembling *Bâkhdi* or *Bakh-tra*, than *Bhakta* "ford" and *Bhakti* "worship, devotion, service, etc." *Tra* is not the superlative termination. It is a suffix that forms locative adverbs, and substantives that express the instruments that are, as it were, the inanimate accomplishers of actions.

BIRTHPLACE OF ZARATHUSTRIANISM.

In the article entitled "The Relation Between the Vedic Times and That of Zoroaster, and the Starting Point of His Doctrine," we find the following, by Bunsen:

The Brahminism of the Sanskrit books is the mythico-pantheistic form of Vedic Naturalism, whereas the Zoroastrian books place a Supreme God above the powers of Nature. Magism is an article of later development common to them both. What the later Zend books are to Zoroastrianism, the Atharva Veda is to Brahminism. Prayer has become a charmed formulary; thanksgiving, execration and curse, spirit, fire, life, death.

But in searching after the historical connection, we soon lose our way in what appears impenetrable obscurity. Two very different paths present themselves. Proper original Zoroastrianism may be placed after the religious schisms which sprang up in the Indian life of the Aryans. In that case, the religion which Zoroaster found in existence is the old form of the oldest Brahminism on the Sarasvati. Or we may assume that the original Zarathustra founded a new religion *before* the migration into India, as a mere counterpoise to the earliest Bactrian Naturalism; and that the Aryans when they migrated carried with them this primitive Zoroastrian religion, on their conquering expeditions, the last scene of which was the Indus country.

The generally received opinion that the Brahmins who migrated into Media left Persia on account of the change introduced by Zoroaster is, in this case, altogether untenable. Upon such a supposition, Persia would be as great an anachronism as is the idea of the Brahmins migrating. Even Burnouf himself seems to have given this up, by the admission that the Zend, in its forms and grammar, approaches nearer to the language of the Védas than the Sanskrit does.

It has been noticed by Dr. Haug and others, that in the enumeration of the Aryan countries in the first Fargard, as far as the eleventh land of blessing, the direction is from northeast to southwest, these eleven being, 1. Airyanem Vâejô, or Iran pure and simple; 2. Sogdiana, the fire land; 3. Margiana, to the southwest of Sogdiana; 4. Bactria; 5. Nisaya, west of Herat; 6. Herat; 7. Segestan; 8. Cabûl; 9. Kandahar; 10. Arachosia, to the southward of Cabûl; 11. the Valley of the Hilmend, to the west of Arachosia.

Then comes a change of direction. The 12th land, Raghâ, is Rei, in the vicinity of Teheran, immediately South of the mountain range that lies South of the Caspian, called afterwards Rhagiana, and forming part of Media. The 13th, Kakhra, Khorassan, East of Rhagiana. The 14th, Varena, is Ghilan, to the northwest of Rhagiana, in Media; and the 15th is Hapta Hindu, the Indus country, far to the Southeastward. It can hardly be that it was intended to represent the Aryans as emigrating from the neighborhood of Ecbatana, Southwest of the Caspian, at one march, to and across the Indus. Naturally they would have crossed that river

from Cabūl and Kandahar, which, with Arachosia, lie on the west side of it.

I conclude from this that, if the first Fargard records the marches and settlements of the Aryans, it does not represent one stream of emigration as flowing, in the succession in which the countries are named, from one to the other; but that it represents these countries as lying upon the line of march of two distinct masses of Aryans, which separated from each other at some point, perhaps at Bactria or Herat, and turned their courses, one to the Eastward and one to the Westward, until one, the Indo-Aryans, flowed over the Indus, into the land of the Seven Rivers, and the other into Media and Persia, the latter being the Iranian or Zarathustrian branch of the race.

If not sooner, Zarathustrianism commenced in Bactria. It repudiated the Hosts of Heaven as objects of worship, and taught the existence, intelligence and government of Ahura Mazda. The long experience of humanity proves that a new and more philosophical faith, denouncing the gods of the people as not gods at all, cannot long be taught without provoking collision, and must either conquer the ruder and idolatrous faith, or abandon the field to it and emigrate. If Zarathustrianism had co-existed with the ancient faith, and the votaries of both remained one people during the long period between its origin in Bactria, and the immigration into the land of the Seven Rivers (which was simply impossible), how are we to account for the advance into the Fire and Light worship during the same time, the co-existence of the Veda and Gâthâs, and, above all, the total difference, not only of ideas, but of names of deities, between the two faiths? Only a total separation; long continued, can account for the total absence, in each faith, of anything to show its relationship to the other.

Bunsen proceeds to say:

But the question is, whether this compels us to adopt Max Müller's view, that the Zoroastrians left India in Vedic times. Apart from the fact that such an assumption is wholly at issue with the tradition of the migrations of the Aryans, inasmuch as, instead of beginning with India, they ended with it, there is this difficulty which meets us at the outset, that we should be under the necessity of supposing a previous migration of the Aryans to the Indus country, so that the one in question would have been a retrogression.

These are the reasons why Müller's theory has not met with any favour. The fuller explanation of his views has not been published. We will endeavour in the meantime to show what are the arguments which, according to our view of the case, may be adduced in support of it.

Bunsen then speaks of

allusions in some of the Vedic hymns to an antagonistic schismatic religion in the country, to one, indeed, the principle of which was fire-worship, then in force in the Punjâb.

Indra is represented as warring against them. It appears that they worshipped Agni only, of the three gods, Agni, Indra and Varuna. The conflict took place on the Sutlej. Sudas, king of the Tritsu, of the race of the Bhârata, the worshipper of Indra and subduer of the heretics, was obliged to cross the stream to attack the enemy, and Bunsen concludes that "the residence, therefore, of the worshippers of Indra was no longer in the Punjâb, although they had friends and allies there." "Yamuna", it is said, "and the Tritsu remained faithful to Indra"; and among the enemy were the men of Anu and the Druhju, inhabitants of the North and West, who are mentioned with the Turvasu and Yadu, men of the South-east and South.

I do not see the proof that the residence of the worshippers of Indra was no longer in the Punjâb. It is not likely, either that, after a residence of centuries in that country, they abandoned it, in spreading beyond the Sutlej into the land between the Indus and the Ganges, or that they left in their rear, if they did so, hostile occupants powerful enough to wage great battles with them. The men of Anu and Druhju, of Turvasu and Yadu, were, no doubt, aborigines or Turanians, dwelling East of the Sutlej, which the Aryans crossed, to attack them; and these native tribes no doubt worshipped deities of their own and set Indra at naught.

I do not propose to review the arguments for and against Müller's theory, as they are stated by Bunsen. Whether the war of which he speaks did or did not grow out of a religious schism among the Aryans themselves; whether it was carried on on the eastern or western side of the Sutlej; whether the Aryans had at that period emigrated beyond that river; and whether the hymns in question belong or not to the later half of the Vedic period, the theory of Professor Müller seems to me equally untenable. There is no evidence of a return of any portion of the Aryans of the Punjâb, from that region to Bactria, or of any emigration from or to the westward. The antagonism between Zarathustrianism and the religious system of India, proven by the facts that Aindra and the Devas are evil spirits in the Zend-Avesta, does not in the least tend to prove that the religion of Zarathustra had its origin after the Indo-Aryan faith had assumed the settled character which it has in the Veda. If that were so, why should not Agni and Vishnu also appear as evil spirits in the Zend-Avesta? The Dævas do, because they were "the Hosts of Heaven" worshipped long before the Vaidik period, and Zarathustrianism deposed these from their seats as Gods. I do not believe that Aindra and Indra were identical. For Fire (Agni) is in the Zend-Avesta the son of Ahura Mazda; and why should Light have become an evil deity? If they were identical, however, Indra or Aindra was probably worshipped long before the Vaidik period.

Bunsen remarks that the forms of the Zend are decidedly younger than those of the Veda. Opinions seem to differ as to that; but if it were so, some of the Vedic hymns are to be referred to even the time when the whole race dwelt together on the Steppes of Sogdiana.

Bunsen says in reply, that the only certain fixed point in the whole inquiry is,

the fact of the Aryan Indians having come from Bactria; and that India is not the mother country of the Bactrians, but, *vice versa*, Bactria the mother country of the Indians.

He imagines *three* Aryan sects to have existed, during that epoch. First, to the Eastward, the inhabitants of the Sarasvatî District, and the Northern Doab, who were inclined to Brahminism, and the principle of sacerdotal caste. Then, to the Westward, the emigrating Zarathustrians, or old Agni worshippers, who adopted Zarathusrianism in Bactria, under the influence of the inspiring minstrels and dogmas of Zarathustra; and lastly, between the two, in the Punjâb, the adherents of the old Bactrian natural religion, without its semi-polytheistic, semi-speculative, sacerdotal additions, which soon became predominant in India proper.

As to the first supposed sect, we have no evidence at all of the existence in the Punjâb, even in an incipient form, of Brahminism and the principle of sacerdotal caste. Brahminism and the later Hindu religion grew out of the religion of the Vedas, but at a much later day. It commenced as the Mazdayaçnian faith did, by the reaching of the intellect after an Intelligent Principle, superior to, and the Creative Cause of the visible universe, and its potencies. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were of the same order with the Amêsha Çpëntas; but, in imagining the Supreme God, Brahm, the Hindu intellect went far in advance of the Bactrian. And it is certain that in the Veda we find no trace of a conception of any Intelligent Cause of the material universe. Before any of the Vedic gods were, it was, for they are all Nature-Gods.

As to the second sect, there is no evidence that the Indo-Aryans had any more communication with the Iranians or Medo-Aryans, than they had with their elder kinsmen, the Greeks and Latins. There is no evidence that Zarathusrianism ever existed in the Punjâb; and the supposition is even contrary to all reason and probability.

And, as to the third, the Vedic faith existing alone among the Aryan population (for there is really no evidence of any schism there), was probably not the old Bactrian natural religion; for that was, as the law of self-development in religious faith and idea forces us to conclude, not so philosophical and advanced a faith as that of the Vedas. No religious faith is stationary for ages; and the Veda itself contains evidence that

many deities once worshipped had become subordinate, so that only their names remained, while Agni and Indra had assumed supremacy, and even in the Heavenly bodies there were adored, as manifested by these, and energizing them. In obedience to the same law of movement and development, afterwards but not "soon," the semi-polytheistic, semi-speculative, sacerdotal additions became predominant in India, and the Vedic deities were, some deposed and forgotten, and some subordinated or invested with attributes entirely new.

We here see [Bunsen says], at once the difficulty of the whole assumption. Zoroaster's work was called forth by an Indian schism. The exclusive adherents of Agni left the Punjâb, and returned, in order to be converted by him to a new faith. For they knew no more of Ahura Mazda, the only good God, than the pre-Zarathustrian Bactrians could have known.

Clearly, it *is* all assumption. Nothing tends to prove any part of it, and Bunsen well says:

We gain nothing, therefore, by the theory of the retrogression. It only helps to make the explanation of the context more difficult. But if we look at the matter a little more closely, what necessity is there for adopting such a theory?

He clearly shows that there is none. If the Iranian forms are younger than the Indian, that is accounted for by the organic law of secondary formations. The Norwegian forms are new, as compared with those of the Icelanders, who, nevertheless, were certainly Norwegian emigrants of the ninth century of our era. In the mother country, the roots and forms of a language wear off, while its colonies retain the old elements.

We have no reason to think that these Iranian countries previously bore other Iranian names. As little do we learn of the retrograde movement from India to Bactria. The immigration of the Iranian Aryans into the Indus country is, on the contrary, an uncontested fact.

How improbable it is, lastly, that the names of Iranian districts, which we find in the old record of the Vendîdâd, should only have been given to them on the occasion of this imaginary return, as a reminiscence of the country from which they had been expelled! It is an assumption irreconcilable with any sense whatever of the above record of the Aryan journeyings in Central Asia, and it offers no explanation of the origin of Zarathustrianism.

Either Zarathustra founded his religion before the great emigration from Bactria, or about a thousand years afterwards. What is the argument in favour of the former? The language of the oldest portions of the Zend-Avesta, High Bactrian, approaches very near to the Veda language, i. e., the oldest East Iranian, which was preserved in the Punjâb; and between them there is, strictly speaking, only a dialectical difference.

Ahura Mazda must originally have been pronounced Asura Medhah, i. e., living dispenser of wisdom; just as the ancient form of Haroyu (Herat) was Sarayu; of Haragaiti (Arachosia), Sarasvati; of Hindu, Sindu; and lastly, Soma of Haoma.

These statements are not self-evidently true; and I do not see how it is to be known which of the two pronunciations, in each of these instances, was the original one. One would be glad to know *why* Ahura Mazda *must* originally have been Asura Medhah. We know that Zend and the Sanskrit of the Veda have both been formed from one original language; but we do not know what words in either have remained unchanged, any more than we should know, if all knowledge of Latin were lost, and not a line of it remained, and if we only knew that there was once such a language, because the French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian evidently had a common source and stock,—any more, I say, than we should know whether the Spanish or Italian form of a particular word was the original form, or whether that original was different from both. It would be mere guess-work, or argumentation without a fixed basis, and therefore wholly inconclusive.

Bunsen calls the Zend language, Bactrian. Was it, then, the language of the Aryans at the time of their immigration into Bactria? When, then, had the separation taken place between those who spoke it, and those who continued to speak the ancient parent language, the Aryan? And where were those, and what had become of them, who spoke the latter? Or was the Bactrian or Zend formed in Bactria, growing into a distinct tongue by the side of the mother-language; and if so, under what circumstances? It is not conceivable that it could have grown into a distinct language, except by separation of those whose language it became, either by their own emigration, leaving the other portion of their race behind them, or by the emigration of these, leaving those behind whose tongue afterwards became Zend. If the Zend is Bactrian, either it grew up in Bactria after the Indo-Aryan branch had sought new homes to the Southward, leaving the Zarathustrians behind them, or it was the original language, and that of the Indo-Aryans grew up after the separation. It required a long series of generations to form the Zend and Sanskrit from an original language, and these were no doubt formed, as Italian and Spanish were from the Latin, by intermixture with indigenous races, and the formation of a new language; in each case, by the intermingling and coalescing of two or three.

If Zarathustrianism had its origin in the Indus country, the Zend language must have had its origin there also, or as a consequence of separation and emigration Westward, of the Zarathustrians. But if the formation of a language is an exceedingly slow process, so also is the propagation of a new, purer and more philosophical religious faith. We know

what slow progress Mohammedanism made, it being a protest of the reason against idolatry, in favour of Allah, the one God. If, then, all the Aryan people worshipped the Host of Heaven, or *perhaps* the Light and Fire Principles manifested by them, Zarathustra, alone and unaided, ventured to preach faith in an Intelligent Cause, Creator, Ruler and Benefactor, whose Instruments these Powers of Nature were—thus at one blow dethroning all the Natural deities, of course he had to contend against all the priests of the ancient faith, whose sacred functions and their importance ceased at once, if the gods whose ministers and favourites they were, became no longer gods; and all the Rishis, to whom the sacred hymns which they sing were the source of revenue and support. As to the common people, they are always slow to adopt a new, and especially a more enlightened faith. They never even commenced to believe in one God, in Greece, and it would have been idle for Socrates or Plato to promulgate at Athens faith in a one God, like Brahm or Ahura Mazda.

For a long while, therefore, the followers of Zarathustra must have been few. They may have remained in Bactria, when their brethren, adhering to their Nature-worship, crossed the mountains, and were seen and heard of no more by them. That this was the case seems probable, from the fact, proven by the Zend-Avesta, that Bactria, worshipping Ahura Mazda, was a populous and fertile country, composed of seven Kareshvares. It must have required centuries to people it, if only the followers of the new faith remained in it; and for this branch of the great Aryan family to flow westward, conquering as it flowed, to the regions south of the Caspian, into Media and Persia, while the Indo-Aryans just settling in Cabūl, there increased until they overflowed into Kandahar and Arachosia, and at last across the Indus. And during the procession of these ages, the Zend and Sanskrit were formed and the ruder mother language became obsolete, and the Vedic faith grew up with gods whose names were unknown before the separation, while the names of Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha Čpēntas were equally unknown to the composers of the Vedic hymns.

As regards the religion [Bunsen continues], the Agni, or Fire-worship, of which mention is made in the Vedic hymns [the expression is a singular one, since Agni is the great Vedic Deity, to whom a hundred hymns are addressed], it must be considered as a remnant of the original pre-Zarathustrian doctrine, which, therefore, might have been the consequence of a recantation of the faith in Ahura Mazda, and of the ethical principle, with the retention of fire-worship. The supposition that there were two Zoroasters, an original one, and one of more recent date, who was the inventor of Ahura Mazda, is certainly inadmissible. The name of Zoroaster is inseparable from the doctrine of Ormuzd, according to all the traditions; which doctrine is the distinctive mark of Zoroastrianism.

There is no sort of foundation for the notion that the Indo-Aryans were back-sliding or renegade Zarathustrians. There is nothing which requires such a conjecture as an explanation. The worship of the invisible Principle of Fire, and of those of Light and Heat, was a natural sequence of the worship of the stars the half-way station between that worship and the conception of a Creative Intelligence, Self-existent and Infinite. Zarathustrianism for a long time stood still, while the old faith was advancing toward higher conceptions, that were to end in that of Brahm; but at last the old gods, the stars, began to demand to be worshipped again; i. e., either that worship had never been wholly abandoned by the Iranians, and they compelled its revival, or the conquered element demanded worship for their own gods. The result was a swarm of deities, worshipped together with Ahura Mazda, as numerous as those of the Hindu Pantheon.

The immigrating Aryans were not "Zoroastrians who relapsed from the faith, although pure fire-worshippers."

On the former supposition, therefore [Bunsen continues], the immigrating Aryans were Zoroastrians who relapsed from the faith, although pure fire-worshippers. When they left Bactria, the gods were still called *Dêva*, which is in perfect accordance with the historical fact of the pre-Zoroastrian period, that the Helleno-Italian races do not understand the word in any other sense.

The stars and planets were called *Dêva*, and they alone are called so in the *Veda*. No doubt they were called so in Bactria. Agni, Indra, Vishnu, Pushan, Rudra are rarely called so. They are denizens of Dyaus, the sky; and they became evil spirits to the Mazdayaçnians, because Zarathustra abolished the worship of the stars as idolatry. It is possible and even probable that when his reflections led him to the belief in the existence of a spiritual, personal and intelligent Cause, the idea of the fire-principle or substance, of which the luminaries were the revealings and outshinings, and the conceptions of Light and Heat as hypostases of fire (which afterwards became the general and popular faith), were already entertained by men of intellect, and taught, perhaps, by them to a small number of disciples. It was but a step for the mind to take, from these conceptions to that of a creative God, revealed and manifested in a created universe. And therefore Zoroaster, merely elevating the Fire-Spirit or Principle to the height of Deity, without definite idea of the nature of that Deity, and merely transferring to him the attributes of personality, intelligence, justice and beneficence, already imputed to the Fire and Light Principles, made no war on Fire-worship, but called Fire the son of Ahura Mazda.

The genuine Bactrian Zoroaster [Bunsen continues], and probably his predecessors, the old Iranian Fire-priests, applied the name [Dêva] to evil spirits, of whom Indra was also one, and by this application of it, abandoned the usage of the primitive times. Even the Zendic writings show how deeply natural religion had taken root among the Bactrian Aryans. Zoroaster had made the worship of Nature subordinate to faith in Ahura Mazda. He did not extirpate it. Fire-worship, especially, continued to be a sacred symbol. [Of what?] The worship of Mitra, the Sun, was not eradicated altogether from their religious consciousness. *Possibly, indeed*, as Haug supposes, the Armenian Anahit is really the female Mitra-goddess of Herodotus, and her worship perhaps formed a portion of the Bactrian creed.

Well, perhaps it did not. What is one “perhaps” worth more than the other? What has this “perhaps,” and what has the Armenian goddess Anahit, whether Mitra-goddess or not, to do with the question, when Zarathustra established his religious creed?

What is *meant*, when it is said that this god of one people *is* this or the other god of another? That the Egyptian Hermes was the Mercury of the Greeks, and the Greek Hercules the Malkart of the Phœnicians? It never did mean that this and that nation originally worshipped the same god, by the same name, and continue to worship him with a mere change of name. What we want to know is, what the gods of each people *represented* and *were*, to *itself*—what Orb or Potency, Principle or Mental Conception. Every god was *some* thing, to those who worshipped him. The Sun had a different name in every nation, and it could, no doubt, be truly said, that Baal, Sûrya and Osiris, each being originally the Sun, and Mithra, were one and the same Deity under different names. But it is the attributes that make the personal individuality of the god and one’s lip instinctively curls with the same contempt that one feels for the impudent argument of the pettifogger, often, when he hears another babbling of the Tyrian Hercules. As far as we can now judge, the Hebrew Yahouah and the Tsurian Baal were essentially the same deity, under different names. The Hindu Brahm is the God of Christian philosophy. In essence and substance they are the same, for the same intellect produced both. We can conceive of nothing superior to our own Creative Intelligence, as we can conceive of no other senses than those which belong to us, and so we impute to God an intelligence, as we impute to him our senses of seeing and hearing. The God that we create in our own intellectual image we call “Yehouah, Jehovah, Adonai, God;” and the Brahmins call him Brahm.

“Fire-worship” is a deceptive term. The Aryans did not worship the Fire itself, but that invisible Principle and intellectual personality of which Fire was the visible out-shining or manifestation. This Fire-worship continued to be more than a sacred symbol, to the Zarathustrians; if it

can be said that a *worship* is a *symbol* at all. Fire, to the Zarathustrians, was the son of Ahura Mazda. The worship of the Fire Principle, perhaps in secret, by the Priests, had led Zarathustra to the conception of an intelligent Creative Cause. What he understood by this Cause, and by his or its agents, the Amêsha Çpêntas, it is my object in this book to inquire.

I wish to learn, if I can, why Zarathustra did not extirpate the Fire-worship, and why he did not even endeavour to eradicate the worship of Mitra, the Sun, "from the religious consciousness" of his followers. We probably know as much as we ever shall know about the origin and birth of the Zarathustrian faith, and its early fortunes and those of its original adherents. What further we can learn as to its meaning and origin, is to be learned from the Gâthâs, and these I propose to study with care. Whether the Indo-Aryans had relapsed from Zarathustrianism it is useless to inquire, as it is not possible to determine. But it is not true that "all the religions of the world have been spiritual at their commencement." The phrase itself is meaningless, the use of such phrases being a common vice of books of speculation at the present day. Nature-worship has *not* always, or ever, been a relapse from a spiritual or philosophical faith. What is meant by the phrases that *fire-worship continued to be a symbol*, and "the eradication of worship from religious consciousness"?

Zoroaster's attempt to reverse the ancient religious ideas, even to the extent of converting the old Light Gods of the Ether into evil spirits [what is the Ether, where the Light Gods are?] was never thoroughly carried out in Bactria. Some of the names of the gods were retained. May not this practice have been abandoned [what practice?], when the Aryans reached the Indus many centuries after?

The idea of Bunsen seems to have been that in order to establish that Bactria was the birthplace of Zarathustrianism it was not necessary to hold that it was the faith of the whole people. I see no necessity for any such hypothesis. There is certainly no proof of its truth. And if it were true, would not it force us to go further, and suppose the Zend to have been, in Bactria, the language of all the Aryans, and that the Indo-Aryans changed their language when they relapsed from their religion?

If the theory that the religion of Zarathustra is true [Bunsen says], we should be compelled to assign a very high antiquity to Zoroaster. If the immigration of the Iranian Aryans into the country of the Indus took place about 4000, B. C., we must fix the date of their emigration, and consequently pretty nearly that of Zarathustra, at least at 5000. But Aristotle and Eudoxus, best of all the old commentators, agree in placing him very considerably later.

I do not see the propriety of the term "Iranian Aryans," as applied to those who emigrated to the Indus country. The mythical original

home of the race is called in the first Fargard, *Airyānem Vāejô*, as its ruler, Yima, the renowned Dshemshêd of the Persian legend, is called *Strûtô Airyêñê Vaêgahi*, a title borne by Ahura Mazda himself. The whole context, Dr. Haug says, shows that Airyanem is

a substantive, and in fact an abstraction of Airya, Aryans; hence it signifies *Aryanship*, of the Aryan country. But this pure, unmixed Aryan country forms at the same time a contrast to Iran, which has acquired historical celebrity.

For, although Iran, Aîran or Éran is the self-same land Airyana, it has been habitually and specially applied to the land of the Persian Aryans. The Aryans of the Indus country never were Iranian Aryans, in any proper sense of that phrase; for Aistan confines the use of the term "Iranian" to the branch of the Aryans that followed Zoroaster and peopled Media and Persia.

As to the question of antiquity, there is little danger of fixing too remote a date for the time of Zarathustra. The Vedic hymns were composed, or at least the Aswins (or twin Horsemen) became Aryan deities, when the sun was in Gemini at the Vernal Equinox, i. e., at least 5000 years before Christ; and the Zend and Sanskrit were then distinct and fixed languages, and the Indo- and Bactro- or Medo-Aryans had long been separate and distinct peoples, their common origin forgotten by each. When the Hellenic stream flowed off, Dyaus, the sky, and the Devas, or Heavenly bodies, were the gods of the race, and Jupiter, Venus and Mars, the only bodies known as Planets or Wanderers, were adored as Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman. Dyaus became Zeus, Dios and Deus; and Aryaman, the god of the Aryan warrior, became the Greek Arēs, or Mars; and Varuna, Ouranos.

This simple and primitive faith had no doubt changed somewhat, when Zarathustra appeared, and the last separation occurred. Fire was become an object of worship, at least to the more intelligent, and Light under the name of Indra. The Vedic religion could soon develop itself, and many of the star gods be in no long time forgotten; but for the development of the Zend and Sanskrit languages, a long succession of centuries was needed.

It is quite possible that the Indo-Aryans had immigrated into Cabûl and Kandahar, and even across the Indus, before Zarathustrianism began; and that this had its birth and grew to its full stature among those of the race who had remained in Sogdiana or Bâctria, and so that the Zend language was fully matured there, before the Iranians left Bactria, and while the Indo-Aryans were peopling the country west and perhaps that east, of the Indus, perfecting for themselves the Sanskrit tongue. And

Bunsen, after discussing Müller's theory and that of Zoroaster living before the Indo-Aryan emigration, says:

Lastly, the above cited Zendic record of the journeyings of the Aryans would in that case be strictly historical, if, as it would seem, it represents them, at the time of their first movement, as worshippers of Ahura Mazda.

With all this, we cannot conceal the fact, that this establishment of these views is not unattended with difficulties. But what is the objection to the second hypothesis, that Zarathustra was posterior to the emigration to the Indus country? In that case it would be perfectly natural that the Vedas should use Dêva in its original sense, and know nothing whatever of Ahura Mazda or Asura Medhah. The circumstance of the whole tradition being connected with the revelation of Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra is no argument against it, any more than it is against the historical credibility of the traditional accounts of that migration, and its results themselves.

In the absence of further information, therefore, we must adhere to the conclusion which recommends itself as the most natural and simple, and thus the main theory is established: That Bactria is the cradle of the Zarathustrian doctrine; and that Zarathustra belongs to a very early age.

We have tested and established the incontrovertible facts: That in the year 1903 before Alexander, consequently B. C. 2234, a Median dynasty sat on the throne of Babylon, which it retained for more than ten centuries, and that the first of these rulers bore the name of Zoroaster, in the Babylonian annals.

At that time, therefore, the seat of Zarathustrianism was no longer in Bactria, but in Media. It had already, indeed, taken a different shape from that we find in the old Zarathustrian records. Chaldee Magism certainly dates from the Median dynasty at Babylon. For in the Gâthâs of Yaçna, the work of Zarathustra is called *Maga*, and those who promote it, *Magava*. But this 'greatness' or this 'great work' was really not the application of charmed formulæ and incantations, but it is embodied in the great precept: 'The Trinity is Thought, Word and Deed.' What a difference between this and the Magism in vogue at Babylon, B. C. 2234, and which afterwards was mixed up with old Semitic traditions.

Thus, if so early as twenty-three centuries before our era, Zarathustrianism occupied such a very different position, none but those who pay no attention to what has taken place, and who see nothing in the great reality of history but empty phrases and formulæ, will find it an unreasonable assumption that the date of the foundation of the Zarathustrian doctrine reaches back between 4000 and 5000 years. . . .

At all events, we do not want any theory of a migration from India back to Bactria; so far from it, it would lead us into inexplicable difficulties and contradictions. The Aryan epochs, therefore, on the whole, will bear this relation to the chronology of Egypt:

1. The emigration from Sogd to Bactria and beyond it, after they separated from the rest of the Aryan people who shaped their course westward, took place before 5000, B. C., consequently before the time of Menes.
2. The immigration into the Indus country, about 4000, B. C.
3. Zarathustra's reform in Bactria, about the time of Menes (3623, B. C.), or half a century later.

In volume *iv.*, Bunsen makes the following conjectures in regard to dates:

Emigration of the Aryans out of the country of the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, 11000 to 10000, B. C.

Journey of the Aryans from Upa-Meru to Sogd and Bactria, 10000 to 7250, B. C.

The united races of the Aryans, and their gradual separation as Kelts, Armenians, Iranians, Greeks, Slaves, Germans, etc., 7250 to 5000, B. C.

Formation of the Aryan kingdom in Central Asia, as far as Northern Media and to Kabul and Kandahar, 5000 to 4000, B. C.

The Aryans migrate into the Indus country, 4000, B. C.

Zarathustra, the seer and lawgiver of Bactria, 3500 to 3000.

In volume *iii.*, the same writer says:

The Iranian development, after the immigration into India, did not come into contact with the Indian. Lastly, the reform introduced by Zarathustra produced no schism among the Iranian Aryans, still less had it any connexion with the migration which terminated in the Punjab. No reaction, indeed, took place from India upon Bactria.

The Vedic language is stereotyped Bactrian. The Zend is the continuation of this old Bactrian tongue in Bactria and Media, with two phases of which we are acquainted; one of them the language of the Zend books, the other, that of the cuneiform inscriptions from Cyrus and Darius down to Artaxerxes II.

The Sanskrit, lastly, is the weakened prose form of the old Bactrian, the poetical form of which exists in the hymns of the Rig Veda. These hymns were transmitted orally. Literature proper only commences with the Sanskrit, and, indeed, after it had become a learned language. Both Vedic and Sanskrit were, in the first instance, living languages spoken by the people, and Sanskrit only became the sacred language at the beginning of the fourth age, or about the year 1000, B. C.

Sanskrit is the learned language of the Brahmins of the fourth era, but was originally the depository of the popular language of the third, as contrasted with the Veda or old Bactrian language of the Indus country, which ceased to be spoken at the end of the second era. When the hymns of the three old Vedas were collected, the oldest written composition sprang up, and the second phase of it was avowedly a contrast, as the popular Aryan tongue. Midway between the two stand the Iranian-Bactrian or Zend, which might, therefore, be called middle-Bactrian, if the whole development on both sides the Hindu-Kush be considered as one.

The oldest records and traditions of the Bactrian foretime, and of that of the "Five Rivers" or Indus country which grew out of it, are in harmony. We mean by this the record of the wanderings of the Aryans, of the immigration to Bactria from the primitive country, down to the immigration to the country of the Five Rivers to the east of the Indus; then the oldest traditions of the Zend books, of which the hymns only can be referred to Zarathustra himself; and lastly, the historical hymns of the Rig Veda.

If the Zarathustrian religion were Median as early as the 23d century before Christ, and were advancing towards the second stage of language, as compared with the Vedic, Zarathustra the Bactrian cannot be placed later than 3000, B. C. Nor can we venture to place him further back than 4000, if the immigration into India cannot have taken place earlier than this period; and consequently the

exodus to the south of Bactria cannot be placed higher than 5000. For between it and the passage of the Indus, not only must the conquest of the intervening countries have taken place, but twelve vast countries were gradually peopled, and kingdoms founded on the road towards India; besides which, a body of settlers pushed on toward the Caspian, and laid the foundation of what was subsequently the Median kingdom, and through it of the Aryan kingdoms of Persia, which grew out of Media. All of this part of Asia became so thoroughly Aryan, by the expulsion or extermination of the aboriginal Turanian population, that it has remained so to this hour, the nucleus of it, at least, as being the oldest inhabitants.

In volume *iv.*, Bunsen says further (p. 431):

The same earliest reminiscences of the primitive times of their race, which we have met with among the Bactrians, exist indeed among the Indians. Neither the recollection of the great catastrophe in the primeval country, nor that of the historical migrations of their Aryan fathers from their northern home, has been lost.

Bunsen sees in the First Fargard of the Vendîdâd evidence of a tradition of an immense change of climate in the primitive home of the Aryans, caused by some tremendous convulsion of nature. I do not see in it anything of the sort. The two verses on which he relies are these:

3. As the first best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahura Mazda, create Airyana Vaêjô of good capability; whereupon, in opposition to him, Angrô Mainyûs, the Death-Dealing, created a mighty serpent and snow, the work of the Dævas.
4. Ten months of winter and then two months of summer.

This is the translation of Dr. Haug, adopted by Bunsen. Spiegel's, as translated into English by Bleek, is

5. The first and best of regions and places have I created, I who am Ahura Mazda.
6. The Airyana Vaêjâ of the good creation.
7. Then Añra Mainyûs, who is full of death; created an opposition to the same.
8. A great serpent and winter which the Dævas have created.
9. Ten winter months are there, two summer months.

On this Bunsen had said (*iii.* 459):

The fathers of the Aryans originally, therefore, inhabited aboriginal Iran proper, the land of pleasantness, and they only left it in consequence of a convulsion of nature, by which a great alteration in the climate was effected. The expression 'serpent' is obscure. It may possibly mean volcanic eruptions which can only have played a subordinate part in the great convulsion, although they made a permanent impression. . . . When the climate was altered by some vast disturbance of nature, the Aryans emigrated. . . . As regards its present climate, it is precisely what our record describes it as having been when the change produced by the above commotion took place; it has only two months of warm weather.

In every country enumerated, Añra Mainyûs created some evil or nuisance; in one, a cattle pestilence; in another, noxious insects; in another, war and pillage; in another, hail and poverty; in another, unbelief. The second Fargard reckons the years of Yima, in Airyana-Vaêjô, by winters, and portrays the course of winter in the strongest coloring. No doubt the Iranians came from a cold country. I imagine that the meaning simply was that the more elevated and mountainous part of the country was afflicted with intense cold. As to any change of climate, by any convulsion of nature, there is not a word that indicates it.

It seems still more unreasonable to identify this imaginary convulsion with the flood of Noah, a deep overflow of the alluvial plain of Mesopotamia. No change of climate anywhere is hinted at as a consequence of that flood; and any convulsion of nature, great enough to change a tropical into an Arctic climate, would hardly leave people alive to tell the tale to their children.

The North, with the mountains of Meru, is also the sacred primeval land of the Indians. Pamir is merely the country about Meru (*Upa-Meru*). Some geographical tradition about it, indeed, must have existed, in which its limits were defined. The Ottorokourra of Ptolemy are evidently and by general admission the *Uttara-Kuru*, i. e., the northern Kuru. He describes them in his geography as inhabiting a district in the extreme north of Central Asia, of which he gives the latitude and longitude. This he could only have learned from the Indians. Hecataeus also mentions them in his history; and his information must have been derived from the Persians. From the notices contained in the Zarathustrian record, it cannot be matter of surprise that the two statements tally.

The concordance, therefore, between the Indian and the Iranian traditions is complete. The journey to Sogd was not from north to south; but rather from east to west. [Would this have been the course taken, if a great convulsion of nature had changed the climate so greatly, making but two summer months; and if the change had only then taken place, what induced the Kelts, Germans, Slaves and others to leave a temperate climate, and emigrate to the north of Europe?] The paradise of Bactria is direct northeast, as their descendants who came to India were well aware. It cannot be said, therefore, that the Indians acquired their knowledge of this north-eastern primeval country through Alexander.

The first movement of mankind, therefore, came from the mountains of the north. This, however, is not to be confounded with the historical migration of the Aryans to India, which manifestly was from the westward, through Kabul (The Bolor Pass), and by Kandahar (The Khyber Pass); two conquests and settlements, which, as we have seen, preceded the passage of the Indus.

(iv. 557). The cradle of our race was in northern Asia. There it arose at the most favorable period for our northern hemisphere, in that region now for the most part uninhabitable, which extends southward as far as the 40th degree of north latitude, and from the 60th to the 100th degree of longitude. On the north this district was bounded at about the 53d degree by what was then the open North Sea, with the Ural as an island; on the east it was surrounded by the Altai and the Chinese Himalaya, on the south by the chain of the Paropamisus, extend-

ing from Asia Minor to Eastern Asia; and on the west by the Caucasus and Ararat. We have, therefore, primeval country, containing on an average 11 degrees of latitude, and 40 degrees of longitude.

In this garden of delight (Eden), with its four streams, the Euphrates and Tigris on the west, the Oxus and Jaxartes on the east, during thousands of years man had soared above the first stage of consciousness.

From this source, Bunsen imagines, went the Turanian, Khamitic and Semitic races, at periods variously and immensely remote; but of all this there is no other proof than the fancied authority of the collection of legends known as Genesis. Nothing in language, labour as philologists may to prove it, even tends to show the common origin of the Chinese, Egyptian, Phœnician and Aryan languages; of the Negro dialects of Africa, the Turanian languages of Asia, and the multitude of tongues of the American Indians. The Book Barasith itself does not teach the unity of the whole human race; for who were the Sons of God, that intermarried with the daughters of men? And who were those by whom Cain was afraid of being killed, and to prevent whom killing him, a mark was set upon him; when he and his father and mother (for it is not even said that Eve had daughters, though Cain had or found a wife), were all the human beings in all the world? And, finally, how could Cain build a city, without people to inhabit it?

As to the Garden of Eden and the four rivers, the notion of Bunsen is utterly irrational. The river that went out of Eden was *one*, which watered the garden, "and from thence it was parted and became into four heads" or streams, one of which ran round the whole land of Ethiopia, and another was the Euphrates. Besides, Adam was expelled from Eden and the cradle of the human race was not there, but wherever Noah lived after the flood. The Ark landed on the mountains of Ararat, and the vine and olive grew in the land where Noah lived.

One wearies of the jargon of Khamism, Semitism and Turanism. Why are there no Japhetic languages? Khamism is the language of Egypt; Semitism, the family consisting of Phœnician, Canaanitish, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee; and everything else, except the Aryan tongues, is Turanian, so called from a name given the aborigines conquered in Asia by the Aryans.

But in Chapter x. of Genesis, which, in form genealogical, is merely ethnological, Mitzraim (the name of the Egyptians), and Canaan, are both sons of Ham; and Nimrod, who built Babylon, was grandson of Ham; so that, although the Canaanites and Hebrews were of one race and spoke the same language, they are part of Khamism, as the Assyrians are; and yet these are called Semitic. Sidon is son of Canaan, and Asshur, who built Nineveh, a descendant of Kham; and yet Shem was the ancestor of Abram and the Israelites, though these were of one race with the Phœnicians and had the same letters and language.

I am somewhat acquainted with a dozen Indian languages, and have taken pains to collect extensive vocabularies of six or eight. Of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Mûskokî, Yûchî, Nâchîs, Shâwâno, Ouâsâchî, Tâwaihâsh, Âlabâmûs, Aionai, Sûdê or Câdohâdâcho, and Neûm or Comanchê, no two resemble one another, *at all*. It is impossible to pretend that they had a common origin. I could as readily believe that all the grasshoppers or cotton-worms or house-flies in the world came from a single pair, as that all human beings did. And if the Negro, Hottentot or Esquimau race last a million years, no process of natural selection, or any other, will ever develop a single white man from any of them. Besides, I am not fond of believing that the whole human race is the fruit of incest.

I pass by, therefore, Bunsen's notions in regard to Sinism, Khamism, Semism and Turanism, and come to this:

The history of our Iranian languages likewise carries us back to those remote periods. . . . When the Aryans separated, they possessed an orderly system of family life; they tended their flocks, they practised husbandry, and had a language teeming with the germs of mythological representations of nature. The whole grammatical structure, and the terms for designating all parts of this domestic life, are common to Bactrians (Aryans), Indians, Greeks, Latins, Germans, Sclavonics. The last emigration was probably that of the Aryans to the country of the Five Rivers. Their oldest hymns in the Punjâb go back to the year 3000 [5000], B. C. This community of life and language must then at all events be supposed to have existed much earlier than 3000, B. C.

And wherever they went, they found nations and tribes of other indigenous people, numerous and fierce, contesting their advance, and when conquered, fusing and blending with them, and by like fusion of languages forming the origins of the Sanskrit, Persian, Lithuanian, Greek, Latin, German, Sclavonic and Keltic tongues; precisely as French, Spanish and Italian were formed by the blending of many other and different languages with the Latin.

THE ARMENIAN THEORY.

Mr. George Rawlinson, in his "Essay v., on the Religion of the Ancient Persians", (Ed. of *Herodotus*, i. 426), advances a very different theory in regard to Magism and to Zarathustra. I will copy the essay, almost or quite entire.

It has long been felt as a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude to reconcile the account which Herodotus, Dino and others give of the ancient Persian religion, with the primitive traditions of the Persian race, embodied in the first Fargard of the Vendīdād, which are now found to agree remarkably with the authentic historical notices contained in the Achaemenian monuments. In the one case, we have a religion, the special characteristic of which is the worship of all the elements, and of Fire in particular; in the other, one, the essence of which is dualism, the belief in two first Principles, the authors respectively of Good and Evil, Ormazd and Ahriman [Ahura Mazda and Añra Mainyûs]. Attempts have been made from time to time to represent these two conflicting systems as in reality harmonious, and as constituting together the most ancient religion of Persia; but it is impossible, on such a theory to account, on the one hand for the omission by the early Greek writers of all mention of the two great antagonistic Principles of Light and Darkness, and on the other for the absence from the monuments, and from the most ancient portions of the Vendīdād, of any distinct notice of the Fire-worship.

It gives scant promise of correct conclusions when the very basis of a theory is an immense error. The Vendīdād is of much later date than the Gâthâs, these being repeatedly referred to in some of the Fargards; and in the Gâthâs, Asha Vahista (Ardibehest), Genius of Fire, the second Amēsha-Çpēnta (Amshaspand) or hypostasis of Ahura Mazda, with the other Amēsha-Çpēntas, is continually spoken of. In the Gâthâ Ahunavaiti (*Yaçna xxviii.*) this relation of substance and hypostasis is expressly stated in the phrase, "Thou who hast the same will with Asha Vahista." We need only quote these other phrases:

We will also not grieve Ahura Mazda and Asha: Whom thou knowest, O Asha, as the creatures of Vohû Manô: Asha, when shall I behold thee and Vohû Manô with knowledge? Come with Vohû Manô: give, O Asha, as a gift, long life: Let me know through Vohû Manô Mazda, father of Vohû Manô: Mazda Ahura, ruling through Vohû Manô the very friendly with the shining Asha: With these prayers of my soul entreat I you, Mazda and Asha Asha and Vohû Manô who are to be praised before the greatest: So offer we Myazda to thee with prayer, O Ahura, and to Asha: Teach us, Asha, the paths: O Fire, son of Ahura Mazda, we draw near to thee: offering and praise I vow to thee, son of Ahura Mazda, O Fire: The Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise. [And, at the same time,

in Yaçna xxx., the Heavenly Beings, the Twins, are spoken of as creating, one the Good and the other the Evil.]

But Mr. Rawlinson, setting out with this error, continues thus:

It cannot indeed be denied that in later times a mongrel religion did exist, the result of the contact of the two systems, to which the accounts of modern writers would very fairly apply. But the further we go back, the fewer traces do we find of any such intermixture the more manifestly does the religion described, or otherwise indicated, belong unmistakeably to one or the other of the two types. Throughout Herodotus we have not a single trace of dualism; we have not even any mention of Ormazd; the religion depicted is purely and entirely elemental, the worship of the sun and moon, of fire, earth, water, and the winds or air. Conversely, in the inscriptions there is nothing elemental; but the worship of one supreme God, under the name of Ormazd, with an occasional mention of an Evil Principle.

The Evil Principle is not often named or mentioned in the Gâthâs. But, in them, the worship of Ahura Mazda is *incessantly* connected with that of Vohu Manô, Asha Vahista and the other hypostases; and fire and water are also worshipped with much emphasis. The Sun and Moon are worshipped, and are the two eyes of Ahura Mazda; and Fire is worshipped as Asha-Vahista, precisely as it was worshipped as Agni by the Vaidik Aryans.

If then these two systems are in their origin so distinct, it becomes necessary to consider, first of all, which of them in reality constituted the ancient Persian religion, and which was intruded upon it afterwards. Did the Aryan nations bring with them dualism from the east, or was the religion which accompanied them from beyond the Indus, that mere elemental worship which Herodotus and Dino describe, and which, in the later times of Greece and Rome, was especially regarded as Magism?

Thus Mr. Rawlinson considers that the Iranian emigration was from the Punjâb. I agree with Bunsen that there was no ground or foundation for this notion. And as to the two systems, undoubtedly dualism had its origin at a much later period than the fire, star and element worship. But the religion of Zarathustra included both; and to the truth of this, every page of the Gâthâs bears emphatic witness.

In favour of the latter supposition it may be urged that the religion of the Eastern or Indo-Aryans appears from the Vedas to have been entirely free from any dualistic leaven, while it possessed to some extent the character of a worship of the powers of Nature. [It was simply nothing else than that, and having no conception of a creative Cause, could not speak of twin creators or of two Principles.] It may therefore seem to be improbable, that a branch of the Aryan nation, which separated from the main body at a comparatively recent period, should have brought with them into their new settlement, a religion opposed entirely to that of their brethren whom they left behind; and far more likely that they should

have merely modified their religion into the peculiar form of elemental worship which has been ascribed to them. But the elemental worship in question is not merely a modification of the Vedic creed, but a distinct and independent religion. The religion of the Vedas is spiritual and personal; that which Herodotus describes, is material and pantheistic. Again, it is clear that some special reason must have caused a division of the Aryan nations; and the conjecture is plausible, that it was in fact the dualistic heresy which separated the Zend or Persian branch of the Aryans, from their Vedic brethren, and compelled them to migrate to the westward.

Not the "dualistic heresy," but the advance by the teaching of Zarathustra, ages before the Vedic period, and not in the Punjâb, but in Bactria, from the worship of the Host of Heaven and the Powers and Elements of Nature, to the conception and worship of a beneficent Intelligence, *Sole Creative Cause* of the material universe, coupled with the idea and abhorrence of a Twin Evil Intelligence, not creator of anything material, but only of Evil and of the spirits, influences and potencies of Evil—the very doctrines so long the orthodoxy of the Christian world—God the Father being but Ahura Mazda, and the Devil Aîra Mainyûs.

Certainly, if we throw ourselves upon the ancient monuments of the Aryan people, we must believe that dualism was not a religion which they adopted after their migration was accomplished, but the faith which they brought with them from beyond the Indus. In that most ancient account of the Aryan exodus, which is contained in the first chapter of the Vendîdâd, the whole series of Aryan triumphs and reverses is depicted as the effect of the struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman. Elemental worship nowhere appears, and there is not even any trace of that reverential regard of the sun and moon, which was undoubtedly a part, though a subordinate one, of the ancient religion. Similarly, in the Achæmenian monuments, while the name of Ormazd is continually invoked, and Ahriman appears as "the god of Lies," in at least one passage, the elements receive no respect. Even Mithras is unmentioned until the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon, when his name occurs in a single inscription, in conjunction with Tanat or Anaitis. Nothing is more plain than that the faith of the early Achæmenian kings was mere dualism, without the slightest admixture of Fire-worship or elemental religion.

[The first Fargard seems originally not to have belonged to the Vendîdâd itself, though it was early prefixed to it as a historical introduction. *Spiegel.*]

It is not doctrinal or religious; but recites the creation by Ahura Mazda of various countries, and by Aîra Mainyûs of "opposition" in each—cold, disease, flies, unbelief, particular vices, sloth, poverty, wild beasts, and the like. *No* worship appears in it. In the third Fargard, lying to Mithra is reprobated as a sin. In the fifth, Fire is the son of Ahura Mazda, as in the Gâthâs. In the eighth, Fire is again the son of Ahura Mazda, and verse 54 reads, "Besides thee, the Fire and Vohû Manô, if I walk after thy works, O Holy One, O Ahura." In Fargard *xii.*, the direction, "Praise the Fire" is many times repeated, as one of the means

of obtaining purification. And in the nineteenth, the Amēsha Čpēntas are "creators, good rulers, and wise;" Mithra, "the creator of the pure creation," is praised; the Holy Word, Heaven, the Air, the Wind, "the Lights without a beginning, the self-created," the star Tistar and Verethraghna and Haetumāt. These Fargards treat almost exclusively of crimes and vices, punishments and purifications, and deal almost not at all with the doctrines or deities of the Iranian faith. For all that, they refer to the Gāthās, in which the elements are adored, and the Powers of Nature appear as hypostases of Ahura Mazda.

The symbols of the wise always become the idols of the vulgar. Fire was, to Zarathustra, the manifestation in action, and visible, of the Fire-Principle or Essence, which itself was a hypostasis of Ahura Mazda, Asha Vahista, one of the Amēsha-Čpēntas, who were the equivalents of the Hebraic Alohim, and more than the archangels of the seven planets. A philosophical conception like this is as far beyond the reach of the vulgar intellect, as that of the Logos of Plato and Philo, and that of the Sephiroth of the Kabalah; and, of course, the Iranian and Indo-Aryan common people worshipped the visible Fire and Light, and the orbs from which light flowed, and not the Asha Vahista, Agni and Indra of the intellect. But it certainly is not true that the Iranian, Zarathustrian or early Achaemenian religion was "mere dualism, without the slightest admixture of fire-worship or elemental religion."

Neither do I read Herodotus as depicting a religion "purely and entirely elemental." He says (*i.* 131), that the Persians have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and adds, "This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine." That is certainly saying that they considered them spiritual beings; without human passions. They sacrifice to Jupiter, he says,

which is the name they give to the whole circuit of the firmament; to the Sun and Moon, to the Earth, to Fire, Water, and the Winds. This is the Vedic adoration of Surya and Savitri, Agni and the Maruts; and Herodotus seems simply to have misunderstood the adoration paid the Amēsha-Čpēntas, of whom Vohū Manō was Protector of all living creatures; Asha Vahista, the Genius of Fire; Kshathra-Vairyā, Lord of metals; Čpēnta-Armaiti, Goddess of the Earth; Haurvat, Lord of waters; and Ameretat, of trees; while Mithra was the Sun; *all, according to the accepted interpretation.*

If, then, it be asked [Rawlinson continues], how Herodotus came to describe the Persian religious system as he did, and whence that elemental worship originated, which undoubtedly formed a part of the later Persian religion, it must be answered that that worship is Magism, and that it was from a remote antiquity the religion of the Scythic tribes, who were thickly spread, in early times, over the whole extent of Western Asia. That the Magian religion was distinct from that of the early Persians, is clear from the Behistun inscription.

There we find that a complete religious revolution was accomplished by the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis; and that Darius, on his accession, had to rebuild temples which had been demolished, and re-establish a worship that had been put down. That the religion which Herodotus intended to describe was Magism, is manifest from his own account. It remains to show on what grounds that religion is ascribed to the Scyths.

Now, in the first place, if we are right in assuming that there were in Western Asia, from the earliest times, three, and three only, great races—the Semitic, the Indo-European, and the Scyths, or Turanian—it will follow that the religion in question was that of the Scyths, since it certainly did not belong to either of the two other families. The religion of the Semites is well known to us. It was first the pure theism of Melchizedek and Abraham, whence it degenerated into the gross idolatry of the Phoenicians and Assyro-Babylonians. That of the Indo-European, or Japhetic tribes, is also sufficiently ascertained. It was everywhere the worship of personal Gods, under distinct names; it allowed of temples, represented the gods under sculptured figures or emblems, and in all respects differed widely in its character from the element worship of the Magians.

If this includes the Vedic worship, nothing could be wider of the truth; for we have no hint in the Veda of the existence of temples, or of images of the gods; and natural objects were worshipped by the Indo-Aryans—not only the sun, moon, planets and stars, the dawn and winds, the Soma juice, food and fuel, but even lakes and rivers.

Magism, therefore, which crept into the religion of the Persians some time after their great emigration to the West, cannot have been introduced among them either by Japhetic races, with whom they did not even come into contact, or by the Semitic people of the great plain at the foot of Zagros, whose worship was an idolatry of the grossest and most palpable character. Further, it may be noticed that Zoroaster, whose name is closely associated with primitive Magism, represented by various writers as an early Bactrian or Scythic king [quoting Cephalius in Eusebius, Berossus, Justin and Arnobius, neither of whom could have had any information in regard to the matter, to make his statement of the least value]; while a multitude of ancient traditions identify him with the patriarch Ham, the great progenitor of the Turanians or Allophyllians. [These 'ancient traditions' are simply absurd notions, born of the frenzy that once, appealing to the nonsense of men, displayed its antics in identifying the gods of the heathen with the patriarchs of the legends of Genesis.] Scythic tribes, too, seem clearly to have intermixed in great numbers with the Aryans on their arrival in Western Asia, and to have formed a large, if not the preponderating element in the population of the Achæmenian Empire. Corruption, therefore, would naturally spread from this quarter, and it would have been strange indeed if the Persians—flexible and impressionable people as they are known to have been—had not had their religion affected by that of a race with whom their connection was so intimate.

To designate all the various indigenous tribes of Asia as "The Turanian *Race*" is but to resort to a meaningless word and idle phrase, to hide utter want of knowledge. There is not the least evidence that these indigenous tribes were of one race, were all Scyths, or were descended from

Ham, who, as ancestor of Mitzraim has given his name to the Egyptians, while the fact is conveniently ignored that he was also father of Canaan, and that these were of one blood and tongue with the Hebrews and Phœnicians, though these are styled Semites. If the term "Turanian" means anything at all, it includes all the people of the earth, who are not of the Indo-European, Semitic or Egyptian stock. It must include Mandingoës and Ashantees, Papuans and Patagonians, Esquimaux and Sioux, Australasian savages and Hottentots, Malays and Japanese, and all the other thousand tribes, of every gradation in the scale of humanity, and in every part of the globe. Neither is it any more accurate to apply the name of "Scythians" to the indigenous peoples of Asia generally. Many of these in India still continue to exist, and so, no doubt, do many of those in Persia, and certainly those of India were never Scythians. Scythia, in ancient geography, was the northern part of Asia, on both sides of the Smaus range of mountains, north of India and Sogdiana, and east of Sarmatia; and the name was applied indifferently to any of the races of that region. If the original home of the Aryans was north of Sogdiana, they could with as much propriety as any other people, be said to have been Scyths; and it could very well be said that Zarathustra was a Bactrian or a Scyth. The true Scythians were probably Tâtars, and it is probable that that is what the Aryans originally were, and we the remote relatives of the Turks. Nothing is known of the origins of the Lydians and Lycians, and as little of those of the multitude of tribes that peopled the various countries into which the streams of Aryan emigration flowed. They were probably as numerous and as distinct from each other, as the tribes of the North and South American Indians are.

During the long succession of ages occupied in the extension of the Iranians from Bactria to Persia, and the long pauses necessarily made, while their power was consolidated and their numbers increased so as to demand further emigration, they no doubt incorporated with themselves the conquered people of each country; and their language was modified and changed by the intermixture of foreign words from various sources, as well as grammatically. There may have been large numbers of natives called Scyths, by those who knew not nor cared to know their *real* names, in Media. It is certain that the Persians, formed precisely as the Hindus were, were, like them, a heterogeneous and composite people, and it is very certain that the native influence caused innovation in the ancient religion, because the Khurdah Avesta represents the stars as demanding to be worshipped, and asserting their right to be sacrificed unto; but all this was many centuries after the time of Zarathustra.

Perhaps, indeed, less was due to foreign influences than to the laws that control all religions. No one ever stands still. Metempsychosis is

inevitable. The debasement of Zarathustrianism into Magism was as natural as the ascent of Vedaism into the original spiritualism of the Brahmanic doctrine, and as the descent from that into the absurdities of the later Hinduism, with its hundred gods and thousand fables. The revival of the worship of the stars was an inevitable sequence of Mazdaism. The philosopher and priest, understanding his own conceptions, and worshipping them and not their visible symbols, always has to surrender the latter to the people, to be worshipped, as playthings are abandoned to children. Zarathustra had to compromise with the star-worshippers and adorers of the Fire, and permit their worship to continue, with only a thin disguise. To the vulgar, no doubt, Asha-Vahista was never anything more than the visible fire of the sacrifice. In the same way, ceremonial ceases to be merely symbolic, and is deemed to possess the efficacy of salvation, and men hate and kill each other because they differ as to the precise mode in which it should be performed.

The phrases and sayings of the Sages, taken literally, produce like results, until it becomes an article of faith, essential to escape damnation, to believe an absurdity and swear to an impossibility. Hence half the religious belief in the world, and half the heresies; which have generally been protests and revolts against preposterous absurdities. "This is my body," and "This is my blood," was said by Jesus, as He sat there in the body, and could not be at once himself as body and himself as bread; nor his blood at one and the same time be in his body and in the wine, and from this Orientalism, which none but an idiot would now misunderstand, came the doctrine of the real presence, and the murder of a quarter of a million unregenerate persons who *could* not believe that they swallowed the real body of Christ in swallowing a bit of bread, or drank his real blood in the shape of wine.

If this can be required of human belief, why may not the Faithful believe that his idol of wood, his bull, cat, ape or onion is really and actually his God, his Creator, or his Saviour?

A like adherence to the figurative language of the Vedas was the fruitful source not only of the most extravagant fables and the most degrading idolatry among the Hindus; but all the abominations of the Linga-worship probably came from one or two phrases used figuratively in a hymn to Vishnu. We all know what the symbol originally meant, and the consequences that resulted from the literal acceptance of it by the people.

Mr. Rawlinson further says:

It would seem that the Aryans, when they came in contact with the Scyths in the West, were a simple and unlettered people. They possessed no hierarchy, no sacred books, no learning, no science, no occult lore, no fixed ceremonial of

religion. Besides their belief in Ormazd and Ahriman, which was the pith and marrow of their religion, they worshipped the sun and moon, under the names of Mithra and Homa, and acknowledged the existence of a number of lesser deities, good and evil genii, the creatures respectively of the great Powers of Light and Darkness. Their worship consisted chiefly in religious chaunts, analogous to the Vedic Hymns of their Indian brethren, wherewith they hoped to gain the favour and protection of Ormazd and the good spirits under his governance. In this condition they fell under the influence of Magism, an ancient and venerable system, possessing all the religious adjuncts in which they were deficient, and claiming a mysterious and miraculous power, which, to the credulity of a simple people, is always attractive and imposing. The first to be exposed and to yield to this influence were the Medes, who had settled in Azerbaijan, the country where the fire-worship seems to have originated, and which was always regarded in early times as the chief seat of the Zoroastrian religion. The Medes not only adopted the religion of their subjects, but to a great extent blended with them, admitting whole Scythic tribes into their nation. Magism entirely superseded among the Medes the former Aryan faith, and it was only in the Persian branch of the nation that Dualism maintained itself. In the struggle that shortly arose between the two great Aryan powers, the success of Persia under Cyrus made Dualism again triumphant. The religion of Ormazd and Ahriman became the national and dominant faith, but Magism and all beliefs were tolerated. After a single unsuccessful effort to recover the supremacy, resulting in a fierce persecution, and the establishment of the annual *Μαγοφονία*, Magism submitted, but proceeded almost immediately to corrupt the faith with which it could not openly contend. A mongrel religion grew up, wherein the Magian and Aryan creeds were blended together, the latter predominating at the Court, and the former in the Provinces. It is the provincial form of the Persian religion, which Herodotus describes, the real Aryan or Achæmenian creed being to all appearances unknown to him.

Colonel Rawlinson, quoted in a note by Mr. Rawlinson, says:

To discriminate the respective elements of this new faith is difficult, but not impossible. The worship of Mithra and Homa, or of the Sun and Moon, had been cherished by the Aryan colonists since their departure from Kurukhshetra; their religious chaunts corresponded with the Vedic Hymns of their brethren beyond the Sutlej. The antagonism of Oromazdes and Arimanes, or of Light and Darkness, was their own peculiar and independent institution. On the other hand, the origin of all things from Zerwan was essentially a Magian doctrine; the veneration paid to fire and water came from the same source; and the *barsam* [*bareçma*], of the Zend-Avesta is the Magian divining-rod. The most important Magian modification, however, was the personification of the old heresiology of the Scythic race, and its immediate association with Oromazdes. Under the disguise of Zarathustra, which was the nearest practicable Aryan form, Zira-Ishtar (or the seed of Venus) became a Prophet and Lawgiver, receiving inspiration from Ahura Mazda, and reforming the national religion. The pretended synchronism of this Zarathustra with Vishtaspa, clearly marks the epoch from which it was designed that reformed Magism should date, an epoch selected doubtless out of deference to the later Achæmenian kings, who derived their royalty from Darius.

Upon what historical authority all these confident assertions are based, and the real existence of Zarathustra denied, we do not learn; and

I decline to accept mere guesses as history, though put in the form of statements of fact. In the statements made by Mr. George Rawlinson there is some truth, and, I think, more error. In those of Col. Rawlinson I find no truth at all.

It was these statements that led me carefully to examine the older portions of the Zend-Avesta, i. e., the Gâthâs and Vendîdâd, and to obtain, if I could, some clear idea of the real conceptions and doctrine taught by Zarathustra. If Colonel Rawlinson were to assert that Moses and Mahomed never existed, and were mere disguises, their names being this and that, and meaning this thing and the other, I should wish to be furnished with references to the authorities, or at least with the reasons for such conclusions.

The eleventh essay of Rawlinson (*Herod.* 1. 643), contains an interesting discussion of the ethnic affinities of the nations of Western Asia. In that

the cradle of the human race; the several ethnic branches of the human family were more closely intermingled [he says], and more evenly balanced than in any other portion of the ancient world. Semitic, Indo-European, and Tâtar or Turanian races, not only divided among them this portion of the earth's surface, but lay confused and interspersed upon it, in a most remarkable entanglement. It is symptomatic of this curious intermixture that the Persian monarchs, when they wished to publish a communication to their Asiatic subjects in such a way that it should be generally intelligible, had to put it out, not only in three languages, but in three languages belonging to the three principal divisions of human speech.

Western Asia was, no doubt, the cradle of the Aryan race; but the human race had many more cradles than one. It is now settled beyond any peradventure that the human race has existed on the earth a hundred, perhaps ten thousand, times as long as the ordinary chronology makes it to have been since the creation. Originally, it is clearly established now, man everywhere was a savage. We know nothing about the process of creation. Every few years some new insect makes its appearance, in myriads at once, when the occasion for its existence arrives. The potato had been cultivated in America for two centuries before, a year or two ago, the potato-bug appeared. The insect was apparently created for the food that awaited it. The cotton, grown for many years, at length provoked the creation of the cotton-worm, an insect before unknown in the world. If you run a road across an Arkansas prairie, and let it be traveled until it is well worn, and the grass upon it killed out, and then disuse it for a year or two, a kind of grass springs up all over it that is seen nowhere else on the prairie. In Northern Europe, three kinds of trees have succeeded each other, at long intervals, the earlier kind wholly disappearing,—the fir, the oak and the beech. In whatever mode the Deity

creates, He does not commence with a single pair of anything. Darwin has only proven by his experiments, that species may be varied. All his facts get him no further than that. Paleontology shows us that many races of animals, fish and reptiles have disappeared all at once, and new races and genera have as often been produced all at once. The same animal has undoubtedly been always produced in large numbers at different places, and of different species. Different varieties of the dog may be produced by "natural selection," but natural selection has never turned wolves into dogs, nor, I believe, made the mastiff, hilldog, greyhound and terrier and the little spaniel be produced of the descendants of a single pair of dogs.

In every quarter of the globe, as soon as it was fitted for human habitation, the great Bounteous Mother-Nature, the Deity in action and expression, produced man, as it produced other varieties of living creatures. It would be ridiculous to pretend that the legend of the first man Adam, and Eve made of his rib, was any more historical than the legends of Kronos and Deucalion.

We have ample evidence now of the existence of men, everywhere, long anterior to the Turanian age. We can go back, now, upon sure grounds, from the age of iron to that of bronze, and from that of bronze to that of stone; as we find in the bogs of Denmark evidence of the succession, at different periods and during lengths of time for which we have no measure, of the oak, the beech and the fir, and of the co-existence with the oldest, of the men of the age of stone. We find in Asia, Europe and America, the huge works of races of men that had existed and disappeared long before what we call the aboriginal races of India and the Scyths of northern Asia. Palenque and the mounds of the Ohio and Mississippi and Red Rivers tell us of races that inhabited America before the existing Indian race was created. As well undertake to learn the origins and successions of the generations of ants, as of the generation of men. There are no genuine traditions of the beginnings of the ancient races. Traditions are true, are history, only not written. These are but legends and myths.

What are now styled the Turanians, were not one, but many families, utterly distinct races, that did not come from one source, and whose languages had no relationship at all. That there was ever any community of blood or language between the Chinese, the Scyths, the hundred tribes of India, Persia, Parthia and Bactria is a mere assumption, the consequence of a fixed theory of the descent of the whole human race from the sons of Nakh or Noah.

What is certain is that the Aryan race originated in Trans-Himalayan Asia, as the Egyptian race did, probably, in the upper Nile country; and what is called the Semitic, in the Mesopotamian plain. Of the three the

Egyptians were probably the first created, for theirs was much the oldest civilization, and its development from barbarism and the animal life of the unarmed, unclothed savage must have required an immense length of time. It is certain that wherever the emigrating masses of the Aryans went, in Europe first, and afterwards in Asia, they found other and older races of men, many of whom they no doubt exterminated, and others they conquered, and incorporated them with themselves. The human remains lately found in old formations, in so many places far apart, and the weapons and implements of stone, buried under the trees of the oldest ages, prove the existence everywhere of these people of far older birth; and so, still more conclusively, if possible, do the languages of the various branches of the Aryan race: for the most ancient of them, the Greek, Latin, old Gothic, Keltic, Sclavonic, Indian and Persian, are all composite tongues, Aryan only in part; and as to the residue, or foreign portion, every one differing utterly from each other one.

Nevertheless, what Rawlinson says is worth listening to, though he may sometimes err in his conjectures. Error is, after all, only the shadow of the truth.

In attempting to reduce into some order the chaos of races in western Asia, and to refer the several nations existing there at the time of Herodotus to their true ethnic type, he follows what appears to him, on a view of the entire phenomena, to have been the chronological series in which the several families spread themselves over the region in question.

He commences by saying (p. 644):

If, then, we go back to the earliest times to which either the light of history, sacred and profane, or the less certain but still valuable clue of ethnological research enables us to reach, we seem to find spread over the whole of the tract of which we are speaking, a Scythian or Turanian population. It is, indeed, perhaps too much to presume a real affinity of race between all the natives whose form of speech was of this character. For the Turanian type of language is not, like the Semitic and the Indo-European or Aryan, a distinct and well-defined family. The title of 'Allophyllian,' 'alien, foreign,' *alienigena, ex aliâ gente*, by which the greatest of English ethnologists (Prichard), designated this linguistic division, was not without a peculiar appropriateness, marking as it did, the fact that there is no such affinity between the various branches of this so-called ethnic family, as that which holds together the different varieties of Semitic and Aryan speech.

The word is appropriate enough, because it means just what the Jews meant by the word "Gentiles," i. e., all mankind except the Jews. The Turanian languages are not a family at all. They are a mob. The supposed necessity of regarding the book of Genesis as historical and inspired and all mankind as descended from the sons of Noah, is continually in the way of ascertainment of the truth. "Sacred history" is not "more certain

than ethnological research." It is not certain at all. It is mythic and legendary. We do not know who wrote or compiled the book of Genesis, or when it was composed or compiled. It does not claim to have been written by Moses. It does not pretend to be inspired. It contains two different legends of the making or generation of the universe; and neither is true unless geology is a false witness.

Turanian speech is rather a stage than a form of language. It seems to be the earliest mould into which human discourse naturally, and, as it were, spontaneously throws itself; being simpler, ruder, coarser, and far less elaborate than the later developments of Semitism and Aryanism. It does not, like these tongues, possess throughout its manifold ramifications, a large common vocabulary, or even a community of inflections. Common words are exceedingly rare; and inflections, though formed on the same plan, are in their elements entirely unlike. It is only in general character and genius that the Turanian tongues can be said to resemble one another; and the connection between them, though it may be accounted for by real consanguinity or descent from a common stock, does not necessitate any such supposition, but may be sufficiently explained without it. The principle of agglutination, as it is called, which is their most marked characteristic, seems almost a necessary feature of any language in a constant state of flux and change, absolutely devoid of a literature, and maintaining itself in existence by means of the scanty conversations of nomades. A natural instinct, working uniformly among races widely diverse, might produce the effect which we see; and at any rate we are not justified in assuming the same original ethnic unity among the various nations whose language is of the Turanian type, which presses upon the mind as an absolute necessity when it examines the phenomena presented by the dialects of the Semitic or of the Aryan stock.

I pass over his speculation in regard to the origin and development of the Hamitic and Semitic languages; after which he says:

The origin of the Indo-Aryan tongue is involved in complete obscurity. Whether it was from the first a form of language distinct from the Turanian, or whether, like Semitism, it was a development, we have no linguistic records left us to determine. It is perhaps most philosophical to suppose that one law produced both the Semitic and Indo-European types, and as the former can, it is thought, be proved to have developed from the primitive cast of speech, to assume the same of the latter The place where the development arose was most probably Armenia, whence the several lines of Indo-European migration appear to have issued. Westward from that high mountain region, one line may be supposed to have passed into Asia Minor, and thence flowed on into Greece, Italy and Sicily; northward, another to have penetrated the Caucasus, and entering the region of the Steppes, to have spread widely over them, proceeding thence round the Black Sea into Central and Western Europe; while eastward a third line passing to the south of the Caspian, found its way across the mountains of Afghanistan, and settled upon the Indus.

Armenia is the mountainous country that lay north of Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media, south of Colchis, Iberia and Albania, east of Asia Minor, and which came to a point upon the Caspian (which lay to the east-

ward of it), at the mouth of the Araxes or Phasus. In it were the sources of the Euphrates, which constituted its southwestern boundary; of the Tigris, which formed in part its southern boundary, and of the Araxes, which formed its southeastern boundary, and into which, near its mouth, ran the Cyrus, which rising in the northern part of it and in Iberia, formed its northeastern boundary. In it, south of the Araxes, and near Lat. 40° is Mt. Ararat or Abus, and Rawlinson has evidently selected this as the place of origin of the Aryan race, because of this, and of the supposed correspondence of these rivers with those that ran out of and around Eden. There is absolutely nothing else in favour of this absurd hypothesis. The Semitic races probably originated there, and flowed south into Mesopotamia, Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia and elsewhere, and vague traditions of this origin have given birth to the legends which were afterwards incorporated into the book Barasith, of unknown authorship; but the evidence is conclusive that the Aryan race had its origin north of the Himalayas, about the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. Airyana Vaējō and Eden are alike mythical. Where in Armenia is the river Gihon, "that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia"?

Of the original period of Turanian preponderance—the period designated by the term *Σκυθισμὸς* in early Christian writers—when Turanian or Scythic races were everywhere predominant, and neither Aryan nor Semitic civilization had as yet developed itself, it is not, of course, to be expected that we should possess, either in Herodotus or elsewhere, much authentic history. The Second, or Median dynasty of Berosus, in Babylon, and the Scythic domination of Justin, seem, however, to be distinct historical notices of the time in question. The most striking trace of the former condition of things, which remained in the days of Herodotus, was the existence everywhere in Western Asia, of a large Scythic or Turanian element in the population. The historian is, indeed, not himself conscious of the fact. But the notices which his work contains of Scyths and Scythic influence in Western Asia, are indicative of the real condition of things, which the recently discovered cuneiform records place altogether beyond a doubt. Besides the Scythic inscriptions of Armenia, Susa and Elymaïs, it is found that the Achæmenian monuments, wherever set up, contain in one column a Scythic dialect, which would certainly not have been added, unless a considerable section of the population had understood no other tongue. These Scythic writings appear not only in Mediā, as at Elwand and Behistun, but in Persia proper,—at Nakhsh-i-Rustam and Pasargadæ. They can only be accounted for by the supposition that, before the great immigration of the Aryan races from the East, Scythic or Tātar tribes occupied the countries seized by them. This population was for the most part absorbed in the conquering element. In places, however, it maintained itself in some distinctness, and retained a quasi-nationality, standing to the conquerors as the Welsh and the ancient Cornish to the Anglo-Saxons of our own country. The Sacæ of Herodotus and Saka of the inscriptions, distinguished into Saka Humawarga and Saka Tigrakhuda, are remnants of this description; and taken in conjunction with the Armenians (?), Susianians, Chaldaeans and southern Arabs, mark the original

continuity of the Turanian occupation of these countries, just as rocks of the same formation, rising separate and isolating them from the surface of the ocean, indicate the existence anciently of a tract uniting them, which the waves have overpowered and swept away.

If we inquire more particularly which of the Western Asiatic nations in the time of Herodotus were either wholly or largely Turanian, we may find probable grounds for including under the former head, besides the Sacæ, the Parthians, the Asiatic Æthiopians, the Colchians, the Sapeiri, the Tibareni and the Moschi; under the latter, the Armenians, the Cappadocians, the Susianians, and the Chal-dæans of Babylon.

India still has in particular localities many and large remnants of the ante-Aryan populations, speaking languages wholly different from the Hindu. Tamil is spoken by ten millions, Telinga by fourteen, Canarese by five, Malayalam by two and a half millions of people. The nearest congeners of these languages are the Tibetan and Burmese. None of the native tribes of India were Scythic. The Parthians, it is concluded by Latham, were of the Turk stock, that is, what the classical writers would have called Asiatic Scythians, and Justin says that their speech was "midway between the Scythic and Mede, and consisted of a mixture of the two."

In the time of Deioches, the Assyrians had held the Medes in subjection, and these had not only been successful in throwing off the yoke from themselves, but had reduced the Persians. The Scythians and Cimmerians were overrunning Persia and Media, the former being Europeans, as, in one sense, the Scythians mentioned by Herodotus were. They were the Skoloti of the southern parts of Russia, rather than the Sakæ of independent Turkestan. They entered Media by way of Caucasus, while the Parthians, equally Turk, entered Persia from the parts between the Caspian and the Paropamisus.

The Scythic character of the Parthian kingdom of the Arsacidæ, is generally admitted, and was evidenced as well by their manners and customs, as by the character of their language. Justin says that they were called Parthians from a Scythic band that meant exiles; and he represents them as, like the Tâtars, always on horseback. But it is curious that his reference, in regard to their name, is to the Sanskrit word *pardes*, of *another country*, or, at any rate, to some word containing the root *par*, another. Now, as their language was a mixture of Scythic and Median, they were probably composed of the Aryans who, issuing from the Oxus country, had conquered Parthia long before, and of the native tribes of the country, whom these had subjugated and incorporated with themselves, the result being a composite language; and I do not doubt that the larger portion of those who, in the time of Herodotus, were called Scythians, were Aryan in the same way as the Kelts, Germans and Sclaves were.

No doubt, also, other emigrations from the north, of Turks, Scythians and Cimmerians, followed the Aryans after a long interval, and overflowed and for the time conquered the Aryan countries, ultimately becoming incorporated with the people whom they overcame.

Rawlinson thinks that before an influx of the Aryans, an Ethiopian race peopled the whole peninsula of India, or at least inhabited all the country on the shores of the Southern Ocean, from Abyssinia to India; and extended from the Indus along the sea-coast, through the modern Beluchistan and Kerman. Unquestionably all southern India and Persia were inhabited, before the Aryan emigrations, by an indigenous people, *similar* to the Ethiopians, and having the common characteristics of all the races created in the torrid countries of the globe; but there is not the least evidence that there was any connection of race and blood between them and the Ethiopians. Abundant remnants of the ancient dark-skinned tribes still exist, speaking their ancient languages.

The Iberians, whose modern representatives the Georgians are, are asserted to have been Scyths, or Turanians. That is merely to say that they lived in the North of Asia and were not Aryan. *Turanian* and *Scyth* are both merely negative words, like *Gentile*. Dr. Prichard says that the Georgian language "is unconnected or but distantly connected with any other idiom", and that the people are "a particular race." Professor Müller says that the Georgian and other Caucasian dialects form "one of the outstanding and degenerated colonies of the Turanian family of speech." The same might be said, and with just as little meaning, of the Etruscan and Basque languages, or of the Muskoki or Shawano; for there is not the least evidence of the common origin of the miscalled Turanian languages; and they are not in any sense a family.

The early inhabitants of Armenia were probably Tâtars. The Aryans conquered them, and the two became one people, with a language that now possesses more points of connection with the Iranian tongue than with any other; while a Tâtar element is traceable in it.

Rawlinson thinks that the original inhabitants of Cappadocia were of the Tchud or Finnish family, and that they were conquered, about the 7th century before our era, by an Aryan race, and amalgamated with them.

The Tâtar race occupied Susiana, below Media and at the head of the Persian Gulf, before the Aryan conquest of Persia, as is unmistakably evidenced

by the inscriptions, existing not only at Susa, but also along the northern shore of the Gulf, which are in a language resembling that of the second column of the tri-lingual inscriptions, distinctly proved by Mr. Norris to be Turanian. The Muskai or Moschi, who held possession of the high platform of Asia Minor, or at

least of Cappadocia (which lay southwest of Colchis, and west of Armenia, and adjoining each), during the whole period of the Assyrian Empire, can be historically traced in the inscriptions from the commencement of the 12th to the middle of the 7th century before Christ. Rawlinson, as I have said, thinks they were Finns, and that they ascended the mountain chain of Syria, when pressed upon by the Semites. The names of their kings, of whom we have a tolerably extensive series in the inscriptions, present no trace of either Semitic or Aryan etymology. They belong apparently to that linguistic family of which we have various very ancient specimens in the primitive cuneiform legends of the Chaldæan monarchs, as well as in the inscriptions of Susa, of Elymaïs and of Armenia, and at a later period in the Scythic versions of the records of the Achæmenian kings.

And he says:

A mixture of races followed the Persian conquest of the country [Susiana], when the Aryans from Persia proper descended the flanks of Zagros [the long and lofty range between Assyria and Media], and spread themselves into the fertile plain at its base, deserting for this region their own poorer country, and transferring the seat of empire from the outlying cities of Pasargadæ and Ecbatana to the more central situation occupied by the Susian capital. On the occurrence of this influx the Tâtar population was by degrees swallowed up, so that Susiana came to be looked upon as a part of Persia, and its inhabitants almost lost any special appellation. In the time of Herodotus, however, the absorption was only in progress.

It is plain, judging from what has occurred elsewhere and often, that at some ante-Aryan period, a Tâtar flood of emigration had swept down, perhaps from Armenia, into Cappadocia and Media, and flowed onward, deluging Susiana, until it reached the Persian Gulf.

There may have been several, or even very many, successive waves of inundation, each composed of many tribes, speaking different languages; and these waves may have had long intervals of time between them. If the North American Indians were to organize an emigration or invasion, a hundred different languages would be spoken in their camps; and in one tribe, really a Confederation originally (the Greeks), of some sixteen thousand people only, there would be heard six different languages, no one of them having anything in common with any other.

At the time of the long subsequent Aryan invasion, the Tâtar power was probably well established, and venerable by age, throughout Persia. To a great extent, no doubt, the indigenous races had been amalgamated with the conquerors; but some fragments would still remain free of such intermixture. And, as Rawlinson says, a further intermixture of races formed, when the Aryans, another Scythic or Turkish race, coming at least from the same or more remote northern wilderness, spurred their fiery steeds over Persia as they or their ancestors had done over Media. They were the herdsmen conquerors of Asia.

Mr. Rawlinson's speculation in regard to the early people of Babylonia is very curious. He says:

The monuments of Babylonia furnish abundant evidence of the fact that a Hamitic race held possession of that country in the earliest times, and continued to be a powerful element in the population, down to a period but very little preceding the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. The most ancient historical records found in the country, and many of the religious and scientific documents to the time of the conqueror of Judaea are written in a language which belongs to the Allophylian family, presenting affinities with the dialects of Africa on the one hand, and with those of High Asia on the other. The people by whom this language was spoken, whose principal tribe was the *Akkad*, may be regarded as represented by the Chaldaeans of the Greeks, the Casdim of the Hebrew writers.

It must not, however, be supposed that there is any etymological connection between the words *Akkad* and *Casdim*. The latter term is represented by the cuneiform *Kaldai*, which is found in the same inscriptions with *Akkad*, and is a completely different word. The *Kaldai* appear to have been the leading tribe of the Akkad.

This race seems to have gradually developed the type of language known as Semitism, which became in course of time the general language of the country.

Had the Semites, then, another language? If so, what was it, and what became of it? If what are called the Semitic languages were developed and spoken by the Hamites, it is a misnomer to call them Semitic at all. It is not likely, supposing the legend of Noah and his sons to be history, that the descendants of Shem abandoned their own language, and adopted one tendered to them ready-made by the Babylonian Hamites.

Still, however, as a priest-caste, a portion of the Akkad preserved the ancient tongue, and formed the learned and scientific Chaldaeans of later times. Akkadean colonies also were transported into the wilds of Armenia by the Assyrian kings of the Lower Empire, and strengthened the Hamitic element in that quarter.

Rawlinson assigns the development of Semitism to

the early part of the 20th century, B. C., long subsequently to the time when Hamitic kingdoms were set up on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. Commencing [he says], in Babylonia among the children of Ham, but specially adopted and mainly forwarded by those of Shem, who were at that time intermixed with the Hamites in lower Mesopotamia, it advanced into the continent northward and westward, up the course of the two great streams, and across the upper part of Arabia, extending gradually in the one direction to the Sinaitic peninsula, in the other to the shores of the Mediterranean and the range of Taurus.

All this has, no doubt, seemed to the reader to be very foreign to the Zend-Avesta, and the origin and emigrations of the Aryans. But, as will

be seen in a moment, it is not so, because it is part of a conjectural theory, in regard to the Aryans and their causes of journeying, quite as unsupported by any evidence as his notions in regard to the Turanians and Hamites and Semites. If everything is to be cramped and contorted to correspond with, or to be made to yield to the absurd idea of the unity of the human race, i. e., the descent of all mankind from one man and one woman, by means of incestuous intercourse, inquiry as to pre-historic facts is utterly useless. Adherence to the tenth chapter of Genesis as an authentic record of the filiation of peoples and races, is utterly inconsistent with any real and genuine inquiry into the truth of the matter and leads to the grossest of absurdities. For example, it has driven Rawlinson to place the Aryan origin in Armenia, and to make it comparatively modern, and by a curious sleight of hand to develop Semitism out of Hamism among the Akkad. And it has caused him to propound this other immense absurdity. He says:

The Semitic character of the Assyrians, the later Babylonians, the Syrians or Aramæans, the Phœnicians, the Jews, the later Canaanites and the northern or Soktanian Arabs, rests upon abundant evidence, and cannot reasonably be questioned. *The primeval Canaanites, indeed, were of the race of Ham;*

because Canaan was the son of Ham. So was Mitzraim, and Philistine was a descendant of Mitzraim; and Sidon (or Phœnicia), the Jebusites and Amorites, and all the other people of Canaan are descendants of Ham. Nimrod, also, who built Babel, whence Asshur went and built Nineveh, was son of Cush, who was son of Ham. But these difficulties are easily surmounted by Rawlinson. All these peoples, by some sort of legerdemain, are transmuted into Semites.

But it is clear that before the coming of Abraham into their country, *they had by some means become Semitized*, since all the Canaanitish names of the time are palpably Semitic.

He ascribes it to a *probable* influx of emigrants from Ur (of the Chaldees) before Abraham quitted it. This does not rise to the dignity of historical or ethnological inquiry, and would have been much more in place two hundred years ago, when the Canaanites and Phœnicians were supposed to be of another blood and language than the Jews, as the Jews themselves, and the compiler of the book of Genesis, supposed them to be, though David was by blood half Moabite, and Jesus, as descendant of Solomon, was partly of Canaanitish lineage.

With this theory it became necessary to modernize the Aryan origin and emigrations. Accordingly Mr. Rawlinson thus proceeds:

The first distinct appearance of the Indo-European race in Western Asia as an important element in the population, *is considerably subsequent to the rise of the Semites*. At what exact time the Indo-European type of speech was originally

developed, it is indeed impossible to determine; and no doubt we must assign a very early date to that primitive dispersion of the various sections of this family, of which a slight sketch has been already given, and which may possibly have been anterior to the movements whereby the Semitic race was first brought into notice. But no important part is played by Indo-European nations in the history of Western Asia, till the eighth or seventh centuries before our era, the preceding period being occupied by a long course of struggles between the Semites and Turanians. The Indo-Europeans thus occupy, chronologically, the third place in the ethnic history of this part of Asia.

It may reasonably be conjectured, as has been already remarked, that the scene of the original development of the Indo-European dialect, or at any rate of the first large increase of the races speaking this language, was the mountain district of Armenia. It is from this point that the various tribes constituting the Indo-European family *may with most probability be regarded as diverging*, when the straitness of their territory compelled them to seek new abodes. As Cymry, Gaels, Pelasgi, Lithuanians, Teutons, Aryans, Sclaves, etc., they poured forth from their original country, spreading in three directions, northward, eastward and westward. Northward across the Caucasus went forth a flood of emigrants, which settled partly in the Steppes of upper Asia, but principally in northern and central Europe, consisting of the Keltic, Teutonic, Lithuanian, Thracian, Sclavonic, and other less well known tribes. Westward into the high plateau of Asia Minor descended another body, Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Pelasgi, etc., who possessed themselves of the whole country above Taurus, and in some instances penetrated to the south of it, thence proceeding onwards across the Hellespont and the islands, from Asia into Europe, where they became, perhaps, the primitive colonists of Greece and Italy. Eastward wandered the Aryan tribes in search of a new country, and fixed their homes in the mountains of Afghanistan, and the course of the upper Indus.

Mr. Rawlinson thinks it "perhaps allowable to conjecture" that the Massa-Getæ and Thyssa-Getæ, the Greater Goths and Lesser Goths, of the Steppe country, near the Caspian, were Teutons of the first migration, and that

the Thracians of Asia Minor appear to have been an eddy from the same stream. [The western emigration he imagines to have been] about contemporaneous with an occupation of the southern coast of Asia Minor by the Semites, the two races being for some time kept apart by the mountain-barrier of Taurus, and extending themselves at the expense of the Turanians, who were thinly spread over the peninsula. After a while, the barrier was surmounted by the more enterprising people, and the Indo-Europeans established themselves on the south coast also, driving the Semites into the mountain fastnesses. . . . The nations of this migration are the Pelasgi, the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Carians, the Mysians, the Lycians, the Caunians, and perhaps the Matrēni. . . . The eastern or Aryan emigration whereby an Indo-European race became settled upon the Indus, is involved in complete obscurity.

Which is not to be wondered at, since a migration *from* Armenia to India is merely imaginary, and only *supposed*, from the supposed necessity of having the Aryan race originate in the legendary Eden, and in the vicinity

of Ararat, where the Ark, freighted with all the varieties of living creatures, took the bottom on the top of Ararat. There is no evidence, no tradition, no legend, of any such emigration. To suppose it, is to march up the hill, for the sake of marching down again.

We have indeed nothing but the evidence of comparative philology on which distinctly to ground the belief that there was a time when the ancestors of the Pelasgian, Lydo-Phrygian, Lycian, Thracian, Sarmatian, Teutonic and Aryan races dwelt together, the common possessors of a single language. The evidence thus furnished us is, however, conclusive, and compels us to derive the various scattered nations above enumerated from a single ethnic stock, and to assign them, at some time or other, a single locality. In the silence of authentic history Armenia may be regarded as the most probable centre from which they spread;

[Why, and what reasons led to this conclusion, though this assertion is reiterated, Mr. Rawlinson does not state. The "probability" is not in the least apparent to me]

and the Aryan race may be supposed to have wandered eastward at about the same time that the two other kindred streams began to flow, the one northward and across the Caucasus, the other westward, over Asia Minor and into Europe. The early history of the Aryans is for many ages an absolute blank.

Undoubtedly, if one insists on placing them in Armenia, and carrying them thence to the Steppes of the Oxus and Jaxartes, for no purpose, that we can see, than that of having to carry them, by and by, back again. Meanwhile one might ask how many centuries the march to the Steppes consumed, as it was certainly not made all at one heat, but each country on the way had to be conquered and peopled by Aryan increase, before another step forward could be made; and also one might ask what could have sent the Armenians northward to the Steppes, when an inviting country lay open to them on the south, to appropriate which they had only to descend from their mountains? The course of emigration has never *voluntarily* taken that direction.

But at a period certainly anterior to the fifteenth century before our era, they were settled in a tract watered by the upper Indus, and becoming straitened for room, began to send out colonies eastward and westward. On the one side their movements may be traced in the hymns of the Rig Veda, where they are seen advancing, step by step, along the rivers of the Punjâb, engaged in constant wars with the primitive inhabitants, whom they gradually drove before them into the various mountain-ranges, where their descendants still exist, speaking Turanian dialects. On the other, their progress is as distinctly marked in the most early portions of the Zend-Avesta, the sacred book of the western or Medo-Persic Aryans. Leaving their Vedic brethren to possess themselves of the broad plains of Hindustan, and to become the ancestors of the modern Hindus, the Zendic or Medo-Persic Aryans crossed the high chain of the Hindu-Kush, and occupied the region watered by the upper streams of the Oxus. This tract is probably the Airyanem Vaêjô of the Vendîdâd.

Thus, without any earthly reason for it, without a hint of anything of the kind anywhere; Rawlinson imagines a long residence of the Aryans in Armenia, their growth there into an immense people, sending off in succession vast streams of emigrants, to conquer half the world and possess themselves of it, and their migration northward a very great distance, to the region of the Steppes between the Oxus and Jaxartes; and all this older than the mythical Airyanem Vaējō.

Here, too, the Aryans would come into contact with Scythic or Turanian races, whom they either dispossessed or made subject. Sogdiana, Bactria, Aria (or Herat), Hyrcania, Arachosia, Rhagiana, Media Atropatene (Azerbaijan), were successively occupied by them, and they thus extended themselves in a continuous line from Afghanistan to beyond the Caspian. At this point there was, *perhaps*, a long pause in their advance,

[Why, at *this* point, more than at any other? There are long pauses in every country reached in all such migrations],

after which the emigration burst forth again with fresh strength, projecting a strong Indo-European element into Armenia

[Fortunate Aryans, to have returned to the cradle of their race, after their incomprehensible march from it, to the north, into the Steppes of Turkestan]

and, at the same time turning south along the chain of Zagros, occupying Media Magna, and thence to the shores of the Persian Gulf, where Persia proper and Carmania formed, *perhaps*, the limits of its progress. Everywhere through these countries the Tātar or Turanian races yielded readily to the invading flood, retiring into the desert or the mountain-tops [both uncomfortable places for long residence. Imagine a Tātar tribe huddled together for a few centuries on the tops of Zagros] or else submitting to become the dependents of the conquerors. . . .

The nations which may be distinctly referred to *this immigration* are the following: . . . the Persians, the Medes, the Carmanians, the Bactrians, the Sogdians, the Aryans of Herat, the Hyrcanians, the Sagartians, the Choras-mians, and the Sarangians. The similarity of the languages spoken by the more important of these nations has been noticed by Strabo, who includes most of them within the limits of his 'Aryans.' Modern research confirms his statements, showing that the present inhabitants of the countries in question, who are the descendants of the ancient races, still speak Aryan dialects.

Instead of "this immigration," there were, it is probable, a score or more, at different periods, and probably with centuries between some of them. The whole account is merely fanciful, and I fail to see the value of that which has, in the respects wherein it varies from other theories, no sort of basis whatever, even of probability or plausibility; but rests on a "perhaps." A fancy sketch of the migrations of the Peruvians from Armenia or Meso-

potamia, with detailed account of the mode in which, being Turanians, they were driven by the Semites or Indo-Europeans, and thence found their way to South America, would be of the same character as the speculations I have quoted, and of quite as much value; and Cuzco might as well be fixed upon as the place of origin of the human race, or of the Aryans, as Armenia.

The Medes were Aryans, and closely allied both in language and religion to the Persians. That is now generally admitted. Herodotus says [vii. 62] that the Medes were anciently styled by all, *Arioi*. The first Fargard specifies Media as one of the countries created by Ahura Mazda, i. e., as inhabited by the Aryans. The Armenian writers invariably called the Medes Aryans, and Darius Hystaspes, in the inscription upon his tomb, declared himself to be "A Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan, of Aryan descent." The Median names of men and places admit almost universally of being referred by etymological analysis to Zend roots, while the original language of the Persians is closely akin to the Zend. If the Medes had been of an ethnical family entirely distinct from the Persians, of a Semitic or Scythic race, the two nations could not have coalesced with facility, as they did, nor would Medes have held high positions under Persian sway. Herodotus says (*i.* 135) that the Persians had adopted the dress of the Medes, considering it superior to their own; the Medes had precedence over all the other conquered nations, indicated by their position in the lists; the terms "the Medes," "Median," "the Median War", were in common use, in connection with the Persian attacks upon Greece; and in the Book of Daniel we find repeatedly the phrase "the Law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." Harpagus, the conqueror of the Asiatic Greeks, of Caria, Caunus and Lycia, was a Mede. So was Datis, the joint leader with Artaphernes of the army which fought at Marathon. So were Harmamithres and Tichæus, sons of Datis, the commanders of the cavalry of Xerxes. In the inscriptions, we find Tirtaphres, a Mede, mentioned as reducing Babylon, on its second revolt from Darius. And Carmaspertes, another Mede, was employed to bring Sagartia under subjection. (Rawlinson's *Herod.* *i.* 401-2 and n. 7).

Mr. Rawlinson continually insists on

The great migration of the Aryan race westward, *from beyond the Indus*, simultaneous, probably, with a movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindus, eastward and southward to the Ganges, and the Vindhyan mountain range;

and, noticing the Babylonian story of Berossus, of a Median dynasty at Babylon more than two thousand years before Christ (in which he thinks

it not unlikely that Berossus applied the term "Mede" to the Scyths), he insists that

the earliest distinct notice of the Aryan race which is contained in the inscriptions hitherto discovered, indicates a far later date for this great movement of nations.

There is every reason to believe, he thinks, that the Medes of history had not reached Media Magna 1,500 years after the time when the Medes of Berossus, probably a different race, conquered Babylon. He thinks that the emigration, whenever it commenced, was not completed much before 640, B. C.; and he says:

Probably there was a long pause in the movement, marked by the termination of the list of names in the *Vendīdād*, during which the main seat of Median power was the country south of the Caspian.

Ragha and Varena are the twelfth and fourteenth countries named—both in Media, near the Caspian; and Tschahkra, in Khorassan, is the thirteenth. If these were the very last, it would simply prove that the Aryan emigration had reached no further, when the first Fargard was composed. It could not prove that it halted there any longer than it had halted in each other country previously occupied. No doubt it made many halts.

But the fifteenth country named is Hapta Hindu. Is it to be inferred that there was a long halt there? And, if the emigration westward went from that region, and was simultaneous with that to the Ganges country, how is it possible to be explained that the settlement in Media is named before that in the land of the Seven Rivers; or that the two streams of emigration are to be presumed to have stopped in Media and the Indus country at the same time; or that when it must have occupied so long a period for the stream of emigration from the Indus country to reach Media, there is no tradition or record of any such outflow?

Professor Max Müller, in Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History*, i. 128, says:

The only key to an understanding of the ancient literature of Media and Persia, is furnished by the language of India, and more particularly by that primitive form of it which has been preserved in the Hymns of the *Veda*, the first literary monument of the Aryan world.

He agrees, elsewhere, that the birthplace of the Semitic races is to be looked for in Armenia, where Mount Ararat is. But as to the Aryans, he says:

The main stream of the Arian nations always flowed towards the northwest. No historian can tell us by what impulse these adventurous nomads were driven in through Asia towards the isles and shores of Europe.

No one needs any information on that score from history, who has seen for fifty years the action of what may be called the emigrative instinct, among the Anglo-Aryans of the United States of America. As well ask history why the bees swarm and seek new hives. The first start of this world-wide migration belongs

to a period far beyond the reach of documentary history, to times when the soil of Europe had not been trodden by either Kelts, Germans, Slavonians, Romans or Greeks.

Yet Mr. Rawlinson fancies a primitive migration of the Aryan race from *Armenia*, northeastwardly to Sogdiana.

At the first dawn of traditional history, we see the Aryan tribes migrating across the snow of the Himalaya, southward toward the Seven Rivers (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjab, and the Sarasvati); and ever since India has been called their home. That before this time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans and Kelts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods. It would have been next to impossible to discern any traces of relationship between the swarthy natives of India, and their conquerors, whether Alexander or Clive, but for the testimony borne by language. What other evidence could have reached back to times when Greece was not yet peopled by Greeks, nor India by Hindus? Yet these are the times of which we are speaking. What authority would have been strong enough to persuade the Grecian army that their gods and their hero ancestors were the same as those of King Porus, or to convince the English soldier that the same blood was running in his veins and in the veins of the dark Bengalese. And yet there is not an English jury now-a-days, which after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between the Hindu, Greek and Latin." (*Bunsen, ubi sup.*)

Baron Bunsen believed in the unity of the human race, without any evidence of language, upon legends entitled to no more credit than those of Sanchoniathon or the Brahmins. He found in *them* some evidence that he thought worth listening to "with regard to ante-historical periods." If all mankind have Adam and Eve for their ancestors, and the same blood runs in the veins of the English soldier as in the veins of a Papuan, the Hottentot, the Esquimaux, the Mandingoies, and the Digger Indians, what is there peculiarly interesting in the common descent and legitimate relationship of any two or more races in the world?

Many words still live in India and in England, that have witnessed the first separation of the northern and southern Aryans; and these are witnesses not to be shaken by any cross-examination. The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son, daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree,

identical in all the Indo-European idioms, are like the watchwords of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger, and whether he answer with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognize him as one of ourselves. Though the historian may shake his head, though the physiologist may doubt, and the poet scorn the idea, all must yield before the facts furnished by language. There was a time when the ancestors of the Kelts, the Germans, the Slavonians, the Greeks and Italians, the Persians and Hindus, were living together beneath the same roof, separate from the ancestors of the Semitic and Turanian races.

It is more difficult to prove that the Hindu was the last to leave this common home, that he saw his brothers all depart towards the setting sun, and that then turning towards the south and the east, he started alone in search of a new world. But as in his language and in his grammar he has preserved something of what seems peculiar to each of the northern dialects, singly, as he agrees with the Greek and the German, where the Greek and the German seem to differ from all the rest, and as no other language has carried off so large a share of the common Aryan heirloom—whether roots, grammar, words, myths or legends—it is natural to suppose that, though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family.

Assuming that Zarathustra taught his Mazdayaçnian creed in Bactria, it no doubt caused the emigration towards Media of his followers, whether the Indo-Aryan stream of migration flowed out before or after he began to teach. In either case it is not probable that he converted the mass of the people. In the former case he certainly did not, though the prevalence of his creed, if it became the prevailing faith, *may* have caused the emigration toward India of the Nature-worshippers, devotees of Agni and Indra. But in that case we should expect to find in the Veda some mention of the Zarathustrian creed, to which or to any of its tenets or deities there is no allusion whatever. So we should expect to find such mention if Zarathustra taught before the Indo-Aryan migration, and, before it, emigrated with his followers.

There must have been bitter hatred between them and those of the old faith. This is certain from the fact that in the Zend-Avesta, Indra and the Devas are spirits of evil.

So it is argued by Dr. Haug, but I doubt.

It would seem more probable, therefore, that the Irano-Aryan migration took place before Zarathustra began to teach; that the Indo-Aryans never knew anything in regard to the creed taught by him, and, as the Zend-Avesta does not mention any Vedic deity except Indra, that the Agni worship had not sprung up when the Zarathustrians migrated. Whether Zarathustra lived and taught in Bactria at all, is another question, as to which the evidence is not conclusive. He may have lived and taught in some intermediate country, between Bactria and Media, where the migrating Irano-Aryans paused until increasing numbers again pushed

them onward; or he may have lived and taught after they reached Media. The Zend texts must decide.

I think that he taught in Bactria. And it is quite certain that if the Zend language is old Bactrian, the Indo-Aryan was an offshoot from it, and not a sister tongue, in which case a long succession of centuries must have passed while the latter was growing into what it had become when the Vedas were composed; or the Indo-Aryan emigration must have occurred before the Zend began to be formed as a distinct language; and it must have grown into the old Bactrian, after that emigration, for which, also, a long succession of centuries was needed.

Another hypothesis may be proposed, i. e., that the Iranians crossed the Oxus and settled in Bactria, leaving an Aryan population in Sogdiana; that in Bactria the Zend language was formed, and Zarathustra appeared and taught; before or after which, but long after the migration to Bactria, the Indo-Aryans migrated from Sogdiana toward the Indus, their language having by this time changed, and having become or being in process of becoming, Sanskrit. And this is my opinion. I shall hope to prove it correct.

In his article, "Last Results of the Turanian Researches" (Bunsen's *Philosophy of the Universal History*, i. 474), Professor Müller says:

The millions of people who speak and have spoken for centuries, from Ceylon to Iceland, the innumerable dialects of Sanskrit, Persian, Gallic, Teutonic, Slavonic, Italic, and Greek, shrink here together into one small point, and are represented, as it were, by one patriarchal individual, the first Aryan, the ancestor of the Aryan race. For in all these languages, from Sanskrit to English, there is one common stamp, a stamp of definite individuality, inexplicable if viewed as a product of nature, and intelligible only as the work of one creative genius. Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Teutonic and Keltic, are simply continuations of one common spring of language, as much as Spanish and Portuguese, French and Provençal, Italian and Wallachian, are all but Latin under different aspects. The difference between languages, as distant geographically, chronologically and grammatically, as Sanskrit and English, vanish; and all that remains in this comprehensive view is, that one system of grammar, and that patrimony of common roots, which we call 'Aryan,' in opposition to Semitic. No new root has been added, no new grammatical form has been produced, in any of the Aryan Provinces or dependencies, of which the elements were not present at the first foundation of this mighty empire of speech. . . .

The Aryan family has had but one generation of dialects. There was a time when the ancestors of this race formed one family, in the proper sense of the word. Their language was then the idiom of a hamlet, as Latin was at one time spoken by the few adventurers who built their cottages on the Hills of the Tiber. Without some such previous concentration, as it is impossible to account for the perpetuation of the most minute and fanciful forms in the Roman dialects of modern Europe, it would be in vain to account for the coincidences between the Aryan dialects of the ancient world. The Aryan language, which grew, or became nationalized into Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Slavic and

Keltic, must have been a language richer perhaps than any of its descendants, but a language with such settled principles, and such intense individuality, in grammar and dictionary, that the national, or, as we may here call it, the individual character of its descendants, though widely different as the meditative Hindu and active Greek, could never obliterate or efface the stamp of their common parent.

To say that French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Wallachian are only Latin under different aspects, is too broad a statement. They are languages formed by a fusion of the Latin with other and different tongues; Gothic, Gallic, Keltic, Germanic, Frank and others, as the people composing each are a mixture of different races, owing their present characteristics and temperaments more to the races with which the Romans intermingled to form each, than to the Roman element itself. The peculiar nature of each people comes from other blood than that of ancient Rome.

So the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and other Aryan languages are not simply continuations of one common spring of languages. Each is as much a composite language as the English tongue; and each people owes its distinctive character far more to the native or indigenous element of its population, than to the Aryan. The indigenous Southern races of India made the Hindu so markedly different as he is from the ancient Greek and Roman and the modern Slave and German. If the descent of each had been pure and unmixed, the old Aryan blood could never have become Keltic in Ireland, and Teutonic in Germany. Let us not imagine that we owe nothing to any but our Aryan ancestors. The original Aryan type was probably the same as the Scythic. It is not probable that it is now anywhere to be found, among the Aryan races.

VIEWS OF DR. DONALDSON.

The *New Cratylus*, of Dr. Donaldson, contains an interesting discussion of the origin of the races of men and of the filiation of the Aryan races and languages.

He asserts that all the sporadic or Turanian idioms of High Asia are instances of the degradation of language; they are all probably depravations of the Iranian type. Similarly, the languages of Africa must be considered as successive products of Semitic disorganization: the Syro-Arabian tongue passes from the Abyssinian to the Gallæ and Berber, from this again to the Caffre, from the Caffre to the Hottentot, who is finally caricatured by the savage Bushman.

This is the "natural selection" of Darwin reversed. It would have ended, one would think, in the apes.

Dr. Donaldson is a staunch believer in the unity of the human race, and places the Garden of Eden in Armenia. It is reasonable to believe, he thinks, that man would be first cradled on some plateau, which, while raised above the lacustrine impurities of the alluvial plains, was likewise free from an overgrowth of wood, and well adapted for the cultivation of those fruits and grasses which furnish the necessary food of man. There is no region of the world, he says, which combines all these recommendations so fully as the Armenian tableland lying to the south and east of Mount Ararat. How he knows there was an overgrowth of wood there, or not, thousands of years ago, he does not inform us.

All *traditions*, he says, point to this district. I deny that there is a single *real* tradition that does so. On the supposition, he says, that mankind originated there, "we may harmonize every linguistic phenomenon, and explain every ethnographical fact." It will be a great task to perform. The theory of the unity of the human race, and of the formation or descent of all languages from one original tongue makes utterly inexplicable a thousand linguistic phenomena, and utterly incomprehensible a multitude of ethnographical facts. Of course, to faith all things are possible, or, if not, it can believe a thing all the more because it is impossible.

As for those [he says], who, recognizing Armenia as *one* birthplace of the human family, contend that man was created independently in different parts of the globe, as they became favourable to his continued existence, it is sufficient to say that such a hypothesis is unnecessary. [The spread of population can be accounted for without it], and the differences of race are not differences of species inconsistent with one common origin.

He might make the same reply to the assertion that the different species of fishes did not all descend from one single pair.

His final reasons are the real ones:

The hypothesis that man was created at different times, and in different parts of the world, would leave unexplained and inexplicable these proofs of an original identity of language, to which philology is daily making additions of the greatest weight and importance. Nothing short of necessity should induce us to seek for an autochthony in different parts of the globe, which would break the ties of blood relationship that bind all men together.

I know of no benefit that men have ever realized from a belief in all blood relationship. It has prevented no war, and softened no hatred. The relationship is too remote between me and the Malay or Mandingo, for me to have any more sympathy for him than I have now that I look upon him as no more related to me than the dog is to the elephant. And I do not find in the fancies and theories of philologists the least real proof of the common origin of the Turanian languages or of that of the Semitic and Aryan.

The creative power of Nature or the Deity is without limit. It brings into being, at the fitting time, myriads of individuals of a particular species of creatures, over wide spaces of country. It peoples a whole sea or a whole continent at once. Why should we suppose that it has not, in the same manner, created at different periods the different varieties of the human race, each race, created after another, excelling it? No one is absurd enough to believe that all the apes and baboons, monkeys, ourangs and gorillas are descended from an original simian pair of progenitors. Neither history nor tradition informs us of the changes of any white race into negroes, and it is impossible.

And, for my own part, I am glad to believe that there is no tie of blood-relationship between myself and the woolly and olio negro. I prefer to believe that I am of a higher and nobler strain and race. And I do not wish to believe that I owe my being to incestual intercourse between brother and sister, father and daughter, or mother and son.

Tradition distinctly tells us [we are gravely informed], that primeval civilization first extended itself to Asia Minor, and afterwards to Mesopotamia. Thus, the earliest emigrant is carried to Lydia, and the city of Iconium in Lycaonia claims for its founder, Aunacus of Khanok, the first author of an improved calendar.

This valuable "tradition" is given to the world by Stephen of Byzantium. Then civilization descends the Tigris, skirts the mountains of Kurdistan, and establishes itself at Babylon. "These facts are supported by consistent tradition." So long as the primitive population of the globe was confined to Armenia and its two colonies in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia,

we find no traces of any differences of nation or language. It was on the lower Euphrates that the multitudes became too numerous for the soil, and from thence

they streamed away in successive parties, scattering their detached and isolated bands over the whole surface of the globe.

It is considerably admitted that hundreds of years passed, perhaps even thousands, during their wanderings. It is greatly to be regretted that one could not follow, step by step, those who by degrees became Esquimaux and Patagonians and Bushmen, see the sons of Adam degenerate into beastly savages, and know what impulses forced them to the ends of the earth; and how

men whose ancestors had been on the same footing in regard to speech, color and foetal development became Mongols, Tungusians, Manchus and Samoieds in Asia; Finns, Lapps and Euskarians in Europe; Negroes and Kaffirs in Africa, and Red Indians in America; to say nothing of the Papuans, the Tasmanians and the more widely scattered Polynesians.

It sounds like a grim satire on a preposterous theory.

Meanwhile, says Dr. Donaldson, two sister races formed themselves, close to the original birthplace of man; one the Aramaic, the other the Iranian.

To the east, the Iranian race was more slowly developing itself on the great Western Plateau of Asia, from whence it sent off successive streams of colonists, who carried the original language and the original appetences for high mental cultivation into India to the southeast, and round by the north coasts of the Caspian and Euxine seas, into Europe;

great bodies of the same race and blood thus degenerating into savages, black as jet, with wool instead of hair; and others raising themselves to the loftiest heights of civilization and refinement, and displaying in their perfection the beauty of the Aryan form and face, and its snowy whiteness of the skin.

The theory of Dr. Donaldson as to the Aryan migrations is this: The first emigrants from Asia were the Kelts and Cimmerians, who entered Europe from the Steppes of the Caucasus, and, passing round the northern coasts of the Black Sea, not only spread over the whole of Europe, especially in the south and west, but also re-crossed into Asia by the Hellespont, and conquered or colonized the countries bordering on the south of the Euxine.

The next invaders were Scythians, Sarmatians or Sclavonians, who are generally found by the side of the Kelts in their earliest settlements. They more fully occupied the east of Europe, but though they contributed largely to the population of Greece and Italy they do not appear to have spread beyond the Oder in the north, or to have established themselves permanently in the Alps, or in the middle highlands of Germany.

The final settlement of the Iranians in Europe was that of the Teutonic races, consisting first of the Low Germans, who, starting from the regions between the

Oxus and the Jaxartes, burst through the Sclavonians, and formally settled themselves in the northwest of Europe; and, secondly, of the High Germans, who subsequently occupied the higher central regions, having also contributed an important and perhaps the most characteristic element to the population of Hellas.

If we turn to the eastern members of the family, it appears that the origin of these languages is traceable to Irân, a country bounded on the north by the Caspian, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the east by the Indus, and on the west by the Euphrates. Within these limits were spoken, so far as we can discover, two languages which bore the same relation to one another that we recognize as subsisting between Low and High German, a language analogous to the former being spoken in the north and east of the district, and one analogous to the latter in the south. [The southern language he calls High Iranian; the northern and eastern, Low Iranian.] The surrounding nations to the north and east belonged to the Turanian, a sporadic family; but when the mighty people confined between these comparatively narrow limits had become too numerous for the country they lived in, the eastern and northern tribes sent off emigrations to the southeast and northwest, breaking through or driving before them the tribes by which they were hemmed in.

Arya-avarta, 'the country of the Aryans,' is the classical name for the old country of the Hindus, which is defined as lying between the Vindhya and 'snowy' (Himâlaya) mountains, and extending from the eastern to the western ocean. This definition excludes the Deccan, a 'country of the right' (Dakshina); and the language of the country, its geographical features, its oldest traditions, and the physical characteristics of the inhabitants, sufficiently show that the Aryans or Iranians entered Hindustan by the Punjâb, and did not extend themselves far towards the south. To the present day, though the northern tribes of India speak languages more or less corrupted from the Low Iranian or Sanskrit, such as the Bengâli and Hindostani, the southern languages are more akin to the Mongol idioms, which entered into the languages of middle and northern Asia. . . . There was a striking physical difference between the Hindûs and the population of southern India, in the very earliest times. It appears that the aborigines of India, whom the Hindûs or Aryans invaded and conquered, had most of the characteristics of the Negro Tribes: at least, the supposed remains of these earliest inhabitants, still found in the north of India, have woolly hair, low foreheads, and flat noses.

As to the Median origin of the Low German Tribes [the Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Frisians, Flemish, Dutch and old Goths], the following examples may suffice. That the Medes extended themselves to the northwest, appears from the position of Media in the historical ages. The names of many of the Low German nations point to a derivation from the north of Irân. We have seen that the Saxons, or Saca-Sunu are traceable to Bactria. The Sarmatæ or Sauromatæ, an old Sclavonian nation, are expressly mentioned as descendants of the Medes (Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 7: *Sarmatæ Medorum, ut ferunt, Soboles. Diod. Sic. ii. ch. 43, p. 195, Duidaf: δέν δὲ μεγίστας αποκίας γενέσθαι τὸν μέν . . . τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν καθιδρυθείσαν, ἃς τοὺς λαούς Σαυρομάτας ὄνομασθηναὶ:*) and their name indicates that they too claimed the north of Media as their Fatherland. Böckh [*Corpus Inscript. ii. p. 83*], says that Dr. Gatterer derives their name from Matenis, i. e., Matienis, i. e., Medis, and the Lithuanic word *Szaure*, which means *north*, making them northern Medes. The Siguunæ, whose

territory extended from the north of the Danube to the country of the Heneti or Veneti (Sclavonian Wends) on the Adriatic, in dress resembled the Medes, from whom they derived themselves. How they could be colonists of the Medes [adds Herodotus (v. 9.)], I cannot understand; but anything may happen in a great length of time.

Now the abode which Hérodotus assigns to the Sigyunæ falls within the limits of the Sauromatæ, who were a Sclavonian tribe, and also derived from the Medes. Accordingly the Sigyunæ must have been themselves Sclavonians, and could not have been connected with the Huns, as some suppose. Besides, Strabo describes the Sigyunæ as living near the Caspian, with habits similar to those which Herodotus ascribes to them. Therefore, we cannot doubt that they were a low Iranian people. In the same manner we might point out traces of North Iranian pedigrees in the case of every nation of the low German class of which any mention is made by ancient writers. We consider even the invasion of the Scythians by the Persians, mentioned by the Greek historians, as traditions of the pressure of the High on the Low Iranians; for the identity of the names Scythians, Getae, Jutes and Goths has been long recognized.

The argument from the language is decisive of the whole question. The resemblance between the old Low German dialects and the Sanskrit, even after a separation for thousands of years, is so striking that an eminent philologer has remarked, that when he reads the venerable Ulphilas, he could believe he was reading Sanskrit. (*Bopp*). On the whole, then, we consider it as nearly certain that the Hindus in India and the Low Germans in Europe are emigrants from the country about the southern extremity of the Caspian Sea. We do not pretend to say when the emigration took place, nor do we suppose that it took place at once. As the population became too numerous for the country, or as they were pressed upon from without, they would naturally send off streams of invaders to the right and left in search of other settlements.

Thus, while Rawlinson insists that the Medo-Aryans migrated from the Punjâb to Media, Dr. Donaldson holds that the Indo-Aryans migrated from Media to the Punjâb. I see no firm ground for either theory, and am convinced that the separation of these races took place ages before either Media or the Indus country was trodden by Aryan feet, and in Sogdiana or Bactria, most probably in Sogdiana, one portion migrating thence, and leaving the other there, at a time when the Aryan language, spoken by both, was neither Zend nor Sanskrit, but the parent of each.

When history tells us [Dr. Donaldson continues (p. 142)], that the Median empire was overthrown by the Persians, this is a distinct announcement of the fact which we might derive from philology alone, that the Southern Tribes of Germanii or High Iranians pressed upon and mastered the Low Iranians, who are known to us as Medes in their Aryan home, and as Sauromatæ or Northern Medes in Europe. The establishment of the kingdom of Cyrus was in fact the final development of a

tendency which had continued to exhibit itself in the same manner for many centuries previously; and in this we must recognize the counter-pressure by which, as we conceive, the streams of emigration to India and Europe were increased. We have stated that the Medians or Low Iranians spoke the primeval tongue of which the Indian Sanskrit is an offset, and which forms the distinctive element of those European dialects which are connected with the Low German and Sclavonian.

It is much more likely that they spoke the Zend, and that the Germano-Aryan emigration took place before the Zend began to be formed, and before any migration toward Media or India, from Sogdiana.

There is reason to suppose that the Low Iranian emigration entered Europe by the north of the Black Sea, that is, from the original abode of the Median race, the Airyanem Vaējâ, 'the pure Aryan land,' in Bokhara, from which they had descended to Khorassan on their right and to the Hapta-Hindu or Punjâb on their left; whereas, the mixed tribes of the south and west, or those in which the Persian element predominated, must have extended themselves through Armenia into Asia Minor. Not only the geographical position of the country, but a singularly interesting tradition, seems to prove that the Province of Armenia, which, as we have intimated, was probably the first seat of the whole human race, must also have been the first stage in the journey of emigration, for all the Iranian tribes, which started from the south and west of the Caspian.

The tradition is that the singular story in Plato's *Republic* (p. 614 B. *et seq.*), was due to Zoroaster (*Clemens Alex. Stromata*, v. p. 710, Potter): and Dr. Donaldson thinks he has shown that it must have been derived by Plato from Herakleitos, whose philosophy was Zoroastrian. The author of this dialogue is called Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Αρμενίου τὸ γένος Παμφύλον, and this, Dr. Donaldson thinks, can only mean that the Aryans, as they appeared in Pamphylia, the most western province of Persia, called themselves descendants of the Armenians.

The Armenian language, he says, is of Indo-Germanic structure, and must have been one of the Medo-Persic idioms. At the commencement of the 4th century, B. C., the country-people in Armenia understood Persian, and their deities bore Persian names. According to Herodotus, the Armenians and Phrygians were closely allied in origin, and he calls the former a colony of the latter. Of course, Dr. Donaldson thinks he *probably inverts* the fact, in this—it does not suit his theory, and therefore Herodotus, excellent authority when what he says can be made to chime with the Shem, Ham and Japhet theory, "inverts the fact" when it does not. After all, he does not "invert" it half as provokingly as the legend of a small Canaanitish tribe does, in regard to Kham and Shem.

The scanty remains of the Phrygian language "admit of immediate comparison with the Persian, as well as with the Armenian." One would like to see what the results of admitting the immediate comparison are.

The vagaries of etymology have ceased even to be amusing; and one is relieved to learn, from high authority, that the surest proof that the words found in two languages are *not* the same, *is that they are spelled alike.*

The Cappadocians, who have many affinities with the Medo-Persians, are *said* to have spoken the same language as their neighbors, the Armenians. [Moses Chorenensis says so, who knew as little about it as we know.] On the other hand, the Sauromatae, also, as we have seen, were of Median origin, have many Armenian affinities. Finally it has been shown that some of the oldest European languages correspond to the Armenian in many terms, which have no longer their counterpart in the conterminous idioms.

Now, we have not the least knowledge of the language spoken in Armenia prior to the 4th century before Christ. The Armenian language known to us, is a modern composite language. Herodotus tells honestly all he saw, knew, heard and guessed; but he lived at least two or three thousand years after the migration into the Punjâb, and five or six thousand after the Kelto-Aryan, Germano-Aryan and Sclavono-Aryan migrations. What memory or tradition had the Greeks and Italians, then, of their connection with the Armenians, Medians or Sogdians? None. And Niebuhr's quashal of the traditions in regard to the early history of Rome ought to make scholars less bold in their assertions in regard to early Asian history.

Dr. Donaldson goes so far as to tell us that "even the ancient Etruscans," whose language is a complete mystery, not one single sentence of it having ever been read by anybody, "whom we have identified on other grounds with the oldest branch of the Low Iranians, were connected also with the Asiatic Thracians, the Phrygians and the Armenians."

The Veda and Zend-Avesta present to us a race of nomadic herdsmen, who had no cities, no temples, no large and powerful political organizations, a people simple, primitive, sacrificing in the open air, in part cultivating the soil, to a limited extent, but having for their chief wealth only horses and cattle, and "small cattle," or sheep. The hymns of both races have distinct reference to a life upon the great Steppes of Asia, to Sogdiana and to Bactria; and in these hymns, the Sûktas of the Veda, and the Zendic Gâthâs, is the only evidence of any value that has come down to us in regard to the place of origin and migrations of these races. We know much more about it than Herodotus did; and all the pretended traditions found in writers subsequent to Herodotus, are as worthless as the Roman traditions in respect to Romulus and Remus. Traditions in regard to language are always worthless.

When these Persians or High Iranians [Dr. Donaldson continues (p. 144), had] intruded themselves upon the Medes or Low Iranians, it is probable that the language of the latter became tinged with the peculiarities of the Persian idiom, which was, however, nearly related to the Median; and the mixed language consti-

tuted the speech of those Persians with whom the Greeks had so much to do. The connexion of modern Persian with modern High German, even after many centuries of Arabian rule, and the loss of the inflections, was long ago perceived; and in one of the tribes of the Persians, the Germanioi mentioned by Herodotus, we still recognize the distinctive name of the Thuringians or Herminones. We assume, therefore, that the High German dialects of Europe are due to a final Iranian emigration connected with the early expansion of the Persian race. And thus, if all the European members of the family can be assigned to the two divisions of Low and High German, the former derived from that old Iranian stock which gave to India its sacred language, the latter from the great race of Persians or Germanians, the name Indo-Germanic, which has been given to the family is doubly appropriate. . . .

We may, with a fair amount of probability maintain that the stream of High German or Greek emigration entered Europe by way of Asia Minor, and that its course may still be traced through the dry bed of obsolete proper names and shadowy traditions. . . . The evidence for this chain of ethnographic connexions is necessarily of a cumulative nature. Language, tradition, history, mythology, and as far as this is applicable, those features in descriptive geography which influence the spread of population, enable us to trace the Græco-German race from the mountains of Karmania and Kurdistan, through the north of Asia Minor, and across the Hellespont, into Thrace and Illyria. Nor do we stop here; for we may see how, in a strong but narrow stream, this warrior-band forced its way through the Sclavonian and Low German tribes, into the march-land of Vienna, and from thence gradually expanded itself along the Danube, until it has peopled or conquered the whole of the central plateau.

There are two ancient names, of constant occurrence, which seem to mix themselves up with the traditions from which we derive the theory respecting the origin and progress of the Helleno-Teutones. We refer to the Scythians and the Pelasgi. It appears to us certain that the Pelasgians were the great Southern branch of the Sclavonian stock, which, starting from Khorassan in an age long anterior to chronology, spread itself over the whole of Sarmatia, and eventually furnished a large substratum of population to Thrace, Illyria, Greece and Italy. It is also pretty clear that these Pelasgi re-crossed into Asia by the Hellespont, and colonized the Western coasts of Asia Minor and the Islands of the Archipelago, long before the Helleno-Teutones appeared on the stage.

Thus, the Greeks, it appears, as well as the Romans, were Sclaves and Germans intermixed. Why Khorassan is selected as the country from which to have the Pelasgi set out, in preference to any other country south of the Oxus and Caspian, we do not learn,—at least, we find no real reason for it.

Now, in considering all these wild notions, that which chiefly needs to be accounted for, and which is of immensely more import than a few deceptive resemblances of words, is this, that the Sclavonic, Scandinavian, Gothic and Germanic religions, each and all, are totally different from the Persian, Indian, Greek and Roman faiths, and always were so,—not merely or alone in the names and attributes of their deities, but in their whole nature, spirit and idiosyncrasy; as much so as that of the Mohawks

or of the Ashantees. If the Greeks were Sclaves and Germans, i. e., if Sclaves and Germans, intermingling, long after they had left Sogdiana, Bactria or Khorassan, Media or Armenia, long after peopling Asia Minor, became Greeks, these total differences, these mythological contrarieties and antagonisms, are wholly inexplicable. I cannot conceive of anything that will at all explain them, except that of the successive migrations from Sogdiana, of the Kelto-, Sclavono-, Germano-, Græco- and Italo-Aryans, in succession, with long lapses of time between; and that the first three occurred before the Vedic worship of Agni and Indra had grown up, or Zarathustra had taught.

In the Greek mythology we find ample evidence of the migration of the Greeks after the Vedic worship had become established; since in many respects it but embodies, with fuller development, the misunderstood phrases of the Veda.

We conceive [Dr. Donaldson continues], that the Scythians, properly known under this name, were the great Low-German tribe of Getæ, Guths or Goths. The prefix denotes that they were Asa-Goths, or points to their Asiatic origin; and we conclude that they were identical with the Sacæ, who gave their name to the other great subdivision of the Low-German family, the Saxons. We trace them to an original settlement, a little to the east of the Sclavonian or Sarmatian Pelasgi, namely, to Bokhara or Hindu Kush; and we entertain no doubt that it was the same branch of the Iranian race which invaded the Punjâb and Hindustan, and established there the Sanskrit language and the Brahminical religion. In Europe we find the Getæ or Scythæ occupying the lower Danube and stretching in a north-westerly direction to the Baltic and German Ocean. It is easy, therefore, to distinguish between the Getæ and the Helleno-Teutones. But we have to guard ourselves against the risk of vagueness in regard to other tribes, which is likely to be produced by the very lax and general manner in which the ancients employed the name 'Scythian.' It is made to include all the tribes to the north of the Euxine and Caspian, and may therefore point to branches of the Turanian, Keltic and Sclavonian stocks, as well as to the Low Germans, whom it strictly and appropriately indicates. We ought, therefore, to adopt a classification which would distinguish between the Scythians, properly so called, namely the Getæ and Sacæ, whom we may term the Teutono-Scythians; and the pseudo-Scythians, i. e., (1) the Mongols or Turano-Scythians; (2) the Sauromatæ or Slavo-Scythians. In the great country of Thrace we must admit the presence of both Getæ and Sarmatæ; and as the name *Thrax* involves the root *Tor* or *Der*, we must also recognize an admixture of Helleno-Teutones.

And the Scythians were in part Sclavonians, because *kolo* in Sclavonic is a wheel, and *kolasa* in Polish is a "wheeled carriage" and Ovid says that the Scythians, meaning the Sarmatians, called a carriage, *colossa*.

Herodotus says that the Persians called all the Scythians "Sakæ;" and the Hindus "included under the same names of Sacæ and Yavani all the nations living to the north and west of their neighbors, the Pahlavi or Persians."

Finally, Dr. Donaldson says:

In fact, in all countries which have been the highway of migration, we must expect that ethnical elements will be fused together in an entanglement which no modern knowledge can be expected to unravel.

The questions: "Whether India was the primitive country of the Aryan and European races," and, if not, what was that native country, have been carefully examined by Dr. Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, volume *ii*. pp. 301, *et seq.*

He refers to and quotes, besides the opinions of the scholars to whom I have already referred, those of Mr. A. Curzon, who holds that India *was* the native country, and of Mr. Elphinstone, who leaves the question undecided; and, in support of the contrary opinion, those of A. W. Von Schlegel, Lassen, Benfey, Weber, Roth, Spiegel, Renan and Pictet, all of whom held that the cradle of the race is to be looked for in some country external to India; in which opinion Dr. Muir concurs.

Lassen states the following forcible, if not conclusive, reasons against the theory that the race had its origin in India:

It would, first, be an improbable supposition that the nations which are now so widely extended, should have been derived from the remotest member of the entire series. Their common cradle must be sought, if not in the very centre, at all events in such a situation as to render a diffusion towards the different regions of the world practicable. This condition is not well fulfilled by supposing India to be the point of departure. Secondly, none of the phenomena of speech, customs or ideas observable among the other cognate nations, indicate an Indian origin. Of the countries which were anciently occupied by the great Indo-Germanic family, India was the most peculiar and differed the most widely from the others, and it would be very unaccountable that no traces of these Indian peculiarities should have been preserved by, e. g., the Keltic race in later times, if they had all originally dwelt in India. Among the names of plants and animals which are common to all these nations, there is none which is peculiar to India. The most widely diffused word for any species of corn (*yava*) denotes not rice, but barley.

And the third is, the manner in which India is geographically distributed among the various nations that inhabit it. The diffusion of the Aryans toward the south points to the conclusion that they came from the northwest; and their extension to the east, between the Himalaya and the Vindhaya indicates the same.

[Spiegel] prefers to assume with Lassen, that their original abode is to be sought in the extreme east of the Iranian country, in the tract where the Oxus and the Jaxartes take their rise.

Professor Weber says:

It seems, on the whole, that the climate of that country was rather temperate than tropical, most probably mild, and not so much unlike that of Europe, from which we are led to seek for it in the highlands of central Asia, which latter has been regarded from time immemorial, as the cradle of the human race.

Pictet, in his work, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, says:

By consulting successively national appellations, traditions, geography, philology and ethnography, we have arrived at the following conclusions: The Aryan people, as they called themselves, in opposition to the barbarian, must have occupied a region, of which Bactria may be regarded as the centre. This is the conclusion to which we are at once led, by merely comparing the directions followed by the swarms of men who issued from this centre, and which all radiated from it as a point of departure. The geographical configuration of this portion of Asia completely confirms this first induction; for the only possible outlets through which the population could issue occur at the very points where the principal currents of emigration have actually flowed, if we may judge by the ultimate positions of the Aryan people, and the scattered traditions which they have preserved of their origin.

His conclusion is,

that the primitive Aryana, at the period of its greatest extension, must have embraced nearly the whole of the region situated between the Hindu-Kush, Belurtagh, the Oxus and the Caspian Sea; and, perhaps, extended a good way into Sogdiana, towards the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. [And he supposes it to have been, at that time], partitioned among distinct tribes, united solely by the general bond of race, by the similarity of manners and language, by a common stock of beliefs and traditions, and by a sentiment of natural brotherhood.

The Irano-Aryans, he thinks, occupied the northeast corner, bordering on Sogdiana, towards Belurtagh, and at first spread towards the east, as far as the high mountain-valleys, from which they afterwards descended to colonize Iran; and the Indo-Aryans, the country alongside of them to the southwest, probably in the fertile regions of Badakhshan, occupying the slopes of the Hindu-Kush, which they afterwards had to cross or to round in order to arrive in Cabul, and penetrate thence into northern India. The Pelasgo-Aryans, he thinks, were in the southwest, toward the sources of the Artemis and the Bactrus; and that they advanced thence in the direction of Herat, and continued their migration by Khorasan and Mazenderan to Asia Minor and the Hellespont; finally becoming Greeks and Romans.

He puts the earliest emigration at not later than 3000 before Christ; and thinks that it may have been much earlier. I have no doubt that it was, by six or seven thousand years. The separation of the Zend and Sanskrit tongues took place before the Sun was in Gemini at the Vernal Equinox, at which time the stars Castor and Pollux were the Aswins.

Dr. Muir, summing up all the arguments, concludes that "we may place the cradle of the Aryans in or near Bactria." Dr. Haug thinks that the *primitive* "home of the Aryans, where there were ten months of winter, was far to the north of the Jaxartes." Spiegel thinks it was "in the furthest east of the Iranian plateau, in the region where the Oxus

and the Jaxartes take their rise." It is said more than once in the Zend-Avesta that Zarathustra sacrificed in Airyana Vaējā. That name, I am now satisfied, designated the fertile country around Samarkand, about Latitude 40° North. Yima went from the mountain region where the snow lay in the high valleys ten months in the year, to that fertile region, and it is possible that Zarathustra also lived and taught there. If, on the contrary, Yima, who is said to have led southward the first body of emigrants, was the chief of a mountain tribe, after the settlement of the country about Samarkand, and led his followers across the upper confluents of the Oxus, into the eastern part of Bactria, and to Balkh, then Bactria was the land of the Seven Kareshvares, and Zarathustra lived there. We know that Yima emigrated to the south, and, from the Veda, that he went from among those who were the ancestors of the Indo-Aryan race, to which those who went with him belonged; and of whom, afterwards called "The Fathers" by the Vedic poets, many more continued to follow him into the southern country, and we also know that he and the Fathers were always remembered with veneration by the Indo-Aryans, who called him Yama, and made him the deity that conducts souls to the other world.

I am convinced that after the Keltic, Sclavonic, Germanic, Greek and Latin migrations, the Aryan race still continued to occupy all the fertile country east of the Caucasus, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. No doubt they spread out from this region in more than one direction at once. To the westward they colonized all the valley of the river now called Zerafshan, formerly the Sogd. Three streams from the mountains run through Samarkand, and unite there; and the Zerafshan running a little north of the town, flows for a long distance westward, and then with a great sweep turns to the south and runs southward until it empties into Lake Denghiz, near the Oxus. In the great bend of the river lies a vast region of fertile country, around the city of Bokhara; and this was undoubtedly filled with Aryan colonists before the time of Zarathustra. At the same time, eastern Bactria and the country around Balkh may have been settled. From Bokhara, the stream of emigration probably flowed into Margiana, and thence up the Oxus into Bactria. Somewhere in these regions, the columns of colonization diverged, and one of them penetrating into Cabul, across the Hindu-Kush, at length crossed the Indus, its language becoming Sanskrit, while the other advanced to the southwest, towards Media, its language becoming Zend. A great invasion of Tātars or Toorkhs, across the Jaxartes, probably compelled the remaining Aryans to follow, or those who remained became subordinate to the conquerors.

It is quite certain (and I think that no more can with certainty be said), that Zarathustra lived in the country of the Seven Kareshvares or regions, and that this was either Bokhara or Bactria. He may have been reared

in the valley of Samarkand, and gone thence to the country further south, and he may not have been in Bactria at all, but only in Bokhara or Margiana. *Some* country he wrested from the native tribes and Tatars; and divided it among his soldiery. That we know with certainty.

When the later portions of the Zend-Avesta were composed, probably in Media, all real knowledge of the original home of the race was no doubt lost, and one country may have become confounded with the other. What was supposed to have been Bactria may have been Bokhara, or all that region on both sides of the Oxus may have had one name. There have been vast changes in all that region, the deserts of sand having once been plains of fertile land, upon which the sand was afterwards drifted by the wind. The Aral and Caspian and the Oxus have changed their level, and the Zerafshan was once a much larger stream than it is at this day.

ARYAN LANGUAGES.

In his *Philosophy of Universal History*, ii. 6, Bunsen says:

Eight, more or less extensive, historical families or single nations have been ascertained to constitute one great Asiatic-European stock, of which even the remotest members speak original languages, more intimately connected with each other than with any third tongue, or family of tongues, in the world. We have called this stock the Iranian, according to a terminology which recommends itself by many advantages.

Max Müller, *Languages of the Seat of War*, 27, says:

The second family of languages [the Semitic being the first, and the Turanian the third], is the Arian, or, as it used to be called, the Indo-European. The latter name indicates the geographical extent of this family from India to Europe, the former recalls its historical recollections, *Arya*, the most ancient name by which the ancestors of this family called themselves.

In the later Sanskrit *ārya* means of a good family, venerable, a lord; but it is no longer used as a national name, except as applied to the holy land of the Brahmins, which is still called, *Ārya Āvarta*, the abode of the Aryans. In the Veda, however, *Ārya* occurs very frequently as a name of honour reserved to the higher classes, in opposition to the *Dasyus*, their enemies. For instance, *Rig Veda*, i. 54, 8: ‘Know then the Aryans, O Indra, and they who are Dasyus; punish the lawless, and deliver them unto Thy servant! Be Thou the mighty helper of the worshipper, and I shall praise all these Thy deeds at the festivals.’ And again, i. 303, 3: ‘Bearing the thunderbolt and trusting in His strength, He strode about, rending in pieces the cities of the Slaves. Thunderer, Thou art wise; hurl Thy shaft against the Dasyu; let the power of the Aryas grow into glory.’

The word *arya*, according to Eichhoff, from the root *ar*, meant valiant, and *aris*, from the same root, warrior; and that this was the true meaning of the Greek words *ἀρης* and *ἀρειος*, a warrior, the former of which is the name of the god Mars, as Aryaman, in the Veda, is the planet Mars. It is plain to me, from the passages cited above and others in the Veda, that *arya* was not a name of honour reserved to the higher classes, but the name of the people, the *Dasyus* being of a hostile and indigenous race, “lawless,” i. e., refusing to worship Indra, and sufficiently civilized to live in cities —more civilized, perhaps, than their nomadic conquerors. The first migratory columns of the Aryans did not, it is to be presumed, encounter savages only. During the long previous existence of the human race, there must have grown up, here and there, empires like Mexico and Peru; and in northern Asia there are immense architectural remains that were not builded by any race of which we have any tradition.

In the later dogmatical literature of the Vedic age [the post-Vedic], the name *arya* is distinctly appropriated to the three first castes of the Brahmanic Society but while this old name *arya* fell into oblivion amongst the Hindūs, it was faithfully preserved by the Medians and Persians.

We have seen that the Medians, it was told to Herodotus, were originally called *Arioi*, and Hellenicus gives Aria as a synonym of Persia. The Sassanian kings called themselves, in their inscriptions, “kings of the Aryan and un-Aryan races.” Stephanus gives Aria as a synonym of Thrace; and *Ario-vistus*, the enemy of Cæsar, and a tribe of Arii known to Tacitus, attest the presence of the same title in the forests of Germany.

Thus we have everywhere the faint echoes of a name which once sounded through the valleys of the Himalayas; and it seems but natural that comparative philology, which first succeeded in tracing the common origin of all the races enumerated before, should have selected this old and venerable title, for their common appellation.

Arya was the true name of the ancestors of the Medes and Indians. Why should it be changed for Irania? Iran (from *airyana Vaejo*) is a modern name of Persia, and the Os, an Arian race in the mountains of the Caucasus, call themselves *Iron*; but I fail to see how the term *Iranian* is appropriate in speaking of the original race. I prefer, for the name of the stock, the word Aryan, and for the two branches; Irano-Aryan and Indo-Aryan.

The eight branches of the stock, as enumerated by Bunsen are:

1. The Celts (or Kelts)—once spread over Asia Minor (Galatia), Spain, France, Belgium, Helvetia, a great part of Germany, and throughout the British Isles. It still exists in the Kymric (of which the Bas Breton is a corrupted form), as the language of Wales, and in two cognate forms, as the Gaelic and the Erse, as the native tongue of the Highlands of Scotland, and of the whole of Ireland. This family, Bunsen thinks, represents the most ancient formation of the whole stock.

2. The Thracian or Illyrian, once spread on the Dnieper, the Hellespont, and in Asia Minor, in which countries it was followed, and partly supplanted, by the Pelasgian, or ante-historical formation of the Hellenic. The Phrygians, the Mæonians or Iranic Lydians, the Western Cappadocians, as well as the Thracians, are next in kin to the Aryans proper, the Persians and Bactrians. The languages of the Epirots and Macedonians belong to this family, which is now represented in those countries by the Skipetarian, the language of the Albanians or Arnauts.

3. The Armenian.

4. What Bunsen proposes to call the “Aryan” or the Iranian stock as presented in Iran proper. He says:

Here we must establish two great subdivisions. The one comprises the nations of Iran proper, or the Arian stock, the languages of Media and Persia. Its most primitive representative is the Zend. We designate by this name, both the language of the most ancient cuneiform inscriptions (or Persian inscriptions in Assyrian characters), of the sixth and fifth century, B. C., and that of the ancient parts of the Zend-Avesta, or the sacred books of the Parsees We take the one as the latest specimen of the western dialect of the ancient Persian and Median (for the two nations had one tongue), in its evanescent state, as a dead language; the other as an ancient specimen of its eastern dialect, preserved for ages by tradition, and therefore not quite pure in its vocalism, but quite complete in its system of forms. The younger representatives of the Persian language are the Pehlevi (the language of the Sassanians), and the Pazend, the mother of the present, or modern Persian tongue, which is represented in its purity by Ferdusi, about the year 1000. The Pushtu, or language of the Afghans, belongs to the same branch. The second subdivision embraces the Aryan languages of India, represented by the Sanskrit and its daughters.

How "the Aryan or Iranian stock, as presented in Iran proper", can have as "a subdivision, the nations of Iran proper, or the Aryan stock, the languages of Media and Persia," and what is left of it for the other subdivision, "the Aryan languages of India," I do not clearly see.

5. The Hellenico-Italic, or the Greek and Roman and all the Italic languages, with the doubtful exception of the Etruscan,—these Italic tongues being those of Italy proper, south of the Appennines, and of the Italic Isles.

The Etruscan, Bunsen says, at all events was a mixed language, having a ground-work kindred to Greek and Latin, with a great barbarian intermixture.

Donaldson, *Varronianus*, 139, thinks that the Etruscan language, as we have it, is in part a Pelasgian idiom, more or less corrupted and deformed, by contact with the Umbrian, and in part a relic of the oldest Low German or Scandinavian dialects. And he concludes (67), as he does in the *New Cratylus* that the Etruscans, properly so called, were Rhætians (from the Rhætian Alps) who at one time occupied a continuous area, stretching from western Germany across the Tyrol unto the Plains of Lombardy; and that therefore it follows, as an ethnographical fact, that the Etruscans must have been a Low-German, Gothic or Saxon tribe.

If this is true, it must have required an immense lapse of time for the language of this Low-German people, of Aryan descent, to become so completely indigenous as that philologists tell us of "the hitherto unexplored Arcana of the mysterious Etruscan language", and admit that nobody has ever been able to read with certainty a single line of it.

These Etruscans, too, had become, *before* the Aryan emigration into Italy, a great, powerful and cultivated people. The Pelasgian migration of Græco-Aryans, found them there, in the possession of the arts, and with

institutions of government and religion consecrated and consolidated by time. If they were Low-Germans, this may give us some faint idea of the vast space of time that must have been between the Germano-Aryan or Gotho-Aryan migration, and that of the Hellenic and Italic Aryans, and the Kelto-Aryan outflow was still more ancient.

6. The Sclavonic nations, in their two great branches; the Eastern, comprising the Beke and of Nesta, the Russian, Servian, Croatic, and Wendic; and the Western, the language of the Czechs (Bohemian), Slovaks, Poles and Servians. In the ancient world, this great, powerful and much divided family is represented by the Sauromatae of the Greeks or the Sarmatae of the Romans, a nation living on the Don, and near the Caspian Sea.

7. The Lithuanian tribes, among which the ancient Prussian represents the most perfect form; the language being in some points nearer to the Sanskrit than any other existing tongue.

8. The Teutonic nations, in their two families, the Scandinavian and the German. The first has preserved its most ancient form in the Icelandic; the Swedish and Danish are the modern daughters of the old Norse language of Scandinavia. The German, the language of the whole of Germany and almost the whole of Switzerland, has received, in its northern or Saxon form a peculiar individuality in the Flemish and Dutch tongues, has become the language of the British Islands, and that of the larger part of North America; while the southern German, mingling with the Latin, has produced the Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages.

Dr. Donaldson says, *New Cratylus*, 141:

Although we have no good reason to doubt the great antiquity of the Sanskrit language, and though the writings in which it is contained are the modern representatives of a school of hymnic, epic and didactic poetry, probably older than the oldest specimens of Greek literature, we must not suppose that it was, as we have it now, the same old Iranian idiom which was taken into Europe; on the contrary, it bears evident marks of those changes which long usage introduces into every language, and which have not operated to so great extent in some of the sister tongues of Europe, for instance the Low-German, Latin and Greek. However, as we do not possess any memorials of the primeval language from which it sprang, although we might be able, from a comparison of all the languages of the family, to make a probable reproduction of its grammatical system, and as the Sanskrit does present most remarkable correspondences with the oldest European languages of the Indo-Germanic family, we must be content to take it as the representative of the old Low-Iranian.

The various languages now existing and called "Aryan" have not been formed into their present shape by those changes which language undergoes while the people who speak it continue unchanged by intermixtures with other races. If the Sclavonic Aryans, for example, had not become, more

and more, after their migrations and conquests began, a composite people, part Aryan and part native or indigenous, each tribe conquered by them adding new elements, their Aryan language would not have become the modern Sclavonic in a million years; in fact, never. The original tongue would have changed, of course, but if foreign races had not been incorporated with those who spoke it, and foreign additions had not been continually made to the language, there would never have been any Greek, Latin, Gothic, Zendic or Sclavonic languages, as we know them.

I do not believe in the *possibility* of the descent or outgrowth of all languages from one. I think that nothing is more preposterously absurd than to ascribe to the Chinese, Egyptian, Phœnician and Sanskrit a common origin. Darwin's notion of the development of men from apes is not a whit more irrational. The Italian, Spanish and French languages were not formed by the changes that time made in the Latin; but by the mixture of fifty other languages with it. Latin would not have changed into Italian by the *mere* process of change in the same unchanged people, in an eternity; for consequences must have adequate and appropriate causes.

The processes by which, from such an intermixture of Aryan and barbarous languages, the Greek was formed, and came to be what it was for Plato and Demosthenes, must have been of immense length. Those who went farthest and occupied most countries in succession, or who were relatively less in number, compared with the people whose countries they invaded, retained least of their original language. The Indo-Aryans, if they migrated at once, or even by successive marches with intervals between, from Sogdiana to the Punjâb, found few, perhaps no alien races on the route, to argue, and may, it is quite possible, have retained the original language, with only such changes as time effects. On the long way to Persia, long halts must have been made, many tribes been swallowed up, and the Zend formed in large measure by foreign admixture and changes effected not by time but by alien influences.

The opinion once entertained [Dr. Donaldson says], by the majority of English Orientalists, that the Zend language is not a genuine dialect, but an artificial and fabricated idiom, or at best a corrupted Sanskrit, has been abandoned of late years by all scientific philologists. Rask was the first to show that Zend is as much entitled to take its place among the primitive languages of the Indo-Germanic family, as the Greek, the Lithuanian, or the Sanskrit, and that the Avesta must have existed in writing, previous to the time of Alexander the Great. The late Eugène Burnouf submitted the text of the Yaçna to a minute grammatical analysis, and completely established the independent character of the Zend language, and its great philological value, and he was followed by Bopp, who included the language of the Avesta among those which are compared with other Aryan idioms in his great work. The recovery from the cuneiform inscriptions of the language actually spoken by the Persians under the Achæmenian kings,—a good work which was begun by Grotfend, and completed by Lassen and

Rawlinson—has given us a form of human speech differing from the Zend only in the conditions of its development. And we can now see that the language of the Zoroastrian books, no less than that of the rock-inscriptions of the first Darius, belongs to the same class as that of the Vedas, or sacred books of the Brahmins; and that even the names of the Vaidik deities, which appear with strangely altered applications in the Avesta, have survived in the heroes of the Shahnameh, having passed 'through the Zoroastrian schism, the Achaemenian reign, the Macedonian occupation, the Parthian Wars, the Sassanian revival, and the Mohammedan conquest.' [Which is not true, as to 'the Vaidik deities,' most of whom, and the principal ones (except Indra) do not appear in the Avesta at all.] So far, then, is Zend from being a corruption of the classical Sanskrit, that it actually ranks itself with the primitive speech of the Brahmins.

Prof. Max Müller says, *Languages of the Seat of the War in the East*, 31, speaking of the Aryan family of languages:

The first branch of this family belongs to India. It is represented in ancient times by the Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas, or the sacred language of the Brahmins. Although this language presents the most primitive type of the Aryan family, still it is impossible to consider the Greek, Latin and German as derived from Sanskrit in the same manner as the Romance dialects are from Latin. All we can say is, that Sanskrit is the elder sister, and that therefore it can, on some points of grammar, reveal to us, as it were, the earliest impressions of the childhood of the Aryan family. It stands, to the other languages, as the Provençal to French and Italian; a relation which does not exclude the possibility that occasionally the younger sisters may have preserved their original features more distinctly than Sanskrit or Provençal.

The second branch of the Aryan family is the Persian, which may equally be followed in its historical growth and decay through different periods of literature. The language of the Zend-Avesta, the sacred remnants of the Zoroastrian religion; the inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes; the Pehlevi of the Sassanian dynasty (226, A. D.), mixed with Semitic elements, but purely Aryan in its grammar, proscribed by edict in the 5th century of our era; the Pazend or Parsi, the national Persian, freed of its foreign admixtures, the language of the grand epic poem of Firdusi (1000, A. D.), and the motley idiom now spoken in Persia, exhibit a complete biography of the Iranian language, the half-brother of Sanskrit.

Other scions of the Aryan stock, in Asia, enumerated by him, are:

1. The Afghan, or language of the Patans, the inhabitants of Cabul. It belongs by its grammar to the Persian branch. The Beluk, also, the conquerors of Sind, the southern neighbors of the Afghans, speak in a dialect closely allied to the Persian.
2. The language of the people of Bokhara, a modern Persian dialect, spoken originally by the Tajiks, north of Balkh.
3. The language of the Kurds, likewise of Iranian character, though strongly mixed with Semitic words, and without any literary cultivation. There are many dialects of it. The country of the Kurds lies south of

Armenia and east of the Tigris, the Zagros mountains dividing the whole country into two unequal parts. The country west of this line, between the Zagros mountains and the Tigris belongs to the Turkish Empire. The Kurds are still nomads, wandering even in very distant regions.

4. The Armenian, decidedly Aryan in the grammar, but differing both from the Indian and Iranian type. The ancient Armenian is now a dead language.

5. The Ossetian, spoken by the Os (Ossetes), who call themselves Iron, who occupy the country west of the great military road which crosses the Caucasus from north to south. This language, spoken in the centre of Mount Caucasus, and surrounded on all sides by tongues of different origin, stands out, like a block of granite, errant in the midst of sandstone strata, a strayed landmark of the migrations of the Aryan tribes. Klaproth thinks that the first ancestors of the Os were Medians, transplanted, according to Diodorus Siculus, by the Scythians into Sarmatia, in the 7th century before Christ. There is little doubt, Müller says, that the Sarmatians were a Median colony of that century; and he says that after Safarik's investigations, "no critical historian can for the future treat these Sarmatians as the ancestors of the Slavonic Nations." The language of the Os is a welcome link between the Aryan dialects of Asia and Europe.

Of the European Aryans, the Kelts seem to have been the first to arrive in Europe, where the pressure of subsequent emigrations, particularly of Teutonic tribes, has driven them towards the westernmost parts, and, latterly, across the Atlantic. The only Keltic dialects now remaining are the Cymric and the Gadhelic. The Cymric comprises the Welsh, the Cornish (now extinct), and the Armorican of Brittany. The Gadhelic comprises the Irish, the Gaelic of the west coast of Scotland, and the dialect of the Isle of Man.

Once, Gaul, Belgium and Britain were Keltic dominions, and the north of Italy was chiefly inhabited by them. In the time of Herodotus we find Kelts in Spain; and Switzerland, the Tyrol, and the country south of the Danube have been the seats of Keltic tribes. A Keltic colony founded Galatia, in Asia, and the language of the Gauls was still spoken there, in the time of St. Jerome. The Keltic chief (Brenn) conquered Rome (390, B. C.), and another threatened Delphi (280).

Now it is not at all probable that the stream of the first Aryan emigration reached Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, Northern Germany, or even France, for many ages after it flowed out from Turkestan. There must have been long and tedious journeyings and frequent pauses, fierce contests with the indigenous races, successive waves of emigration, occupation of one country after another, for long periods of time, until a distinct people was formed in each, by fusion with the native races and long peace and

quiet; continual accretions to the original race and its language, until almost all traces of the original tongue disappeared, and the type of the race and its nature wholly changed, and they became the fiery, impulsive, fickle Gaul in France, the dull and sober Teuton in Germany, those of no two countries alike, each taking its characteristics chiefly from the native races. I say *Teuton*, because it is certain that more than one tribe called Germanic was really Keltic.

By merely natural increase, twenty thousand years would hardly have been enough for the multiplication of the first migratory masses of the Aryans to swell into the immense Keltic masses that overspread much of Asia, and probably all Europe. The incorporation of conquered races made the process more brief; but ten thousand years must have elapsed between the first migration and the birth of Christ. The Italo-Aryan migration was centuries, scores of centuries, later than the Keltic, and we learn that the Oscan language, spoken by the Samnitæ had produced a literature before the Romans even knew the art of writing; and the tables of Iguvio bear witness to a priestly literature among the Umbrians, at a very early period. How long before that the Etruscans were a powerful and cultivated people, we do not know. But it is quite certain that if the Oscans and Umbrians were Aryans, the first Italo-Aryan emigration reached Italy many centuries before Rome was founded. And if they were indigenous, or pre-Aryan, whether originating in Italy, or, like the Etruscans, elsewhere, it must have required a very long time for them to attain the degree of civilization which we know they had reached. The primitive people of all Europe are only known by their recently discovered implements of stone, and the remains of their lacustrine dwellings. No one knows when they lived, builded and hunted. Created there, they lived their time, and were exterminated; but it may be that modern languages are composed in part of the tongues they spoke.

Recent explorations of old Jerusalem have proven that it had been a great city; built by what may be conveniently enough called the Cyclopæan Architects, thousands of years before the time of David and Salamoh. Perhaps these builders were the contemporaries of those who reared the huge stone edifices of Karnak and Stonehenge.

The Wallachian is the daughter of the language spoken in the Roman province of Dacia. It is spoken in Wallachia and Moldavia, in parts of Hungary, Transylvania and Bessarabia, and on the right bank of the Danube occupies some parts of old Thracia, Macedonia and even Thessaly.

The original language of Dacia was Illyrian. We have hardly any remains of it, and are unable to form an opinion as to its relationship with Greek or any other family of speech.

Any one acquainted with Italian and French would master the grammar of Wallachian in a fortnight.

The Hellenic language has had but one successor, the modern Greek. The Albanian, spoken in the ancient Illyricum and Epirus, offers a problem that no one is able to solve. Whether it is Keltic, or old Illyrian, or an independent idiom spoken before any Aryan migration, or Tataric or Thracian, or chiefly Indo-Germanic or Aryan, the philologists cannot agree. Professor Pott thinks the Albanians are Illyrians, and that these best answer to the name of Pelasgoi. He says that the Illyrians were not Gothic nor Sclavonic, Finns nor Turks, nor anything, in fact, but autochthones.

After reviewing the Teutonic and Sclavonic languages, Müller says, of all:

All took their origin from one central language, the language of the Aryan ancestors. Since their first separation took place, in times previous to Homer, Zoroaster and the poets of the Veda, no new roots have been added to the common inheritance of these dialects, no new elements have been created in the formation of their grammar. They have experienced various losses, and compensated them by a skilful application of what they carried away as their common heirloom. All, from Sanskrit to English, are but various forms of the same type, modifications of a language once formed in Asia, we know not and can hardly imagine how, yet a language the existence and reality of which has the full certainty of matters resting on inductive evidence, although it goes back to times when historical chronology borders on the geological eras.

Again, of the Aryan and Semitic languages, he says:

In the grammatical features of the latter class [both], we can discover the stamp of one powerful mind, once impressed on the floating materials of speech at the very beginning of their growth, and never to be obliterated again in the course of centuries. Like mighty empires founded by the genius of one man, in which his will is perpetuated as law through generations to come, the Semitic and Aryan languages exhibit in all ages and countries a strict historical continuity, which makes the idioms of Moses and Mohammed, of Homer and Shakespeare, appear but slightly altered impressions of the original type. Most words and grammatical forms in these two families seem to have been thrown out but once, by the creative power of an individual mind; and the differences of the various Semitic and Aryan languages, whether ancient or modern, were produced, not so much by losses and new creations, as by changes and corruptions which defaced in various ways the original design of these most primitive works of human art. This process of handing down a language through centuries, without break or loss, is possible only among people whose history runs in one main stream; and where religion, law and poetry supply well-defined borders which hem in on every side the current of language. Thus only can it be explained how, at the present day, the Lithuanian peasant expresses "I am," *esmi*, with exactly the same root and the same termination which the poet of the Veda used in India four thousand years ago; and how the numerals which we employ, are the same tokens which

passed current among the common ancestors of the Teutons, Greeks, Romans and Hindus.

But it is an extravagance and grave error to say that Gaelic and Low Dutch, Russian and French, German and Sanskrit are "only various forms of the same type," and "modifications of one language." For not a hundredth part of either is Aryan, and hardly a thousandth part of Welsh, Erse or Gaelic.

The notion that most words and grammatical forms of any language are owing to the creative power of one individual mind, is simply the suggestion of an impossibility. If there was but one original language, the formation of that is as great a mystery as the formation of a thousand original independent ones. We do not know and never shall know how it is that two men were ever able to fix upon particular words to express particular thoughts, which each could not communicate to the other, in themselves, but only by arbitrary symbols. A sign that all men will understand, can say plainly enough, "I am hungry;" but how were ever particular sounds fixed on to represent abstract ideas? All the North American Indians I ever saw had particular signs, and a great many of them, by which they could converse, though neither could speak a word of the language of the other. After all, is it not just as inexplicable that every canary has the same song; and that Bob o' Lincoln tells you unmistakably what he is, as soon as he opens his bill? The ants and bees converse, in some way or other,—how, we cannot conceive. The youngest chicken that can run knows the alarm call of the hen, and does not have to *learn* what it means. Surely the Supreme and Infinite Creative Power which could create the birds and animals with a limited power to communicate their thoughts and wishes by sounds, could, upon creating any race of men, bestow upon them a language and enable them at once to communicate with each other. There are Negro and Indian languages that no Negro or Indian could ever have invented. The conjugations of the Muskoki verbs, active and passive, for example, are as regular as those of the Latin verbs, as I know, having reduced them, in all the modes and tenses, to writing. Nor is the Divine Power so limited that it could create only one race or one language.

Professor Müller sees the truth plainly, when he says (108):

In the grammar of the Turkic language, we have before us a language of perfectly transparent structure, and a grammar whose inner workings we can study; as if watching the building of cells in a crystal beehive. An eminent Orientalist remarked, '*We might imagine Turkish to be the result of the deliberation of some eminent society of learned men*'; but no such society could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the Steppes of Tartary, and guided in its innate laws, or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.

He thus forcibly pictures the wonders embodied in language:

Given so small a number of graphic and demonstrative roots as would not suffice to express the commonest wants of human beings; to produce an instrument that shall render the faintest shade of feeling and thought;—given a vague infinitive or a stern imperative; to derive from it such modes as optative or subjunctive, and such tenses as an aorist or a paulo-post future;—given incoherent utterances; to arrange them into a system where all is uniform and regular; all combined and harmonious,—such is the work of the human mind which we see realized in language. But in most languages, nothing of this early process remains visible, and we hardly know whether to call them the work of nature or of art. They stand before us like solid rocks, and the microscope of the philologist alone can reveal the remains of organic life of which they are composed.

And what is most wonderful is, that all this is done by the barbarian intellect as perfectly as by the intellect of the highest and most civilized race. And it is done, too, before writing is invented, and while these results are perpetuated in the memory alone.

There are certain ascertained laws in regard to the changes of letters which words undergo, in their passage from one language to another; but no one gives us an explanation of the *causes* of these laws or changes. Every one knows that certain languages are without particular letters. There is no *g*, for example, in the Mūskoki or Creek language. Every one knows, also, that there are certain letters which certain tribes cannot pronounce, and which they consequently change into other sounds.

Every Latin *f*, at the beginning of words, is changed in Spanish into *h*. *Facere*, to do, becomes *hacer*; *folium*, leaf, *hoja*; *fabulari*, to speak, *hablar*; *facies*, face, *haz*; and *firma*, firm, *herma*.

The Latin *ct* becomes in Italian *tt*, and in Wallachian *pt* or *ft*. The Italian *fatto*, *petto*, *otto*, *cotto*, are the Latin *factus*, *pectus*, *octo* and *coctus*. The Wallachian *dóftér*, *coft*, *lapte*, *pept*, *asteptare*, are the Latin *docter*, *coctus*, *lac*, *pectis*, and *expectare*. So, in the same language, a Latin *l* between two vowels is changed into *r* or into *i*, pronounced like the semi-vowel *y*. *Poperu*, is *populus*, people; *mérà*, *mola*, a mill; *firu*, *filum*, thread; *cerin*, *cælum*, heaven; *scara*, *scala*, steps; *fiiu*, *filius*, son; *muuiere*, *mulier*, woman, and *gaiina*, *gallina*, hen.

So *qu* changes into *p*, if followed by *a*. Thus *apa*, for the Latin *aqua*; *épà*, a mare, for *equa*; *patru*, four, for *quatuor*.

The Yūchis, once an independent tribe, but long since incorporated into the Creek nation, speak a language totally different from the Mūskoki or Creek. The latter has the Spanish vowel sounds, and no others. *Kasussa*, a cricket, is pronounced precisely as if it were a Spanish word. But the Yūchis have a multitude of words ending with *a* short, pronounced exactly as *a* in the word *and*. The Shawanos, who live with the Greeks,

have the Spanish *cedilla*, the *c* pronounced *th* soft and lisping; and the Ouasashis (Osage) have the French *u*. The Kiowas and Navajos have sounds that I found it impossible to pronounce.

Now, how did the separation of the Aryan race cause certain letters to be disused by one or the other portion of the same people, and others to be substituted for them? How could the mere separation produce change in the vocal organs? A colony of Englishmen would not lose the power of pronouncing the letter *l* or *v* in a thousand years. I can see no explanation of it, except that as the South Sea Islanders were created, for example, without the power of pronouncing certain letters, and a mixture of their language with English, to be spoken by a mixed race, composed of their children by English fathers or mothers, would be likely to be without the letters which they cannot pronounce. So the change of the letters in the tongues derived from the Latin is owing to the inability of those uniting with the Romans to form the new race, to pronounce the discarded letters, or their habitual preference for one letter over another. In Wallachian, the substituted letters are due, no doubt, to the Dacian element among the mixed race.

I believe that the different Indian tribes were separately created, with different languages, each in its own locality. The Osages are men of great stature, large every way, and with huge aquiline noses. The men of no other tribe resemble them. The girls of the Neun (Comanches) have little delicate feet, while the Müskoki and Chahta women have theirs large, long and ill-shapen. In some tribes, the head is vertically of longer diameter in proportion, and in others, it is horizontally longer; a difference so distinctly marked as characteristic of whole tribes, that it has been supposed that the ancestors of one came from Asia by Behring's Strait, and those of the other from the Canaries.

So the different tribes were created with differences in their vocal organs, the languages of some wanting letters which others have; and some having sounds peculiar to themselves, like the rough palatal Osage (*hhra*), which is heard nowhere else.

Professor Bopp says, in the Preface to his *Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, etc.*:

The relations of the ancient Indian languages to their European kindred, are, in part, so palpable as to be obvious to every one who casts a glance at them, even from a distance; in part, however, so concealed, so deeply implicated in the most secret passages of the organization of the language, that we are compelled to consider every language subjected to a comparison with it, as also the language itself, from new stations of observation, and to employ the highest powers of grammatical science and method, in order to recognize and illustrate the original unity of the different grammars. . . . The family bond which embraces the

Indo-European race of languages is not indeed less universal [*than that which embraces the Semitic*], but, in most of its bearings, of a quality infinitely more refined. The members of this race inherited, from the period of their earliest youth, endowments of exceeding richness, and with the capability, the methods, also, of a system of unlimited composition and agglutination. Possessing much, they were able to bear the loss of much, and yet to retain their local life; and by multiplied losses, alterations, suppressions of sounds, conversions and displacements, the members of the common family are become scarcely recognizable to each other. . . .

The close relation between the classical and Germanic languages has, with the exception of mere comparative lists of words, copious indeed, but destitute of principle and critical judgment, remained, down to the period of the appearance of the Asiatic intermediary, almost entirely unobserved, although the acquaintance of philologists with the Gothic dates now from a century and a half; and that language is so perfect in its grammar, and so clear in its affinities, that had it been earlier submitted to a regular and systematic process of comparison and anatomical investigation, the pervading relation of itself, and, with it, of the entire Germanic stock, to the Greek and Roman, would necessarily have long since been unveiled, tracked through all its variations, and by this time been understood and recognized by every philologer. For what is more important, or can be more earnestly desired by the cultivator of the classical languages, than their comparison with our mother-tongue in her oldest and most perfect form? Since the Sanskrit has appeared above our horizon, that element can no longer be excluded from a really profound investigation of any province of language related to it.

And Grimm says, in the preface to his Grammar:

As the too exalted position of the Latin and Greek serves not for all questions in German grammar, where some words are of simpler and deeper sound, so, however, according to A. W. Schegel's excellent remark, the far more perfect Indian grammar, may, in these cases, supply the requisite connections. The dialect which history demonstrates to be the oldest and least corrupted, must, in the end, present the most profound rules for the general exposition of the race, and thus lead us on to the reformation, without the entire subversion of the rules hitherto discovered, of the more recent modes of speech.

The Zend grammar [Bopp says], could only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little; for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanskrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster. Rask, who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly that its forgotten lore has yet to be rediscovered. I am also able, I believe, to demonstrate that the Pehlevi translator (vol. *ii*, pp. 476, *et seq.*) of the Zend vocabulary, edited by Anquetil, has frequently and entirely failed in conveying the grammatical sense of the Zend words which he translates. The work abounds with singular mistakes.

It was an admirable problem, which had for its solution, the bringing to light, in India, and, so to say, under the very eye of the Sanskrit, a sister language, no longer understood, and obscured by the rubbish of ages—a problem of which the solution indeed has not hitherto been fully obtained, but beyond doubt will be. . . .

Dr. Muir remarks (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 226. 7, etc.), that the old language of Bactria or Persia, which, in one of its branches and at a certain stage of its progress, was the Zend, was closely connected with the Sanskrit; between which latter and the ancient Greeks and that of the Romans, also, there is a close resemblance (and frequently an almost perfect identity in very many words, both as regards the roots and the inflection; which is also the case as regards the Zend and the Sanskrit).

And, he says:

Now, when we find that a multitude of roots coincide in any two languages, of which the one does not derive them from the other, we may be sure, even though the one may have no complex system of inflection, while the other has, that these two languages have a common origin, especially if we can show that the one which is deficient in inflections has gradually lost them by a particular process of alteration which can still be traced. But if any two languages resemble one another both in roots

The reader will find in the appendix to this work, sufficient grammatical and etymological evidence of the common origin of the Zend and Sanskrit languages, and of the others that have been named.

In many of the words given there, corresponding both in sound and sense, in Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian and other languages, the resemblance is (in the words of Dr. Muir),

so close that no doubt can be entertained of their affinity, that they see all the representatives (more or less changed), of some one particular word in the original language from which they have all been derived. In other cases, where the resemblance is not so apparent, the affinity can nevertheless be satisfactorily proved by observation of the fact, that one or more of the letters of words having the same signification in the different languages always or generally vary from each other in a uniform manner in the different languages.

This point will be illustrated in detail in the appendix.

Dr. Muir continues as follows:

I should first remark that the original forms of the cognate words in question, as they existed in their assumed mother-language, cannot in all cases be determined with certainty; but in most instances they can be fixed with an approach to precision. Thus, from a comparison of the Sanskrit *ahi*, with the Greek *εχις*, and the Latin *anguis* (snake), we may gather with probability that the original form was *aghi* or *anghi*. Similarly, the Sanskrit *duhitar*, and the Greek *θυγατηρ* (daughter), seem to come from *dughatar* or *dhughatar*; *açva* and *equus*, horse, from *akva*; *çvan* and *kuõn*, dog, from *kvan*; *jonu* and *gonu* from *gānu*; *jna*, *gignosco* and *nosco*, from *grâ*. Some of the consonants found in Sanskrit do not appear to have existed in the original Indo-European tongue, such as *cha*, *ja*, *gha*, which are considered to have been developed out of *k* and *g*. From a comparison of the different cognate words, it results that certain consonants of the original language remain uniform in all the derivative tongues, whilst others vary in one or more of the latter.

We are often enabled, by aid of the Zend language, as we are by that of the Greek and Latin, to go back to an old root, no longer to be found, except in its derivatives referred to another root in Sanskrit; and it is, it seems generally true, that the Zend words more closely resemble the old roots; and this not only in form, but in meaning.

Dr. Muir gives the following table of changes of letters, from Schleicher's *Compendium der vergl. Grammatik*:

Indo-European	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin
k.	k. (kh). ch.	k. (kh). ch.	κ. γ.	c. qv.
	ç. p.	ç. p.	π. τ.	
g.	g. j.	g. (gh). j.	γ. β.	g. gv. v.
gh.	gh. h.	g. gh. ž. z.	χ.	g. gv. v. h. f.
t.	t. th.	t. (th. t̄).	τ.	t.
d.	d.	d. (dh).	δ.	d. l.
dh.	dh.	d. dh.	θ.	d. f. b.
p.	p. ph.	p. (f).	π.	p.
b.	b.	b.	β.	b.
bh.	bh.	b. (w).	φ.	b. f.
n.	n.	n.	ν.	n.
m.	m.	m.	μ.	m.
r.	r. l. (r. ŋ. d. l. as vowels.)	r.	ρ. λ.	r. l.
y.	y.	y.	ι. ε. ξ. ζ.	j. i.
s.	s. sh.	s. sh. ç. h. nh. u'h. ph.	σ. ς.	s. r.
v.	v.	v. (w). p. b.	υ. Φ.	v. u.
sk.	shh.			
sv.		qh.		

In Sanskrit, the dental letters *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *s*, sometimes become linguals (or cerebrals, *t̄*, *d̄*, etc.); and the nasals *n* and *m*, become *ñ*, *ń* and *ñ*, in consequence of certain phonetic laws. In Greek *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *thy*=*ɔs*; *dy*, *gy*=*ζ*.

These laws and variations are exemplified in such words as the following:

(a) Where *k* remains common to Sanskrit, Greek and Latin—as in *aksha*, *axon* (= *akshon*), *axis* (= *aksis* or *dakshina*), *dexios* (= *deksios*), *dexter* (= *dekster*); or *kshura*=*xuron* (= *kshuron*).

(b) Where *κ* in Greek and *c*=*k* in Latin are represented by *ç* in Sanskrit—as in *deka*, *decem* (= *daçan*); *ekaton*, *centum*=*çatam*; *kuon*, *canis*=*çvan*; *derk*=*darç*. According to Bopp, the Sanskrit *ç* (*ś* or *š*), is almost always the corruption of an original *k*. Schleicher says it was originally a *k*, and ought perhaps, properly to be pronounced as the German *ch*, which is in sound not unlike the Persian and Arabic *khe*.

(c) γ in Greek and Latin, is in Sanskrit frequently represented by *j*; as in $\alpha\gamma\omega$, *ago*=*ajâmi*; in $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\omega$, *nosco*=*jânâmi*; $\gamma\epsilon\nu\nu\alpha\omega$, *gigno*=*jajanâni*; $\alpha\gamma\mu\sigma\omega$, *ager*=*ajra*.

(d) kh (χ) in Greek, is represented by *gh*, and *h* in Sanskrit, and by *h* and *g* in Latin; as in *elakhus*=*laghus*; *ekhis*=*ahi* and *anguis*; *kheima*=*hima* and *hiems*.

(e) *Th* (θ) in Greek is represented by *dh* in Sanskrit, and by *f* or *d* in Latin; as in *tithêmi*=*dadhâmi*; *měthu*=*madhu*; *thumos*=*dhâma*, *fumus*.

(f) *Ph* (ϕ) in Greek is represented in Sanskrit by *bh*, and in Latin by *f* and *b*; as in *phuo*=*bhavâmi* and *fui*; *ophrus*=*bhrû*; *phero*=*bharâmi* and *fero*; *phratria*=*bhratar*, *frater*.

(g) *G* in Sanskrit is sometimes represented by *b* in Greek and Latin, as in *go*=*bûs*, *bos*.

For other numerous illustrations, see the appendix.

The ζ in Sanskrit and Zend, is written by Bopp \acute{s} , by Müller and Muir, \acute{s} .

Haug writes $\tilde{a}m$ for the termination *anm*, in Zend. Also, he has an \tilde{a} , which is a long \hat{a} , with a slight nasal sound, before *m*. He writes the vowels as will be seen in the appendix.

Professor Bopp, in a note commencing at p. 706, vol. *ii*, says:

I cannot express myself with sufficient strength in guarding against the misapprehension in supposing that I wish to accord to the Sanskrit universally the distinction of having preserved its original character: I have, on the contrary, often noticed that the Sanskrit has, in many points, experienced alterations, where one or other of the European sister idioms has more truly transmitted to us the original form.

The Lithuanian in *Dièwas*, God, and all similar forms, in keeping the nominative sign *s*, before all following initial letters, while the Sanskrit *dêvas*, becomes either *Dêvah* or *dêvo* or *dêva*, according to the initial sound which follows, or a pause, adheres to the original condition of the language; and the Sanskrit departs from it in all other forms in *as*. So in *essi*, thou art, it has, in common with the Doric, *essi*, preserved the necessary double *s*, one of which belongs to the root, the other to the personal termination; while the Sanskrit *asi*, has lost one; and in *esme*, we are, *este*, ye are, the Lithuanian has, in common with the Greek $\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}$, retained the radical vowel, which has been dropped in the Sanskrit *smas*, *sthas*. The Latin *erant* and *bant*, of *amabant*, etc., surpass the Sanskrit *âsan*, and *abhan*, they were, as they do the Greek $\eta\sigma\alpha\omega$ and $\epsilon\phi\omega\omega$, by retaining the *t*, which belongs to the third person. The Latin *ferens*, and Zend

barans, are in advance of the Sanskrit *bharan*, and Greek φέρων, by their keeping the nominative sign *s*; and the Lithuanian *Wezans* (*Wézas*) in common with the Zend *Vazañs*, and Latin *Vehens*, put to shame, in this respect, the Sanskrit *Vahan*.

It is, in fact, remarkable, that several languages, which are still spoken, retain, here and there, the forms of the primitive world of languages, which several of their older sisters have lost, thousands of years ago. The Carniolan *dam* is superior to the Latin *do*; and all other Carniolan verbs have the same superiority over all other Latin verbs, with the exception of *sum* and *inguam*, as also over the Greek verbs; as the Carniolan, and, in common with it, the Irish, have in all forms of the present, preserved the chief element of the original termination *mi*. It is, too, a phenomenon in the history of languages, which should be specially noticed, that among the Indian daughters of the Sanskrit, as in general among its living Asiatic and Polynesian relations, not one language can, in respect of grammatical Sanskrit analogies, compare with the most perfect idioms of our quarter of the globe.

Most European languages [Bopp says], do not need proof of their relationship to the Sanskrit, for they themselves show it by their forms, which, in part, are very little changed. But that which remained for philology to do, and which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my ability to effect, was to trace, on the one hand, the resemblances into the most retired corner of the construction of language, and, on the other hand, as far as possible to refer the greater or less discrepancies to laws through which they became possible or necessary.

Dr. Haug says:

Every one who is but slightly acquainted with Sanskrit and Persian, will, after the perusal of this sketch of the Zend grammar, be wholly convinced of the case affinity, in which the Zend language stands to both. Its relation to the most ancient Sanskrit, the so-called Vedic dialect, is as close as that of the different dialects of the Grecian language (Æolic, Ionic, Doric, Attic), to each other. The language of the sacred songs of the Brahmans and that of the Parsee, are nothing but two dialects of two or more tribes of one and the same nation. As the Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, etc., are different tribes of the Grecian nation, whose general name was Hellenes, the ancient Brahmans and Parsees are only two tribes of a nation which is called Aryas both in Veda and Zend-Avesta, the former to be compared with the Ionians, the latter with the Dorians.

This is grossly to exaggerate the connexion between the two languages. If it were at all in the vicinity of accuracy or truth, it would not be possible for the Zend texts to have meanings so radically different, in a thousand cases, to Dr. Haug and Professor Spiegel; and hundreds of them to have no meaning at all to either. Dr. Haug might as well have said that the relation between Zend and Sanskrit is as close as that between the dialects of Yorkshire and Suffolk or Cumberland. To compare the differences and identities of the two languages to those of Portuguese and Spanish, and the relation of both to the ancient Aryan, to that of these modern tongues to the Latin, would be much nearer the truth. For, in

fact, the differences between Portuguese and Spanish are of the same nature, both as to letters and forms, as those between Zend and Sanskrit.

More correctly, Dr. Haug says:

The most striking feature perceptible in comparing both Zend dialects with Sanskrit is, that they are related to the Vedic form of Sanskrit only, not to the classical. In verbal forms, chiefly moods and tenses, the classical Sanskrit, though very rich in comparison with modern language, is much poorer than its more primitive form, preserved in the Vedas only, having lost, for instance, various forms of the subjunctive mood, most tenses of all other moods, except Indicative (in the Imperative and Potential moods only the present tense is preserved), the manifold forms expressing the Infinitive mood, etc., whereas all these formations in the greatest completeness are to be met with in the Vedas, Zend-Avesta, and the Homeric Greek. The syntactical structure is in the Vedic Sanskrit and the Zend simple enough, and verbal forms are much more frequently made use of than in the classical Sanskrit. There is no doubt the classical Sanskrit was formed long after the separation of the Iranians from the Hindus.

Dr. Muir says that

we must be careful not to underrate the extent of the fundamental affinity in roots and words, between the Sanskrit, the Greek, the Latin, and the other Western languages of the same family. [And he holds] that these coincidences are more numerous than might at first sight have been supposed, and that it is only an insufficient study of the variations undergone by different words in the several languages under review, which prevents our perceiving that a considerable, though probably undeterminable, proportion of their vocabulary is essentially common to them all.

At present [Mr. Bleek says], the study of Zend is only in its infancy; and although so much has been done of late years for Zend philology, much more remains to do, before our knowledge of the old Iranian religion and antiquities can be said to be complete. As yet the language itself is confined to a few of the learned, and seems likely to remain so, as there is neither a grammar nor a dictionary of Zend yet published.

The edition of the Zend-Avesta by Mr. Bleek (the first English version), was prepared for a learned Parsee, Muncherjee Hormusjee Cama, who was anxious to have it published for the use of his countrymen; and he printed it at Hertford, for the purpose of distributing it gratuitously to his Parsee brethren in India,—permitting a few copies to be sold in England, to introduce the ancient religion of Zarathustra to the English public.

Mr. Bleek says:

The present translation is much more literal than elegant; and the translator fears that many of his English readers will pronounce a considerable portion of the Gâthâs and some part of the Yashts to be almost as unintelligible in their present form as in the Zend itself.

And he further remarks that although it is certain that the text of the Avesta which we now possess is such as had been preserved by tradition

from a very early period, and although, whatever may be its imperfections, it is at least genuine, yet, "unfortunately, the imperfections are very numerous, and hence the difficulty of an exact translation is greatly increased." The language of the Gâthâs is vastly older than that in use in the time of the Achæmenian kings, and between their fall and the rise of the Sassanian dynasty, more than five centuries passed,—

a space in which much may be forgotten and mistaken even by the most tenacious memory, and must be lost and corrupted in spite of the greatest carefulness; and this even under favourable circumstances, much more so when distress and contempt prevail. That this has actually been the case, tradition confesses, stating as it does, that most of the ancient texts were already lost. This the texts also intimate by their fragmentary state (which is no doubt of greater extent than it appears), by the unintelligible passages, mutilated sentences and uncouth words, where recollection must have failed, or where only defective pieces of written documents were preserved.

Such as it is, it may be possible to learn from it what the doctrine of Zarathustra really was,—a doctrine that has, I think, been greatly misunderstood.

Dr. Haug criticises with much harshness, in the essays from which we have quoted, the works and translations of Professor Spiegel. He charges him with "that want of really scientific research and sound philological training," in his grammar of the Pârsi language, which, he says,

I afterwards discovered to be the characteristic of all his publications on the Zend-Avesta. His philology and method of inquiry are out of date; philological subjects were thus treated fifty years ago. [Benfey, in 1852-3] showed that the method adopted by Spiegel of giving a critical revision of the Zend texts, and a translation and explanation of them, was entirely wrong, pointing out that the student, pursuing Spiegel's way, never could arrive at a real insight into the sense of the Zend-Avesta. Spiegel, neither sufficiently trained in Sanskrit, nor knowing how to apply well the results of comparative philology to the interpretation of the Zend-Avesta, relied, in his translation, mainly on the Pehlevi translation, which was inaccessible to all other German scholars, except himself. He supposed that the ancient translation, made about 1300 or 1400 years ago, by the most learned Parsee priests in Persia, was the only true basis on which a sound Zend philology could be founded. . . .

Benfey could not enter into a discussion on the correctness or incorrectness of the Pehlevi translation, because it was inaccessible to him; but he showed Spiegel, that "by the application of Sanskrit, the forms of which language are so very near to Zend, and by comparative philology, one might arrive at a much better understanding of the Zend Avesta, than by this method."

Upon this, as to which I am not competent to judge, one thing is to be remarked, viz., that the Vedic Sanskrit, to be the means of interpreting the Zend books, must first itself be understood with some certainty. But there are distressing doubts as to the meaning of a vast number of passages in the Veda, and even of whole hymns, and no less doubt as to the meaning of a multitude of words, to give which their later and modern meaning is simply to caricature the Veda. The translation of Professor Wilson, is often unintelligible nonsense, and it is very doubtful whether those of Muir and Müller are not too often merely conjectural, and colored by special fancies in regard to the deities and conceptions of the Vedic Aryans. To undertake to decipher the unknown by the doubtful and the uncertain, is surely not the safest mode of arriving at just conclusions.

But Dr. Haug also and further alleges, that Professor Spiegel, though claiming to be the first translator of the Vendīdād, and that Anquetil had not thoroughly understood the Pehlevi translation,

started from the rough copies of the dictations which Anquetil had received from the Dustoors, and deposited at the Imperial Library in Paris, without which (the Pehlevi being therein written in Roman characters and explained in Persian), Spiegel would have been unable to translate a single line with reference to the Pehlevi translation. Nowhere [he says], throughout the whole of Spiegel's translation, is a real study of the Pehlevi translation and the Pehlevi language to be perceived; but it is evident that almost all that he had picked up of Pehlevi was due to Anquetil's rough copies, and that the latter had a much better knowledge of Pehlevi than Spiegel. [He says], Spiegel's translation of the Vendīdād is, to say it in short, the product of a study of Anquetil's papers and misunderstandings of the Pehlevi translation and the original Zend text, now and then trimmed up with some of the results of comparative philology, but nowhere deserving the name 'translation.' [It gives, he avers] neither the traditional explanation nor the results of real philological researches.

Of Spiegel's translation of the Gāthās, Dr. Haug says:

It would be mere wasting of time and paper to expatiate here on his work. Written exactly in the same style as his Vendīdād, it is made without any philological preparations, simply according to Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation. No study of the subject is perceptible. The work, therefore, is completely useless as far as the Gāthās are concerned; in the explanation of which, still, after the publication of my work, much remains to be done.

At pages 37, 38 and 39, Dr. Haug informs us how and by what course of careful preparation and study of the Rig Veda, and of Armenian and Pehlevi, by laborious comparison of the Zend words with the Vedic Sanskrit, and searching for them also in modern Persian and Armenian, and now and then in Latin and Greek also, and by collation of all the passages where the word or form to be investigated occurred, in order to ascertain its approximate meaning, and this not only as to the Zend, but

also as to the Vedic words and forms, during six years, he effected at length a literal Latin and more free translation of the Gâthâs, and a complete critical and philological commentary; with introductions; all which, with the revised text in Roman characters, he published in two volumes, at Leipsic, in 1858–60.

Mr. Bleek utterly dissents from all this censure; and Professor Whitney says that the contributions of Spiegel to our knowledge of the Zoroastrian religion and its sacred books “have been more abundant and fruitful than those of any other person”; though he admits that “in behalf of Spiegel’s translation, neither its author nor any one else would claim more than a temporary and provisional value.” If, he says, “students of the Veda have to confess their present inability to render with certainty considerable portions of the text, and their fear that much will remain forever an insoluble enigma, it would be wholly unreasonable to expect agreement and certainty among the interpreters of the Avesta.” The controversy respecting the whole method of interpretation, especially as regards the value of the native tradition as an element in it, is still in progress, in regard to the Avesta, with even greater vehemence than in regard to the Veda.

Spiegel is charged with “shutting his eyes to convincing light, if brought in from beyond the boundaries of Iran”, and with “making it his first principle to be true to the tradition; and only his second to be true to the text.” Roth and others defend the contrary ground. An article by Roth on the subject, was published in 1871, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, volume xxv., to which Spiegel has replied in the same volume, and Haug, in a pamphlet on the Ahuna Vairya prayer, published at Munich in 1872.

Professor Whitney says with truth, “there would hardly have been any Zend philology, but for the aid of the Sanskrit; and the full admission of the Sanskrit as auxiliary is necessary to its further progress and perfection.” It is certainly true that the Brahmanic traditions and commentaries only lead us away from the true interpretation of the hymns of the Rig Veda; and I doubt whether the Parsi traditions and works are not quite as blind guides to those who seek to know the real meaning of the Gâthâs.

I have only so much of Dr. Haug’s translation of the Gâthâs and other parts of the Avesta-Zend, as is contained in his volume of *Essays*. I am not competent to decide between his translation and that of Spiegel, as rendered by Bleek; and can do no more than to give both, and from them endeavour to ascertain the general meaning of those ancient odes. I shall give the translation of Spiegel first, and subjoin that of Haug, so far as I have it.

VALUE OF THE ZEND-AVESTA.

Professor Whitney remarks, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, 184,

that if the object sought to be attained by bringing the Avesta to the West had been the acquisition for the latter of new treasures of profound wisdom, elevated religious sentiment, and inspired and inspiring poetry, then the undertaking could not be regarded as crowned with success. The minute details of a trivial ceremonial [he continues], and the monotonous repetition of formulas of praise and homage, of which it is actually, to a considerable extent, made up, as well as its depiction of ceremonies and customs sometimes unreasonable or offensive, were not calculated to attract by virtue of their own intrinsic interest. Such, however, is not the point of view from which the value of a recovery like this will now be judged; such are not the aims and expectations with which we study the records of primeval thought and culture; we do not go to them to learn religion, or philosophy, or science, nor to have our hearts touched and swayed by the surpassing power of poetic thoughts and fancies; we go to read the early history of the human race, to trace out the efforts of man comprehending and making himself master of his circumstances; to obtain light respecting the origin of ideas and institutions; to derive information as to the relationship, and intercourse, and mutual influence of ancient nations. It would enter into no cultivated mind now to question the high worth of writings of undoubted authenticity coming down from a remote antiquity, because they were found to be deficient in literary merit, when judged by modern standards; or because in the character of mind they portrayed, and the conditions reflected in them, there was much to lament and condemn The story of the human mind is hardly less full of interest in its weaknesses, imperfections and errors, than in its successes and proudest triumphs, and lessons almost as noteworthy are to be learned in the one case as in the other. The sum of interest attaching to the history of an ancient people will depend, not solely upon the degree of culture, or the extent of empire, to which that people may have attained, but also upon its position, connections and influence, and upon the ability of its records to throw light upon the condition and fates of other peoples in whom we also feel a high interest.

Mr. Bleek says:

The whole subject of the Mazdayaçnian religion deserves more attention than has hitherto been paid to it. A religion which is probably as ancient as Judaism, and which certainly taught the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments, for centuries before these doctrines were prevalent among the Jews—a religion which for ages prior to Christianity announced that men must be pure in thought, as well as in word and deed, and that sins must be repented of, before they could be atoned for, a religion whose followers were forbidden to kill even animals wantonly, at a time when the ancestors of the French and English nations were accustomed to sacrifice human victims to their sanguinary deities—such a pure and venerable religion is one which must always command the respect of the civilized world.

Long after Zarathustra lived and taught, the Hebrews, in common with their brethren of the same race and tongue, the various tribes of

Canaan, worshipped the great Nature-god of all the Semitic race, El or Al, their Moloch, Malak or Lord, and sacrificed their first-born upon his altars, or burned them in fire to propitiate him and appease his anger.

'Have ye offered unto me,' Yehuah said to the Beth-Yesral, by Amos, 'sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O Baith-Yesral? On the contrary, you carried the tent of your Malak and Kaivan, your idols, the Star of your God, which ye made to yourselves.'

The belief in Yehuah (Abstract Existence, That which IS, as contradistinguished from all that Becomes, The Absolute, The Essence and Life of the Universe), went to the intellect of the Hebrews from another race, from which, also, they learned a faith in the continued existence of the soul of man after death; in fact, the knowledge or belief in the soul of man as a spiritual entity distinct from and independent of the body; and everything, indeed, in their faith that was enlightened and philosophical, or in the least superior to the creed of a Mandingo or Comanche. The world owes all its correct and profound conceptions of the Deity, and its knowledge of the existence of the human soul, to the great Aryan race.

Mr. Eugene Burnouf says:

One of the most evident and best known features of the system whose origin is attributed to Zoroaster, is the place which human personality and human morality occupy in it. The proportions of this system, as far, at least, as we have a glimpse of it in the fragments of the Zend books which remain to us, are no doubt less vast than those of Brahmanism, as it appears in the gigantic conceptions of Vedic Naturalism [in which Brahmanism does not appear at all]. But, in detaching itself more decidedly from God and Nature [which it did not do, since it simply added to Vedaism the conception of a God, Creator of Nature, and worshipped him and the Powers of Nature together], Zoroastrianism has certainly taken more account of man than Brahmanism; and it may be said that to a certain point, it has gained in depth what it has lost in extent. It does not belong to me to point out here what influence a system which tends to develop the noblest instincts of our nature, and which imposes on man as the most important of his duties that of striving constantly against the principle of evil, has exercised on the destinies of the peoples of Asia, among whom it has been adopted at different epochs. It may, however, be said that the character, at once martial and religious, which appears with such heroic traits in most of the Yashts, could not have been without influence on the masculine discipline under which, if we may believe classical antiquity, the monarchy established by Cyrus rose to grandeur.

Races and creeds degenerate alike. The old Aryan, Persian, Grecian, Roman and Teutonic nobleness of race has become what the gods regret having created, in more than one modern land. Instead of the noble and heroic rulers of the old simple ages, we have too often the low, the vulgar and the ill-bred, the sordid, mercenary and venal, in republics which always decay into intellectual decrepitude and tawdry vulgarity; and the mildewed and worm-eaten scions of royalty in kingdoms. And even so,

and as Vedaism rotted into the rankness of Brahmanism, and the Zarathustrian faith into Magism and the worship of the swarming gods of the aborigines, has the doctrine of Jesus, the Essenian Reformer, pure and simple morality, moulded and dry-rotted into effete Romanism, Methodism, and a hundred other fungoid excretions; while the pulpit has become, too commonly, the stage for the cassocked histrio and mime, the tribune of the political pimp and termagant.

It will be refreshing to re-ascend the unclean and muddy stream to its upper branches, running bright and clear from their springs in the high mountain-valleys of the distant Past; and to learn, if we can, by what manner of faith the ancient Bactrian herdsmen regulated their daily lives, and deemed themselves to be of a higher nature than their horses. If we shall discover in these writings, the sources of the doctrines, not only of the Kabalah and the Gnostics, but also those of our own religious philosophy, it will be a new chapter added to the intellectual history of the race; and if we find that, in its principal characteristics, the Aryan race was intellectually the same in those remote days that it is now, it may tend essentially to modify some accepted theories in regard to the common origin and the culture and self-development of races.

An intelligent, brave and generous people, who believed that in prayer and worship the means to win victories were to be found, that human wisdom was the inspiration of the divine, and that the value of a life depended upon its usefulness to the community; who had little other law than that which they deemed the divine law, and were free while ruled by their chiefs and kings; among whom there was no pauperism, and no scarcity of work, and whose chief wealth consisted in horses, cattle and camels; a people, simple, frank, energetic, with none of the vices of civilization; and that deemed themselves, as the creatures of the Infinite Beneficence and Light, superior to all others, offers a fruitful subject for study to those who are in everything their opposites, and in nothing more so than in acknowledging as political and social equals the unclean progeny of the womb of dusky Africa.

These inquiries are peculiarly interesting now, in the beginning of the year 1873. The armies of the Sclavic race, which emigrated from the Steppes, east of the Caspian, perhaps ten thousand years ago, are now entering that region of the nativity of their race (now known as Khiva) to reduce its Khan to submission; while England, the home of a mixed race (but all Aryans and later emigrants than the Sclaves), interposes to protect Afghanistan, and, asserting its independence, claims that its boundaries extend beyond the Oxus. It may be that the original home of the race is shortly to be the theatre of conflict between these two great Aryan nations, and the prize of the victor.

THE GÂTHÂS.

These, Mr. Bleeck says, in a note to the Gâthâ Ahunavaiti,

are extremely difficult and obscure, and the Translator regrets that many passages are quite unintelligible, and more very nearly so. Still further obscurity arises from the necessity of translating each line separately, so as to make it correspond exactly with the original Zend. In Professor Spiegel's translation, this difficulty is less felt, because the German case-system enables the reader to perceive at a glance which are nominatives, which are accusatives, etc., and which are the adjectives belonging to the respective nouns; whereas, in English, the slightest inversion or transposition leads to inevitable confusion.

He states that he has made this part of the translation as strictly literal as possible, not presuming to hazard conjectures of his own.

Of course, the exact meaning of many words must be uncertain, since to very many there came to be, in time, many, very various, and often opposite derivative meanings; and very often, no doubt, the real meaning of a dark sentence might be ascertained by going back, if one could find it, to the original or radical meanings of words, or at least to their more ancient meanings.

And when it is frankly admitted that, literally rendered, according to the later meanings of the words, a sentence is unintelligible, it may be permissible to endeavour to find a sensible interpretation of the letter of the sentence, even if it be only by way of conjecture.

Dr. Haug says that the Gâthâs are "comparatively small collections of metrical pieces, containing small prayers, songs and hymns, which exhibit generally philosophical and abstract thoughts about metaphysical subjects."

That they were sung, he thinks, is not to be doubted; and if, at that early day, the Bactrian herdsmen were edified by hymns or songs, exhibiting generally *abstract* and *philosophical* thoughts about *metaphysical* subjects, it is a sufficiently curious and noteworthy fact in the history, and among the phenomena, of human intelligence. One can hardly resist a suspicion that a translation by one holding this theory would be likely to take its tone and coloring from the theory, and hardly represent the original with fidelity.

The first Gâthâ is prefaced by these sentences, of later date, applying to all the Gâthâs. Haug says that they are written, not in the peculiar Gâthâ dialect, but in the common Zend language; which circumstance shows clearly that they proceed, not from one of the authors, but from a subsequent collector of these sacred verses.

As translated by Spiegel and Bleek:—

Good is the thought, good the speech, good the work, of the pious Zarathustra.
May the Amēsha-Çpēntas accept the Gâthâs. Praise be to you, pure songs!

As translated by Haug:—

The revealed Thought, the revealed Word, the revealed Deed, of the holy Zarathustra; the Arch-Angels first sung the Gâthâs.

And Haug says that this is of high interest, because it refers to all the Gâthâs. We learn from it, he says:

That the Gâthâs were believed to contain all that has been revealed to Zarathustra Çpitama; that he learned them from the choir of the Archangels who sang them to his mental ears, when, in a state of ecstasy, his mind was raised to Heaven.

Nothing in the Gâthâs justifies the phrases, "Choir of Archangels," "state of ecstasy" or "mind raised to Heaven." A translation made under the influence of erroneous notions, is of no value.

The Amēsha-Çpēntas (formerly known to us as the Amshaspands), are:

1. Çpēnta-Mainyu (not heretofore recognized as one of them).
2. Vôhu-Manô (formerly "Bahman"), said by the commentators to be the protector of all living creatures.
3. Asha-Vahista (Ardibehest), said to be the Genius of Fire.
4. Khshathra-Vairyâ (Shahrever), said to be the Lord and Protector of Metals. The care of the poor, it is said, is also entrusted to him.
5. Çpēnta-Armaiti (Sapandomad), of the female sex, said to be the goddess of the earth. In the older writings she is, it is said, especially the goddess of wisdom; in the later, she bestows a good way of life, fluency of speech, etc.
6. Haurvat (Khordad), said to be lord of the waters.
7. Amērētât (Amerdad), said to be lord of the trees. These two are always named together.

Ahura Mazda, it is said (but it is not so), is counted as one (the first and chief of all) of the Amēsha-Çpēntas (the undying holy ones). In the later mythology, he is no longer reckoned among them, and Craošha (worship or devotion) is counted as the seventh. Haug's rendering of "Archangels," is wholly inadmissible, since that word represents to *us* a class of beings totally differing in essence and nature from the Amēsha-Çpēntas; although the Hebraic Archangels were but these, naturalized by the Jews after they had been brought into contact with the Medo-Aryans, with merely changes of names. The Amēsha-Çpēntas were not angels or Arch-angels, in our sense of either word.

To understand the Zarathustrian reform and worship, it is first essential to know what was Zarathustra's conception or idea of Ahura-Mazda, and what the Amēsha-Çpēntas were. They are called by later writers "Genii," a word that has no particular meaning.

I know of no other way to succeed in this, than by careful examination of the texts of the Gâthâs in which they are mentioned. These may be expected to express the original notions in regard to these entities, notions which, afterwards, it is reasonable to suppose, were developed and added to, and finally replaced by others; since that has happened with the primitive ideas and notions in regard to deities and their manifestations and agents in all religions. We have no means now of knowing, for example, what was the original Hebrew idea of the Alohim.

I shall first give, in all cases, the translation of Bleeck from the German of Spiegel, for the most part quoting it literally; and then that of Haug, so far as it is contained in his essays, always literally. That of Bleeck, I shall sometimes condense, always endeavouring to give the entire meaning correctly, omitting tiresome repetitions of the same phrases.

GÂTHÂ I.—AHUNAVAITI.

HÂ I, YAÇNA XXVIII.

The five Gâthâs have their names from their respective beginning words, except the first, which is named from the prayer Ahuna-Vairyâ, or Yathâ ahû Vairyô, which precedes it—the first of the three most sacred short prayers, and which has erroneously been called the “Word,” *Hon-over*.

The Gâthâ Ahunavaiti is divided into seven chapters, numbered 28 to 34, and comprising 101 verses, all composed in one metre. Dr. Haug says that it more resembles a collection of scattered verses, than one continuous whole; and that it is even doubtful whether the author is always the same, the style being now and then different. But he allows it to belong to one age only, because of one and the same spirit pervading the whole of it.

We have in it [he says], in all probability, the sayings and songs of Zarathustra himself, mixed with those of his disciples, Jamaçpa, Viçtaspa, and Frashaōstrâ. Verse 7 of *Yaçna xxviii.*, 6 [of Spiegel], must be considered [he says], for example, as the composition of one of the disciples of the Prophet.

This verse only, of section one of this Gâthâ, is translated by him in his *Essays*.

The Gâthâ Ahunavaiti commences, as has already been said, with the prayer Ahuna-Vairyâ. The following purports to be a translation of that prayer:

1. I desire, by my prayer, with uplifted hands, this joy.
2. First, the entirely pure works of the Holy Spirit, Mazda: (then) the understanding of Vohû Manô, which rejoices the soul of the Bull.

If this is a translation of the prayer, it is very different from that given of it in the Khordah Avesta, by the same translator, which is:

1. As is the will of the Lord, so (is he) the Ruler out of Purity.
2. From Vohû Manô (will one receive) gifts for the works (which one does), in the world for Mazda.
3. And the Kingdom (we give) to Ahura, when we afford succor to the poor.

Dr. Haug says that this and the other two ancient prayers are so brief that it is hazardous to attempt to translate them. Wherefore, he attempts the first line of this, only, and thus:

Both the two lives (*ahû*) and the master of every pure thing (*ratus Ashâtchît hachâ*) are to be believed in (*vairyô*), literally (to be chosen).

The prayer, as given by him in the original, and what I deem to be the literal meaning of its words:

1. *Yathâ ahû vairyô athâ ratus ashâtchit hachâ.*
as life great . . . chief faith from
light excellent so ruler piety all out of
2. *Vâñhêus dazdâ manâñhô skyaothnanañm añhêus Mazdâi*
of the good the gifts of intellect of works
for Mazda
3. *Khshathremchâ Ahurâi â yim dregubyô dadât Vâçtârem*
and the dominion for Ahura to whom from may he give pasture
by enemies

Evidently it is impossible to be sure as to the meaning of this, but one thing is certain. It is a prayer, and must not be made something else. That disposes of Dr. Haug's attempt. I do not derive *ahu* from the Sanskrit, *as*, to be, to live; but from *as=ash=ush*, "to burn, shine." I think it means the Light outshining from Ahura, the Primal Light. *Mazdâi* and *Ahurâi* are in the dative singular. There is no sense in the prayer, if *dazda Mazdai* and *dadat Ahurai* mean "may he give to Mazda: may he give to Ahura." *Vâçtârem* I render by "pasture," because *vâçtra* means "growing," and *vâçtrya*, "farmer." And I venture to interpret the prayer thus:

1. As the excellent Light is, so the good Ruler, an emanation from, or outflowing from the All-Pure.
2. May he give, for Mazda, the gifts of the Good Intellect (the Divine Wisdom), and of the blessings of life.
3. And for Ahura, dominion to him unto whom the pasture-grounds taken from the enemy.

If the first verse, of which I have given Bleeck's translation above, is not this prayer, it commences the body of the hymn.

In the first line, the "joy" prayed for is more properly good fortune, as that which rejoices. "The entirely pure works of the Holy Spirit" are the teachings of the true faith by Çpënta Mainyu, the Divine Wisdom. They are the same "gifts of the Divine Wisdom" asked for in the second verse of the prayer; and the understanding of Vohû Manô is the blessings of life, or that sustain life, won by means of faith and worship. The pasture-grounds so conquered or recovered from the infidels rejoice the cattle, the aggregate of which is meant by Gëus-Urva, the Soul of the Bull. Thus it appears that these lines are a paraphrase of the prayer.

Verse 2. I draw near to you (plural), Ahura Mazda, with good-mindedness. Give me for both these (worlds), the corporeal as well as the spiritual,

gifts arising out of Purity [i. e., Spiegel says, "gifts that will rejoice us in the other world"].

There is nothing about "worlds" in the text. The corporeal and spiritual are the body and intellect. The benefits and successes, fruits of the true faith, that make men glad by prosperity, asked for, are those mentioned in the prayer and first verse, intellectual wealth and material abundance. We shall often meet with "brightness," always meaning the prosperity and glory born of success; and "world" and "worlds" continually intruding where they do not belong.

3. I praise ye first, O Asha and Vohû Manô, and Ahura Mazda, to whom belongs an imperishable kingdom [that divine royalty and dominion, of which the Aryan rule and dominion is a manifestation, and is the gift or work of Ahura Mazda, precisely as human reason and military skill are an incarnation or manifestation of the Divine Reason, Vohû Manô.] May Armaiti to grant gifts come hither at my call.

4. I, who have entrusted the soul to Heaven with good disposition, acquainted with the reward for the actions of Ahura Mazda, so long as I can and am able, will I teach according to the wish of the pure. [I, Zarathustra, who have in my heart addressed myself devotionally to Heaven, knowing what the fruit is of the religion of Ahura, will continue, while I have strength to do so, to teach that which is desired by the faithful.]

5. Asha (Vahista), when shall I behold thee and Vohû Manô with knowledge; the place which belongs to Ahura Mazda, the most profitable, which is shown by Ķraōsha (worship, devotion). These Manthras are the greatest thing, we teach them to those of evil tongue.

The Amêsha-Çpêntas, divine attributes or emanations, the Sephiroth of the Kabalah, are cognizable by the intellect only, and not by the bodily senses. The worshipper can *believe* that they have a genuine and actual being and personality, but he cannot *know* it. To "behold with knowledge," here, probably means to have cognition of them by means of the senses.

"The place which belongs to Ahura Mazda, the most profitable," can hardly mean his supposed local habitation in the Heavens, because the word rendered "profitable" will be found to be often applied, in the sense of "fertile, productive," to a particular part of the Aryan country, i. e., to the level alluvial region round Balkh. In this same section, we find the phrase: "Yours is the unbounded rule over the profitable." I think that the longing desire expressed is to be restored to the possession of that fertile region, south of and along the Oxus, which other passages of the Gâthâs show to have been then in the possession of Scyths or Tâtars from the northern land beyond that river; and that by seeing Asha and Vohû Manô with knowledge, Zarathustra meant seeing the divine attributes

displayed in their effects of victory by force of arms and military skill; for Asha Vahista, the manifestation of Ahura Mazda as fire, "the *Son* of Ahura Mazda," as fire is continually called, the universal fire, of which each particular fire is a part and manifestation, being that by means of which weapons of war are forged, was, as I think we shall find, that Divine Power and Force, which in men is strength in the use of such weapons, the strength and force which wins victories; while Vohū Manō is the military skill, the Divine Reason and Intellect in the leaders, which co-operates with the power and strength of the soldiery to that result.

The "place" which belongs to Ahura Mazda, the most profitable, was, I think, the irrigated fertile country in which Yima settled when he led the Iranian emigration across the Oxus. It belonged to Ahura Mazda, because it belonged to his "creatures," the "pure," the faithful Aryans, who had settled it, improved it by canals for irrigation, and been deprived of it by the invaders; and it was "shown by Çraošha" because it was by religious devotion and worship it was to be recovered. Success and victory were, to the Irano-Aryans, not the *reward*, but the *consequence* and *effect* of devotion. The Manthras, the prayers chanted or sung, were the most efficacious means to attain victory, and the Aryans taught them to those whom they converted, of the tribes that spoke, not the Aryan language, but barbarous tongues.

The Çrosh Yasht, *Yaçna lvi.*, calls Çraošha "the strong, whose body is the Manthra." He is all worship and devotion, and inspires the Manthra, as the soul inspires the body. He is expressed by it, as thought is expressed, clothed, embodied, in words. He is said to be "obedience." This is not correct, and yet it is not wholly amiss, because prayer and praise, worship and devotion, are the expression of submission and obedience to the will and law of Ahura. Çraošha, it is said, was the first who offered sacrifice to Ahura and the Amēsha-Çpēntas, with the bareçma bound together, i: e., with the bundle of twigs used at sacrifices; and first sung the five Gâthâs of the faithful believer, the holy Zarathustra; for the sacrifice and the hymn are alike utterances of worship and devotion.

He is styled the protector, also, because it is by devotion that the favour of Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Çpēntas is secured and their protection obtained. He is a *companion* of the Amēsha-Çpēntas also; and, in short, the equivalent of the Vaidic Brahmanas-pati and Brihas-pati, silent and spoken devotion.

6. Come with Vohū-Manō; give, O Asha, as a gift, long life. [For Asha is not only strength; but the vital heat, the very life itself, of man and animal.] Through thy true words, O Mazda [the teachings emanating from him; for they

were supposed to flow out from him, when uttered by human lips], great joy is prepared for [great good fortune and success are assured to] Zarathustra, and to us also [his allies and subordinate military leaders], we who destroy [put an end to] the plagues of the foes [the oppressions and cruelties perpetrated on the Aryans by the Tâtar or Turkish invaders].

Dr. Haug thus renders this verse:

Come with the Good Mind [Vohû-Manô], grant Prosperity [Asha] for life-long, by means of thy mighty words, O thou Wise [Mazda]! Give both, Zarathustra and us, thy powerful assistance to put down the assaults of our enemy.

It is quite sure, I think, that “good mind” and “prosperity” are very unsound renderings of the words (which are really names), Vohû Manô and Asha, the meaning of which I will endeavour to ascertain hereafter. But I see nothing in his rendering of the verse to make me doubt as to its real meaning. It is equally certain that the word rendered “plagues,” which will be found to occur very often, means either the cruelties perpetrated, or the distress and suffering caused by the invaders and oppressors of the land.

7. Give, O Asha, that reward [victory and freedom], which men desire [which the Aryan people are seeking to win]. Give Thou, O Armaiti, his wish to Viçtâçpa and also to me. Make, O Mazda, those mighty [strong in battle and thereby victorious], who sing your Manthras.

Armaiti, the divine productive power in nature, is invoked to be propitious to Viçtâçpa and Zarathustra, each of whom, as it subsequently appears, was leading the struggle against the enemy, one at a distance from the other. Food for the troops was indispensable to their success.

These “Manthras” are the Vaidik Mantras, sacred hymns or prayers chanted at the sacrifices. They are the mighty or true words, also, of Ahura Mazda, being inspired by him, through Vohû Manô. They are *Khratu*, “power,” wrongly translated “wisdom.”

As invocations are addressed to Vohû Manô, Asha Vahista and Çpênta Armaiti, three of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, they are regarded as beings and persons, and not merely as attributes of Ahura. In the next verse, we find it said to Ahura, “Thou who hast the same will with Asha-Vahista.” Thus, each Amêsha-Çpênta is a divine emanation and hypostasis or person, i. e., Ahura himself acting and manifested, in a special, particular and limited manner. They are his personified potencies.

Vohû-Manô is rendered by Haug, “Good Mind;” and *Vohu* is rendered, “Good,” by Spiegel. It is the Sanskrit *vasu*, the Greek *Ovσια*; and means “being, life, existence.” The Vaidik Deity *Vasu* was the power, essence or substance of life; life, of which the life of each individual is a part, which

communicates itself, in vitality and being, to created beings. *Vohu-raocho* is "good-brightness," according to Spiegel, but it seems to me to be a compound word, meaning the Universal or One Splendour, of which each particular splendour is an out-shining. *Vöh-vaqtı* is said to mean "strong-bodied." But *Vohuna* means "blood," which the ancients deemed the life of man and beast; and *Vohû-Manô* is more than once used to signify men, as living or intellectual and moral beings, as in *Fargard xix.* of the Vendîdâd. In *Fargard iv.*, *Vohû-Manô* furthers the increase of cattle; and in *Vispered xii.*, it is said, "the Amêsha-Çpëntas which are hereafter to be created, hereafter to be formed by *Vohû-Manô*."

In *Yaçna xvii.*, the different kinds of fire are praised. One is *Vohu-fryana*, rendered by Spiegel, "the well-going," and of which he says, that according to the Bundehesh, the fire *Vohu-fryañm* dwells in the bodies of men and animals. If so, it is the vital heat, without which life ends.

Manô, nominative of *manañh*, is "mind," "intellect" or "reason." In Sanskrit, *manas* means "spirit," "thought." And I take *Vohû-manô* to mean, literally, "Mind-being," i. e., the divine intellect or reason, the Hakemah of the Kabalah, Σοφια (Wisdom), of Plato, Philo and the Gnostics. This, at least, is absolutely certain.

Asha means "pure," "religious," and "truth." *Ashavan* means "pure," "pious," "religious." *Ashi*, in Sanskrit *Akshi*, is the "eye." *Ushas* is "to shine", and also "the east", as in Sanskrit *Ushas* is "the dawn." Also, *Asha* means "fire", and is called *pirthrô Ahura-hê Mazdâo*, the son or progeny or outflowing, from Ahura Mazda.

Vahista means "best," "most excellent," "most potent," or "strong."

Victory in battle is ascribed to *Asha*, or the fire, because by means of its weapons of war are forged. As the vital heat, it gives bodily strength, and may well be supposed to have been regarded as the manifestation of the power of the deity; *for Ahura, we shall see, is the Primal Light.*

Çpenta is, by Bopp, Spiegel and Haug alike rendered by the word "Holy." If by that is meant "sinless," I doubt whether it expresses the meaning of *Çpënta*, any more than "pure" expresses that of *Asha*. *Armaiti* is said to mean "earth," "soil" (as producer?). I have already said that *Çpënta-Armaiti*, a female emanation, is, I think, the productive potency of Ahura, acting through and by nature; and the Divine Intellect and Strength act in man as the human reason and human strength and vigour.

We find *Çpënta* also in the compound word *Çpënta-Mainyus*, and *Manthra-Çpënta*—the former a title of Ahura Mazda, the latter meaning prayer or praise, as a universal term, including all prayers and praises whatever.

The meaning of the name “Ahura-Mazda” seems not to be definitely ascertained. Bunsen (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, iii. 472) renders Ahura, “the living,” and Mazdâo, “dispensers of wisdom.” But immediately afterwards, he renders Ahura Mazda, “the Highest Spirit.” *Masas* in Zend (Sanskrit, *Mahat*,) is “great;” *Mazista*, “greatest;” *Mazyô*, “greater.” (Bopp, i. 402).

Haug says (*Essays*, 100, note):

Bernouf’s explanation of the name *Mazdâo* by the Sanskrit *Medhâs*, ‘wise,’ which I followed myself also, did not prove satisfactory to me, on further researches. That the word, in phonetical respect, is identical with the Sanskrit *Medhâs*, is not to be denied, but the original meaning of it is not ‘wise.’ Were it the case, we ought to suppose it to be a contraction of *Maiti-dhâo*, ‘producing wisdom,’ but *maiti*, ‘thought,’ ‘wisdom,’ Sanskrit *Mati*, is generally affixed, not prefixed, to another word, e. g., *tarô-maiti*, ‘perverse thought,’ that is, disobedience, but the word *mat*, ‘with,’ is very frequently prefixed to other words. If added to *dhâo*, ‘creating,’ it must be changed according to the phonetical laws, into *Mazdâo*. The general meaning of *mat* being ‘together,’ ‘all,’ the word *Mazdâo* means either the joint creator, or the creator of all. That may be clearly seen from Ys. 45, i.

Ahura, he says (226), is the same as Asura, in the Rig Veda, as an epithet of Indra, Varuna, Agni, Rudra, and the other deities, and meaning “living, spiritual;” signifying the divine in opposition to the human nature. Afterwards, he says, and among the Hindus, it assumed a bad meaning, and is applied to the bitterest enemies of their Dævas or gods. But it is used twice, he admits, in a bad sense; in the earlier parts of the Rig Veda, in the second and seventh Mandalas, in which passages the defeat of the “sons or men of the Asura” is ordered or spoken of. And Professor Muir (*Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v.) refers to several passages in which the cities of the Asuras or atmospheric demons are overthrown by Indra. In Mand. viii. 85. 9, it is said “the Asuras are without weapons and are no gods. Sweep them away with thy wheel.” In Mand. iii. 15. 1, Agni drives away and destroys Asuras or Rakshases.

Dr. Haug says further (p. 256), that the theology of Zarathustra was mainly based on monotheism, as may easily be ascertained from the Gâthâs, chiefly from the second. This I will examine hereafter. He says:

His predecessors, the Soshyanto, seem to have been worshipping a plurality of good spirits, whom they called Ahuras, i. e., the living ones, who were opposed to the Dævas. Spitama, not satisfied with this indistinct expression of the Divine Being, reduces the plurality to a unity.

Of this, I do not find even a hint in the Gâthâs, or indeed anywhere in the Zend-Avesta. The Brahmanic books speak of wars between the gods,

"Dævas" and the "Asuras," in which sometimes the Asuras were too strong for them, but there is nothing about Ahuras, as worshipped before the time of Zarathustra, in the Zend books. But Dr. Haug thus continues:

The new name, by which he called the Supreme Being [there is no proof that he gave him this name, or was the first to teach his existence], was *Ahurô Mazdâo*, which means 'that Ahura who is called *Mazdâo*', which has been compared with the Vedic *Medhas*, i. e., 'wise' (applied to priests; skilful, who are able to make everything), means either 'joint creator,' or 'creator of all.' Those Ahuras, 'who were regarded as creative powers, might have been called by the name *Mazdâo* (we find the plural, *Mazdâonhô*, *Yas.* 45, *i.*) already by the Soshyantôs. But they had no clear conception of the nature and working of this creative power. Although Çpitama combined both names, which were formerly quite loose, and not intimately connected with each other [what can Dr. Haug know about that?] yet they were not considered as a compound, because we find both its constituent parts subject to inflection (e. g. *Ahurai-Mazdai*, dative, not *Ahura-Mazdâi*); one of them, *Mazdâo*, was the chief name; the other, *Ahura*, the adjectival epithet, In the Gâthâs, we find both names frequently separated, and promiscuously employed to express the name 'God,' but no difference of meaning is attached to either. [This is as if one were to say that when we sometimes address the Deity as 'All-wise' and sometimes as 'Allmighty,' no difference of meaning is attached to either]. In translating them, 'Ahura' may best be rendered by 'living' and *Mazdâo* by 'wise' or 'creator of the universe.'

I do not find myself convinced that Haug's etymology of *Mazdâo*, from *mat* and *dhaō*, is sound. If the phonetic identity of the Sanskrit *Medhas* and Zend *Mazas* and *Mazda* does not prove that they are really the same word, how does the phonetic identity of *Asura* and *Ahura* prove them so?

Benfey gives us *Asura*, *i. e.*, *as+ura*, "eternal", referring to Rig Veda, *i.* 64. 2. Also, an Asura or demon. The latter meaning or name could hardly have come from the former.

Now, there are three Sanskrit verbal roots, identically the same in letters, but of different meanings, each being *as*; the first meaning "to exist, to be"; the second, "to throw, to leave"; and the third, identical with the verbal root *ash*, "to go, to take, to shine." From it, no doubt, came *asta*, "sunset"; and it is akin to *ush*, to "burn," whence *Ushas*, "dawn," and *usra*, "a ray of light." The original form of *ush* was *vas*, "to shine." Both in Sanskrit and Zend, the terminations, *ra*, *ira*, *ura*, from base words like *dipra*, "shining," *cubhra*, "dazzling," *vidura*, "knowing, wise," in Sanskrit, and *Çuw-ra*, "shining," *subhra*, *Çukra*, "shining," in Zend (*Bopp §939*).

Bopp gives "great" as the meaning of the Zend *mazas*, and "great," "greatness," as those of *Mazda*; and these are identical with the Sanskrit *mahas*, "brightness." Why should the meaning have changed from "bright" to "great"? Benfey gives *mah*, originally *magh*, "to adore, worship"; *maha*,

“great,” and *mahas*, “light, lustre.” But also he gives to *maha* the meanings of “light,” “a festival” and “a sacrifice”; and to *mahas* those of “festival” and “sacrifice.”

Both of these words, *asura*, and *mahas*, take us back to that remote period when the luminaries of the sky were the objects of worship. *Asura* then meant “the shining one” and *mahas* or *maha*, “light, splendour, radiance.” The Asuras were the stars, planets, moon and sun, and when the Agni-worship grew up, the word became an epithet, applied to the new deities. When Brahmanism supplanted the former faith, the Asuras were degraded to the estate of evil spirits, probably because the indigenous hostile tribes of India worshipped the stars as the Devas did in Bactria for a like reason.

Ahura shines, but only through his creatures, the Amēsha-Çpēntas. The sun is his body, it is said; and he being the light only cognizable by the intellect, reveals himself by means of the luminaries. So also this enables us to understand the saying, often repeated, “Fire, son of Ahura Mazda.” It should be read, “Fire, emanation, outflowing from Ahura Mazda.” And *mahas*, and *maha*, originally meaning light or splendour, came to mean a festival or sacrifice, because in each the light-giving fire was used. I take Ahura to be the Primal Light, and Mazda to mean the same, unmanifested; while Ahura seems to mean the light as outshining, or revealing itself to men.

Dr. Haug further says (p. 257):

Ahura Mazda is called by him, the creator of the earthly and spiritual life, the Lord of the whole universe, at whose hands are all the creatures. He is the Light and the Source of Light; He is the wisdom and intellect; He is in possession of all good things, spiritual and worldly, such as the good mind, Vohû-Manô, immortality, *Ameretât*, wholesomeness, *Haurvatât*, the best truth, *Asha-Vahista*, devotion and piety, *Armaiti*, and abundance of every earthly good, *Khshathra Vairyâ*. All these gifts He grants to the righteous pious man, who is pure in thoughts, words and deeds. [All this is error. The good things for the body and intellect, are food for the one, and prayers and hymns for the other]. But He, as the Ruler of the whole universe, does not only reward the good, but He is a punisher of the wicked, at the same time. All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is his work. A separate evil spirit of equal power with Ahura Mazda, and always opposed to him, is entirely strange to Zarathustra’s theology, though the existence of such an opinion among the ancient Zoroastrians can be gathered from some later books, such as the Vendîdâd.

These last propositions, from which I am constrained totally to dissent, I will consider hereafter. It will have been seen that I venture to dissent from his interpretation of the names of three of the Amēsha-Çpēntas; and

I shall have to do so as to the other three, when I reach the passages in which they are mentioned.

He further says (p. 260):

The several names, by which we find called the Amēsha-Çpēntas, Vohū-Manô, Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairyā, Çpēnta Armaiti, Haurvatât and Ameretât, are frequently mentioned in the Gâthâs, but they are, as the reader may clearly see, from the passages (Yac. 47, 1), as well as from etymology, nothing but abstract nouns and ideas, representing all the gifts which Ahura Mazda, as the only Lord, grants to those who worship him with a sincere heart, by speaking always truth and performing good actions. In the eyes of the Prophet, they were not personages, which opinion was interpreted [interpolated?] into the sayings of the great master by some of his successors. [All which I think we shall find to be a mistake].

Vohū-Manô (Bahman) is regarded as the vital faculty in all living beings of the good creation. Originally he is but the term for the Good Principle, as emanating from Ahura Mazda, who is, therefore, called the father of Vohū-Manô, and penetrating the whole living good creation, all good thoughts, words and deeds of men are wrought by him.

I wonder that Dr. Haug did not see that the “vital faculty” is not an *emanation* from the deity. An outflowing or emanation from the deity is of the essence of the deity himself. Neither is the vital faculty the Good Principle. And if Vohū-Manô emanates from Ahura, and by him, all good thoughts, words and deeds are wrought, he is the equivalent of the Logos of Plato, Philo and St. John, the Hakemah or Chochmah of the Kabalah and the book Ecclesiastes, and the Sophia of the Gnostics; that is, the Divine Wisdom, Intellect or Reason, manifested in action.

I had at first myself defined Vohū-Manô as the life-principle; until the discovery that the functions and offices ascribed in the Gâthâs to him represented him as a person, and that to ascribe them to the “vital faculty” or life-principle would be absurd.

Asha Vahista (Ardibehesht) represents the blazing flame of fire, the light in luminaries, and brightness and splendour of any kind whatever, wherever it may be spread. The first part of the name, *Asha* (plural of *Ashem*), has various meanings, such as ‘truth,’ ‘growth,’ ‘purity;’ and its epithet *Vahista* meant originally ‘most splendid,’ ‘beautiful;’ but was afterwards used in the more general sense of ‘best.’ Light being the nature of Ahura Mazda, and this fluid being believed to penetrate the whole good creation, Asha Vahista represents the omnipresence of the Divine Being. [This, I think, is mere fancy.] Light, keeping up the vitality of the whole creation, animated and inanimated, and being the cause of all growth, Asha Vahista is the preserver of all life, and all that is good. He represents in this respect God’s providence.

Neither is the providence of God, an emanation from Him. Asha Vahista is, I think, Fire, and Truth as the power or strength of Ahura.

Khshathra Vairya (Shahravar), presides over metals, and is the giver of wealth. His name means, simply, ‘possession, wealth’. Afterwards it was applied to metals and money. Wealth is considered as a gift from Ahuramazda.

I think that all this is etymologically and in every way erroneous. Whether it is or not, I will inquire hereafter, as I shall as to Asha.

Cpēnta Armaiti (Isfandarmat), i. e., the white or holy Armaiti, represents the earth. The original meaning, however, is, ‘devotion, obedience’. She represents the pious and obedient heart of the true Ahuramazda-worshipper, who serves only God with his body and soul. If the name is applied to the earth, it means that she is the servant of men, who, if well treated (i. e. cultivated), yields abundance in food. [This, also, is erroneous.]

Haurvatâ! and *Ameretâ!* (*Khordâs* and *Amertât*) preside over vegetation, and produce all kinds of fruits; but this is very likely not the original meaning. As the names indicate (*Haurvatât* means wholesomeness, integrity, and *Ameretât* immortality), they represent the preservation of the original uncorrupted state of the good creation, its remaining in the same condition in which it was created by God. Both are generally mentioned together, and express, therefore, one idea only.

Ahura Mazda is also often called *Cpēnta Mainyus*; as the evil principle is called *Anra Mainyus*. Bopp ascribes to *Mainyu* the meaning of “spirit;” to *Cpēnta* that of “holy,” as to *Cpōnô* that of “holiness.” *Cpēnta Mainyus* means, Haug says, “White or Holy Spirit,” and *Anra* or *Angrô Mainyus* that of “Dark Spirit.” Neither of the words “holy” or “spirit” gives us any definite idea what was, to the Iranian mind, the meaning of the word that is rendered by it. I shall inquire as to *Cpēnta Mainyus* hereafter.

8. I pray thee, the Best, for the best, thou who hast the same will with Asha Vahista. I pray to the Ruler, that he will be gracious to Frashoqtra, and to those unto whom I am well disposed, during the whole continuance of Vohû-Manô. [Spiegel says, that is, ‘as long as the corporeal world itself endures.’ He also has the word ‘Lord,’ for which I substitute Ruler, as more definite. I conjecture that the original word is Khshathra. ‘The whole duration of Vohû-Manô’ perhaps means ‘so long as we are governed by the dictates of the Divine Reason.’]

9. On account of these blessings [in order that we may obtain them], we will also not grieve Ahura Mazda and Asha, nor the Best Spirit [Vohû-Manô?] which are helpful to you in praise. Yours is the will, and the unbounded rule over the profitable.

Mr. Bleek interposes “nor those,” before “which are helpful;” but the reason given in the next line does not apply to the worshippers, but to the deities; and I venture to suggest this reading:

On account of these blessings, we, who serve you by worship, will not offend Ahura Mazda, Asha, or Vohû-Manô; for the fate of the fertile country which we seek to recover is entirely subject to your will, and you are Sovereign over it. [Or 'The profitable' may mean, generally, all that gives increase and prosperity, all benefits and blessings.]

10. Whom thou knowest, O Asha, as the creatures of Vohû-Manô, the Truthful, Mazda Ahura, to them fulfil completely their wishes. I know that ye are without want of food and friendly words.

The "Creatures" of Ahura Mazda are, especially, the Aryan people. The creatures of Vohû-Manô are the worshippers of Ahura, because all worship and prayer is inspired by Vohû-Manô, he being the divine wisdom, which, dwelling in men as the human intellect and wisdom, produces the prayers and songs, the creatures or works of the intellect. The truthful are those who preach the true doctrine, or those through whom Vohû-Manô teaches it. And, in asking Ahura Mazda to fulfil the wishes, for victory over the invaders, of these Apostles Militant of the truth, Zarathustra or whatever worshipper speaks in this hymn, tells Ahura and the Amêsha-Çpëntas that he well knows they do not need the meat of the sacrifice, nor the words of reverential adoration of the worshippers; nor are these his titles to their favour.

11. I keep forever purity and good mindedness [I am a sincere devotee of the true faith, and of pure and good motives and purposes. These are my titles, the only just and valid ones, to the divine favour]. Teach thou me, Mazda Ahura, from out thyself, from Heaven through thy Mouth, whereby the world first arose.

Thought, Word, Deed—these, it is said, are the Zarathustrian Trinity; and we have here clearly expressed the doctrine that the world or universe is the uttered or spoken word of God.

Teach me, Zarathustra cries, from out Thyself. Be Thou, Thyself, my Teacher and Inspirer, by and through Thy creative word, whereby the world first came into being. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. By Him was everything made that was made." Thus, the doctrine of St. John, as well as that of Plato and Philo, came from the Zend-Avesta, and is an heirloom of the Aryan race, a revelation from God unto it in its childhood.

It is an additional proof of the correctness of my interpretation of the name of Vohû-Manô, the first emanation, that his special antagonist, a creature or one of the progeny or issue of Añra-Mainyus, is Âko-Manô, which, Haug says, means naught [nought?] -mind, and is nothing but Zarathustra's philosophical term of the second principle, the "non-reality."

How "non-reality" or non-mind could, as he adds, "produce all bad thoughts in men, make them utter bad words, and commit sins," I fail to see. Âkô-Manô is clearly un-reason, irrationality, folly.

The special adversary of Asha-Vahista is Andar (Haug says Indra); that of Khshathra-Vairyā, Çaurva; of Çpēnta Ârmaiti, Nâonhaithi; of Haurvat̄ and Amérētâṭ, Taura and Zairica. Haug says that Shaurva (Çaurva) is the Shiva of the Hindūs; Naonhaitya, the collective name of the Indian Aćvins (the Sanskrit Nasatya), an appellation of these, Spiegel says; and that the last two are Darkness and Poison. I will inquire as to all these hereafter.

I append here the prayer, Yathâ Ahû Vairyo, in the original, as given by Haug, at the conclusion of his *Essays*. It is read from right to left:

Which, read from left to right, gives the three lines of the prayer as follows:

*Yathâ ahû rairyô athâ ratus ashâtchit hachâ
Vañhêus dazdâ mañañhô skyaothnanâm añhêus mazdâi
Khshathremchâ ahurâi âyim dregubyô dadât vâctârem.*

GÂTHÂ I.

SECTION II, YAÇNA XXIX.

1. Towards you complained the Soul of the Bull: For whom have ye created me, who has created me. Aëshma (wrath) defiles me, Haza (robber), Remô (suspicion), Dere (suffering) and Tavi (thief). I have not fodder save from ye, teach me then the good things which know herbage.

Haug thus represents this verse:

It is related that the *Gēus Urvâ*, i. e., the soul of the animated creation was crying aloud in consequence of attacks made upon his life, and imploring the assistance of the Archangels.

Elsewhere he says that *Aëshma* means "rapine," "attack"; and *drewis*, poverty. *Gâus*, in Sanskrit, has two meanings, "cow," and "earth," whence, in Greek, Γη, "earth." Bopp renders *urvan* by "mind," and Haug by "soul." *Haurva* means "the whole."

I think that it is quite evident that *Gēus Urvâ* means the cattle of the Aryan land, as a whole, a unit, as "people" in the singular means all the people of a country as a unit, or, rather, as "humanity" means all mankind as a unit. The soul or mind of all the cattle is represented as one, like the "voice of humanity." The later nonsense about "Goshurun, the primeval bull," is not worth repeating. The country being overrun by the northern hordes of Tâtars, Türks or Scyths, the Aryan cattle are represented as crying to the Amësha-Çpëntas, to know for whose use and benefit they had been produced by those whose creatures or progeny they were, vexed by the forays of marauders who took them as booty, by robbers and thieves, were in continual fear, and suffered from hunger upon their exhausted pastures. You only, they said, can furnish us pasturage; take us, then, to the fertile regions where herbage is abundant; or, perhaps, let us again know the good times when herbage is to be had.

2. Then the Fashioner of the Cow inquired of Asha: Where hast thou a Lord for the Cow? That he make mighty, provide with fodder those who apply themselves to breeding cattle, whom, Hail to Thee! for a Lord who smites back Aëshma to the wicked?

Haug says:

The murderer, frightened by this crying, asked one of the archangels, Asha, as to who had been appointed to protect the Soul of the Earth.

Spiegel says that the "Fashioner of the Cow" is Ahura Mazda. Neither he nor Haug gives the original word, which the former renders by

“Fashioner,” and the latter by “Murderer;” but it is impossible that the rendering of Haug can be right. The question asked shows that. For it is, put to Asha, the Divine Strength which, in the soldiery of the Aryan land, becoming their strength and efficiency in the use of weapons, secures victory,—Where hast thou a protector for the cattle, who will gather a strong force (or become powerful, or win victory), and so give access to pasturage, or enable grain to be raised, for those who employ them in breeding cattle; whom, be thou blessed! for a Leader, to drive back the marauding freebooters to the land of the infidels.

For that is what the word rendered by “wicked” everywhere means, the unbelieving Turanians, aborigines of the country, or the hordes of Turkish horsemen from Turkistan.

3. [Asha answered him]: There is not a Lord for the Cow, who might be without tormenting; it is not known to them, what manifestly rejoices the righteous; He is the mightiest among beings at whose call came the workers.

Asha replies, that there are no rulers or persons in power in the land other than those who harass, impoverish and slay the people. For the words rendered “torment” and “tormenting” often occur in these hymns, and everywhere mean doing harm to, afflicting, punishing. The Aryans are sometimes said to torment the tormentors, and these “tormentors” are always the invaders from beyond the Oxus, who, it seems, and we shall clearly see hereafter, had overrun and subjugated a large part of the country. That which benefits the true believers is wholly unknown to these rulers, and never done by them; and he is the mightiest among the Aryans, at whose summons the labourers assemble; by which I think is meant that he is best able to protect himself who has in his employ as husbandmen large numbers of labourers, ready at any time to repel marauders—the growers of stock being comparatively at their mercy.

And, perhaps, the clauses preceding this may mean that there is not an Aryan chief in the land who is exempt from the mischiefs and sufferings caused by the raids of marauders; and that the evident and visible prosperity which rejoices the true believer, is not known to them.

However that may be, it is at least entirely clear, if these verses have any coherent sense at all, that the Aryan settlements were continually harassed and plundered by marauders, whose principal prey, like that of the old moss-troopers of the Scottish border, was cattle. We shall find that these marauders were northern horsemen who had invaded the country and conquered and occupied part of it, marauding upon the rest, and native tribes that had allied themselves with them. Aryan chiefs and heads of clans, also, paid tribute to them out of their crops, to buy peace and immunity; and the people generally had no secure homes.

The great labour of Zarathustra was to induce the chiefs who had submitted, to abandon an inglorious neutrality, and unite their forces and fortunes with his.

No doubt, also, in the conquered country, the old, old tale was to be told, of labour being the bond-slave of power, the Tatars using the forced services of the Aryan husbandmen and herdsmen to supply their needs, and secure the permanency of their conquest.

It is certainly said in verse 6 that there was not a single chief or ruler in all the land who governed his conduct in accordance with the teachings of the true religion. It would seem from this, that the Aryan chiefs had themselves become oppressive rulers; but it may only and more probably mean that none of them would take the field against the infidels, out of zeal for the true faith.

4. [The cattle speak]. It is Mazda who remembers best the words which he has made before, ere Daëvas and men were, and which he will make again hereafter. Ahura has the determination. Let it happen with us as He will.

The "words" made by Ahura are the ancient prayers, which he spoke or dictated to the first men, as we shall see hereafter. "Daëvas and *men*" always means the Daëvas and the men who are their worshippers, and said to be born of them. Resigned to the will of Ahura, they rely on prayer. The great leading feature of both the Vaidic and Zarathustrian creeds was a sublime faith in the efficacy of prayer. It was to the Irano-Aryan a divine force. It had in itself the potency to cure disease, to give progeny and long life, and flocks and herds, and crown the land with liberty and independence; and Worship or Devotion was personified as a Divine Being and a warrior winning victories.

To prayer, in this Ode, the worshipper turned for relief against the despoilings of infidel oppression and the cruel burdens of servitude, and expressing his faith in the power of Ahura Mazda to dispel all the evils that afflicted the land, expressed also his resignation to whatever might seem to Him good.

5. Now I call zealously with uplifted hands to Ahura Mazda, for my soul and that of the three year old bull; for wisdom in doubtful questions. May he not perish who leads a pure life, not the active without the wicked!

Spiegel says:

The first part of this verse is utterly obscure. The meaning of the last line is perhaps, 'may the bad not gain the upper hand, so as to cause the good to disappear.' Haug, as to this and v. 4, says, only 'Asha referred him [the murderer] to Mazda, who is the Most Wise and the Giver of Oracles.'

It is uncertain who it is that speaks in this verse. Zarathustra himself is spoken of, in a subsequent verse, and, therefore, can hardly be supposed

to speak here. One calling with uplifted hands to Ahura Mazda, and calling urgently, is, of course, a man, and equally, of course, a priest or sacrificer. "Uplifted hands" are often spoken of, in connection with prayer and sacrifice; and it is worthy of note that in the *Synopsis Libri Sohar*, of Rabbi Jisaschar F. Naphthali, we find that the Hebrew priests attributed a peculiar virtue to the uplifting of the hands in prayer. In *Tit. ii., Domus Precum*, it is said, "*Illô tempore cùm Sacerdotes expandunt manus suas, Gloria Divina advenit, et implet manus eorum.*" "*Necesse est ut homo elevet manus suas tempore Orationis sue.*" "*In omni benedictione digitii elevandi sunt sursum.*"

The invoker prays to Ahura, in this verse, to preserve the lives of the people and their cattle. We often find the priest speaking in the first person singular, for all the worshippers. Each was supposed to repeat the invocation. . The bull, typical of all the cattle, is described as "three-year-old," as capable of performing the generative function. Such a bull only is fitted to represent all the cattle of the country; as the whole of humanity is represented by the term "*man-kind*," in which the idea of virile potency is implied, without which one is not *vir*, a man.

"For wisdom in doubtful questions" is a phrase whose meaning must be determined by the context. The "questions" were not those of casuistry. That "wisdom" is probably meant, by which one is able to decide, in situations of danger, what course is best to be pursued to avoid or avert it. By this, the owner of cattle might save his own life and his cattle's. Even more may be meant. It was a doubtful question whether it was better to submit and pay tribute, and with it purchase peace, giving up part of their cattle and other property, to secure the rest, or to unite with Zarathustra, and risk all in a struggle for independence and freedom. The Divine Wisdom, Zarathustra urged, counselled the latter; and the prayer may have been for that Wisdom, to decide that question.

The "active" seems sometimes to be the herdsmen, sometimes all the labouring people, but most generally, I think, the soldiery in the field, the horsemen. In another verse, "the industrious and active" are spoken of, meaning, probably, the labourers and soldiery. "The wicked" everywhere in the Zend-Avesta, are the unbelievers. And the latter part of the verse plainly means, "Let not those be slain who practice faithfully the duties of the true religion, nor the Aryan soldier, while the infidel is let to live."

6. Then Ahura Mazda said, who knows the impure through his wisdom, [knowing by His wisdom who are the unbelievers], not a Lord can be found, not a Master, who proceeds from purity. I, the Creator, have created thee (the cattle of the land), for the industrious and the active.

The meaning of the phrase, "who proceeds from purity" is very uncertain. It can hardly mean that not one was a believer. Perhaps it means that

not one of them is governed in his conduct by the principles of the true faith; or that not one marches forward, takes the field, actuated by religious zeal.

7. This Manthra of increase, Ahura Mazda created, in agreement with Asha; for the cow, and milk for those enjoying according to holy commands. Who is it who with good mind can announce it to mortals?

"This Manthra of increase" means this Manthra which is to cause prosperity and abundance; preservation and increase for the cattle, and milk for those who live and act in accordance with the precepts of religion.

It is made, created or produced by Ahura, "in agreement with Asha." I am not sure whether this means that he, *as* Asha, makes the Manthra, or whether it is meant that the wisdom of Ahura co-operated with his power, in producing it. But the meaning clearly is that it is invested with potency and might, Asha being the Divine Power, and the strength of men and armies.

"Good Mind," in the last line, I suppose to be, in the original, Vohû-Manô, the Divine Reason and Wisdom, that inspires the Priest and Prophet, or rather, that *is* their intellect, and by their mouths speaks in songs and hymns to mortals and to Ahura. If so, the last line means, "what man is there who can, by the Divine Wisdom, speak aloud this Manthra to the people?"

Haug says, of this and the preceding verse:

Mazda answered that Gêus Urvâ was being cut into pieces for the benefit of the agriculturist.

This he illustrated by a ridiculous "tradition," i. e., fable, that the "primeval ox" was cut to pieces, and the whole living creation sprung from his body. His translation of the passage must, therefore, be the traditional one, corresponding with the Parsi fable. What sentence in Spiegel's translation takes its place, or renders the same passage of the original, I do not know.

8. [Ahura speaks]: This one is known to me here [communes with me in the spirit], who alone heard our precepts [to whom alone our religious teachings have been communicated]; Zarathustra, the holy 'Çpitama,' he asks from us, Mazda and Asha, assistance for announcing [aid and success in teaching and propagating the faith]. I will make him skilful of speech.

Haug says, of this verse:

Mazda now deliberated with Asha, as to who might be fit to communicate this declaration of the Heavenly Council to mankind. Asha answered that there is only one man who heard the orders issued by the Celestial Councillors, viz., Zarathustra Çpitama; he, therefore, was to be endowed with eloquence to bring their messages to the world.

I think that Dr. Haug misses the whole sense and meaning of this hymn. If so, he will, of course, give to particular words and phrases the erroneous interpretation that sustains the general erroneous idea.

The word which Spiegel here renders by "precepts" and Haug by "orders" evidently means that which is elsewhere and often expressed in the Gâthâs, by the phrase "Mazdayaçian Law," meaning, not a code of mandates and commands, but a body of doctrine and truth, of the tenets of the true faith. It is this, and not "orders of the Celestial Councillors," that had been communicated or revealed by Ahura Mazda, through Vohû-Manô, to Zarathustra. Nor is he to be made eloquent in order to "bring messages to the world." This song is one of a series, composed during the struggle against the invaders to dispossess them of the country, at different periods, from the beginning even to the end of the long conflict. When it began, it appears, Zarathustra had few to assist him. The people were enslaved or dispirited, the land impoverished, the leaders and chiefs had for the most part submitted, and even abandoned the Ahurian faith, and the native Turanian tribes, some of which had been converted, had allied themselves with the Tâtar or Turkish conquerors, the Dævas from the North, the Land of Darkness, and the Drukhs.

This is not fanciful or conjectural. I think these songs will show it all to be historically true.

To arouse the people, to induce the lukewarm or discouraged chiefs to unite in the effort to liberate the country, these songs were composed, chiefly by Zarathustra himself, but in part by Jamâçpa, a missionary sent out by Zarathustra, or at least acting as his subordinate, and preaching the true faith. Victory and liberation were to be attained only by propagating that faith, and by the efficacy of prayer, without which armies could not be raised, nor strength be possessed by the soldiery, nor strategical skill by the captains and commanders, of whom Kavâ-Vistaçpa, "the warlike," was Zarathustra's Lieutenant-General. It was to effect all this, that Zarathustra was to be gifted with persuasive eloquence.

Already accredited and accepted by the people as an Apostle of the Truth, by whose mouth Ahura dictated prayers and sacred hymns and taught the great truths of a Spiritual Creed, Zarathustra was the incarnation of Vohû-Manô, the Divine Reason or Wisdom. But he knew that, to expel the invaders, and liberate the country, and afterwards to maintain peace, domestic tranquillity and prosperity, and at the same time, extend the Aryan dominion by colonization, it was indispensable that one will should govern, and that will, his own. He was the priest, but not the prophet (as he is often erroneously styled), for he never prophesied or predicted at all. He needed to be also general and king; and in this song, he ingeniously announces his divine commission as each.

[For, 9], Then complained the Soul of the Bull [thus the cattle remonstrated with Ahura]: I am not rejoiced over the powerless Lord, the voice of the non-accomplishing man, since I desire an absolute Ruler. How shall now be he who brings to him active help?

The *Essays* of Dr. Haug give no translation or summary of the meaning of this and the two verses of the song that follow it.

We are not content, the cattle protest, with a Lord not possessed of actual power, with one who, having no other power than that of Teacher, and of words, can accomplish nothing, having no power of control and direction. Our need is for an absolute ruler, military commander and monarch.

The response, in the next verse, to the question with which this verse concludes, shows, I think, its meaning to be, "In what condition is one who now brings to Zarathustra men of war?" i. e., to what use bring them, when he is only a priest, and not commander and king?

10. Give, O Ahura Mazda, to this one [Zarathustra], for help, Asha and Khshathra, together with Vohû-Manô [whom he already had], that he may create good dwellings and pleasantness; for I account thee, O Mazda, as the first possessor of these things.

Enslaved, or where not so, continually harassed, plundered, their fields ravaged, their cattle driven away, their homes destroyed, probably by fire, and leading uncertain and precarious lives, the Aryan common-people were in large measure homeless, and everywhere without the comfort, quiet and permanence of home. Wherefore, in addition to the assistance of the Divine Reason that made him eloquent and wise to disseminate the Truth, that of Asha-Vahista and Khshathra-Vairyâ is asked for him, that by freeing the land of its oppressors, exterminating the marauders and restoring the reign of law, order and security he might give the people comfortable and safe homes, and peace and quiet content. For, says the worshipper, in the plenitude of his faith, I am assured that it is thou, Ahura Mazda, as the deity of whom these others are but emanations, that hast in reality these blessings in gift, though they must come to us through them; and therefore it is thou unto whom I pray for them.

We have already seen that to Asha-Vahista, the strength and power of God, the God of battles, together with Vohû-Manô, the Divine Wisdom, which in the military chief is military skill and sagacity, that victory in battle and the successful termination of wars is due. By him, therefore, Zarathustra was to become the conquering soldier, the liberator.

Khshathra-Vairyâ, as we have said, is said to be the Protector of Metals, and entrusted with the care of the poor. Bopp gives us "strong," as the meaning of *Vairyâ*. *Kshi*, in Sanskrit, means "to possess," and "to rule;" and *Kshatra*, one of warlike or royal caste. In Zend, according to

Bopp, *Csathra* means “a king”; and Haug gives “possession” as the meaning of *Khshathrât*. The Russian title “Czar” is from this word; and so probably the title “Tarshatha,” of the Viceroys of the kings of Persia.

In *Vispered xxiii.* we find:

The Vohû-Khshathra we praise; we praise Khshathra Vairyâ; we praise the metals: [and in the Gâthâ Vohû-Khshathra], The Wisdom [Power] which thou givest to thy warriors through thy red fire, through the metals that give as a token, in both worlds [the mother-country and its colony], to wound the wicked, to profit the pure [to defeat and slay the unbelievers, and give victory to the Aryans]. [In *Yaçna xvi.*], To Vohû-Khshathra [the Divine Sovereignty or Dominion, the subsistent Sovereignty; *Vohû* meaning ‘entity’, and when so united with another name, that which the name designates, the particular divine attribute designated, as a unity including its entirety], to Vohû-Khshathra, the Desirable [the one to whom desires, i. e., prayers, are addressed; the adored], who brings good.

In the later language of the Achæmenian inscriptions, we find Darius calling himself *Khshâya thiya Pârsaiya*, “King of Persia.”

In the Hebrew Kabalah there are ten Sephiroth or Emanations, outflowings or utterances, from the very God, unknown and unnameable—one of which, Wisdom, Hakemah or Chochmah, is the equivalent of Vohû-Manô; another, Natsakh (Netsach), Victory, of Asha-Vahista; and a third, Malakoth, Rule, Sovereignty or Dominion, of Khshathra-Vairyâ, Potent Sovereignty.

This Amësha-Çpënta gives power to his warriors, by means of the red fire and the metal, because dominion in those days was acquired by arms, and every chief was a successful military commander; the sword was the symbol of all power over men. *Khratu* means “Power,” not “Wisdom.”

This apologue shows that Zarathustra claimed, as other reformers have done, to be inspired; Ahura-Mazda and Vohû-Manô speaking by his mouth. But, as he taught that Vohû-Manô was *all* reason and wisdom, human as well as divine, all human reason being the divine reason resident in the individual man, he must have held that every true word, by whomsoever spoken, was inspired.

Like Mahomet, it appears, who pretended that the Archangel Gabriel (another equivalent of Vohû-Manô), wrote the Koran for him, Zarathustra was priest, teacher, soldier and monarch, claiming to be all by divine commission. He not only taught the Aryan people a truer religion than idol-worship or the worship of fire and light and their manifestations, but he persuaded them to lead better lives, liberated them from servitude and oppression, and established the reign of peace, law and order in the land.

11. When will holiness, good-mindedness and rule come to me? Do you, O Mazda, bestow greatness for greatness; may Ahura desire us on account of our friendliness toward you.

Spiegel thinks that the prayer, "bestow greatness for greatness" means, perhaps, "Give me Paradise for a reward for my good deeds in this world." It might as well be supposed to mean almost anything else. I think that the verse is to be considered as spoken by the utterer of the prayer, for the Aryan land and people; and that its meaning is "when will the land have the blessings of the true religion, good neighborhood, and law and order?"

Give power, O Mazda, to him by whom great deeds will be done (or, power that a great work may be done); and may Ahura be gracious to us on account of our faithful adherence to you, Zarathustra.

Of course the composer of this apologue did not expect it to be understood as a true account of actual conversations. It is obvious that it is meant to be understood as a parable. Only a people of a very low order of intelligence could have accepted it as true, and only a charlatan, which Zarathustra was very far from being, could have gravely repeated it as true. That the cattle complain to Ahura of the evils that afflict the country; not only shows it to be a fable, but also that a grave lesson was intended to be taught by it—the necessity of union, and of zeal and devotion, in the cause for which Zarathustra was contending; the necessity for the government of a single will, and that the will of the wisest, as the only means of rescuing the land from its perils; and the value and efficacy of prayer and the true faith, as the only efficient instruments of the regeneration of the people.

Dr. Haug's idea of the purpose of it is this:

The earth is compared to a cow. By its cutting and dividing, ploughing is to be understood. The sense of that decree, issued by Ahuramazda and the Heavenly Council is, that the soil is to be tilled; it, therefore, enjoins agriculture as a religious duty. Zarathustra, when encouraging men, by the order of Ahuramazda, to cultivate the earth, acts as a prophet of agriculture and civilization. In this capacity we shall find also him afterwards.

It does not seem to me that there is any ground for this interpretation. I am quite aware that my interpretations will often seem unwarrantable and audacious; but I think that few of them will be found more so than this of Dr. Haug; which, moreover, makes the apologue both incoherent and trivial. I think that there was a real, serious and practical meaning in all these ancient compositions. The later ones are full of absurdities and nonsense.

I may be allowed to add, that these interpretations are very different from those which I at first and for a long time gave to these compositions. At first I did not at all connect them with the material condition of the Aryan country and people; or imagine that Zarathustra was engaged in a

struggle against a powerful invader, in possession of much of the country, or was either soldier or monarch. These conclusions were forced upon me by other Gâthâs; and I am now destroying page by page my original interpretations, and writing these. I have not set out, either with any preconceived theory, or with any ambition to discover new meanings and interpretations. I am too well aware of my want of qualifications in the way of scholarship, to indulge, knowing naught of Zend and little indeed of Sanskrit—to indulge in any such inexcusable vanity and self-conceit.

The special adversary, as I have said, of Khshathra-Vairyâ, is Çaurva or Shaurva. There being no dictionary of the Zend language, I cannot learn the meaning of this word. The antagonist of Sovereignty ought to be Anarchy, Lawlessness or Disorder. Whether the name means either of these or not, I cannot see the least reason for identifying it with the Hindu Siva or Shiva, Deity as Destroyer, a god not known or named in the *Rig Veda*.

GÂTHÂ I.

SECTION III, YAÇNA XXX.

Of this section, Dr. Haug says:

In the third section of this Gâthâ, one of the most important pieces of the Gâthâ literature is presented to us. It is a metrical speech, delivered by Zarathustra Çpitama himself, when standing before the sacred fire, to a numerously attended meeting of his countrymen. The chief tendency of this speech is to induce his countrymen to leave the worship of the Devas or gods, i. e., polytheism, to bow only before Ahuramazda, and to separate themselves entirely from the idolaters. In order to gain his object wished for, he propounds the great difference which exists between the two religions, monotheism and polytheism, showing that whereas the former is the fountain of all prosperity both in this and the other life, the latter is utterly ruinous to mankind. He attempts further to explain the origin of both these religions so diametrically opposed to each other, and finds it in the existence of two primeval causes, called 'existence' and 'non-existence.' But this merely philosophical doctrine is not to be confounded with his theology, according to which he acknowledged only one God, as will be clearly seen from the second Gâthâ.

He submits a translation of the whole of "this inaugural speech of Zarathustra." I will place after each verse of Spiegel's translation, the same verse of Dr. Haug's; and the reader must judge for himself, if he can, which is most probably the more correct reproduction of the original. He will probably conclude that where two scholars render so differently every verse, and almost every line, so that there is hardly a faint resemblance between the two, there can be no certainty as to the correctness of either; and that the Zend is a language the meaning of whose words has as yet, for the most part, to be guessed at, rather than ascertained.

I suppose that no man in the world is qualified and able to decide authoritatively between the two. No one has any other materials with which to form a judgment, than these two antagonists have had. As I am utterly unqualified to do it, I shall adhere, for the most part, to the version of Bleek from Spiegel, which has been made after careful comparison of it by Mr. Bleek and a learned Parsee with a Gujerati manuscript translation, "perhaps the best which the Parsees possess." As far as the *Essays* of Dr. Haug give me the means of comparing his translation with that of Bleek (I do not possess, and could not read if I did, his German translation of all the Gâthâs), the version of the latter seems to acquaint us with a much more simple, rational and coherent work, a more understandable one, and one more likely to have been composed in that remote age, than Dr. Haug's does.

1. (S.) I announce this for those who desire after what Mazda created for the prudent: The praises for Ahura which are to be sounded by man; those to be well thought with purity, the beautiful through their brightness.

(H.) I will now tell you, who are assembled here, the wise sayings of the most wise, the praises of the living God, and the songs of the Good Spirit, the sublime truth which I see arising out of these sacred flames.

This is part of the preamble to the teachings and exhortations contained in this hymn or lecture. I promulgate this, it says, "for those who desire to know what Mazda revealed to the wise" (for he is everywhere said to have "created" the prayers and Manthras which were given or dictated by him to Yima and to others, including Zarathustra):

The hymns of adoration of Ahura, that are to be uttered aloud by men, that are to be kept in the memory, with sincere faith and devotion, that are beautiful in their excellence, and that confer blessings; or, are the cause of benefits, are profitable and advantageous to the worshipper.

2. (S.) Let him hear the best with the ears, let him see the clear with the soul, to determine the desirable, man by man for himself; ere the great deed (occurs) those must teach us who know it.

(H.) You shall therefore hearken to the Soul of Nature, *Gēus Urvā*, (i. e., to plow and cultivate the earth); contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind! Every one, both men and women, ought today to choose his creed (between the Deva and the Ahura religion). Ye offspring of renowned ancestors, awake to agree with us (i. e., to approve of my lore, to be delivered to you at this moment).

"The great deed," Spiegel says, is by the tradition understood to mean the Resurrection. The "clear," I should take to mean the light or truth. "The best," I take to have the sense of a noun; and the meaning to be, "Let each man listen to what I teach, since it is the best, and with his mind see the light of the truth, that each may, for himself, determine what it is desirable for him to accept" (or what course it is most for his true interest to take, in regard to the struggle in which Zarathustra was then engaged). And this is, as will be seen by the latter part of the hymn or exhortation, that which he sought to have them determine, i. e., whether they would be on his side and aid him. He now proceeds to show them why they ought to do so. Dr. Haug sees no reference to war against the invaders of the land, but only a religious discussion in regard to the two creeds.

As to the last line, the two translations do not agree, in even a single word. If Spiegel's is correct, it is hard to say what the meaning is. A Mantra or prayer is a "deed" or work of Ahura; and the teaching that was to follow this preface, was also such a deed. And, probably, the meaning is, simply, "in order that a great deed may be such to us, before it can be a deed for us, those who know it must teach it to us."

3. (S.) Both these Heavenly Beings, the Twins, gave first of themselves to understand both, the good and the evil, in thoughts, words and works. Rightly do the wise distinguish between them, not so the imprudent.

(H.) In the beginning there was a pair of Twins, two Spirits, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word and deed. Choose one of these two Spirits! Be good, not base!

Spiegel understands these twins to be Ahura Mazda and Añra-Mainyus; and says that the Armenian writers, Esnik, for example, consider them as "The Sons of Time." Haug does not so understand it, and of this we shall speak hereafter.

At first, the verse says, these Heavenly Beings, the Twins, were each alike, the causes and creators of both good and evil, in thoughts, words and works: between which the wise rightly distinguished, knowing one from the other; and the unwise did not. This seems to me to be the sense of the verse, as it is translated by Bleeck.

4. (S.) When both these Heavenly Beings came together, in order at first to create life and perishability, and as the world should be at last; the evil for the bad, the best spirit for the pure.

(H.) And these two spirits united, created the first (the material things); one the reality, the other the non-reality. To the liars (the worshippers of the Devas, i. e., Gods), existence will become bad, whilst the believer in the true God enjoys prosperity.

How "non-reality," i. e., nothingness, can be "created," one does not readily comprehend. As rendered by Bleeck, I think the meaning of the verse is:

'When these two Beings came together,' to create life and mortality, thereafter to belong to the world that was to be, the Evil Spirit for the unbelievers and the Best Spirit for those that were of the True Faith.

5. (S.) Of these two Heavenly Beings, the Bad chose the Evil, acting, the Holiest Spirit which prepared the very firm Heaven, the Pure, and those who make Ahura contented with manifest actions, believing in Mazda.

(H.) Of these two Spirits you must choose one, either the Evil, originator of the worst actions, or the True Holy Spirit. Some may wish to have the hardest lot (i. e., those who will not leave the polytheistic deva-religion), others adore Ahura Mazda by means of sincere actions.

I read this verse thus:

The Unbelievers choose the Evil One of these two Beings, as manifested in action; and the Believers, who propitiate Ahura by devotional ceremonies, believing in Mazda, choose the Holiest Spirit, which embellished the stable sky.

6. (S.) Of these two, the Devas chose not the right, nor those deceived by them. When he had chosen, the most wicked Spirit came with questions, the men who would defile the world joined themselves with Aeshma.

(H.) You cannot belong to both of them (i. e., you cannot be worshippers of the one true God, and of many gods at the same time). One of the Devas, against whom we are fighting, might overtake you when in deliberation (what faith you are to embrace), whispering you to choose the naught mind [Akem-Manô]. Then the Devas flock together to assault the two lives (the life of the body, and that of the soul), praised by the Prophets.

It would be idle to attempt to reconcile these two versions. I read the former thus:

The Devas and those deceived by them chose the wrong (or false) one of these two. When one had chosen, Akem-Manô inspired him with his teachings; and those people who were to work harm and mischief to the Aryan land, united themselves with (were inspired by) the spirit of violence and rapine.

For we often read of "the Ahurian question" or "questioning," i. e., the teachings of Ahura in reply to questions; and we have already seen that the land of the Aryans and the cattle were "defiled" by Aëshma (rapine).

7. (S.) To the other came Khshathra, with Vohû-Manô and Asha; Strength gave Armaiti to the body, continual. May it so fare with thine as when thou first camest to creating!

(H.) And to succour this life (to increase it), Armaiti (she is the genius of earth, and the personification of prayers), came with wealth, the good and true mind; but the soul, as to time, the First Cause among created beings, was with thee.

[I read], To the faithful, who gave fealty to Ahura Mazda, came Khshathra (Superiority and Dominion), with Vohû-Manô and Asha (the Divine Reason and Might in War); and Armaiti (the productive energy of God in Nature), gave them permanent physical vigour. May it, O Ahura, continue to fare with those who are thy creatures and thy people, as it did when thou didst first begin to create.

8. (S.) Then, when the punishment comes for those evil-doers, then delivers himself up to thee, O Mazda, Khshathra together with Vohû-Manô, when Ahura commands, who give the Drujas into the hand of Asha.

(H.) But when he (the Evil Spirit) comes with one of these evils (to sow ill weed among the believers) then thou hast the power, through the good mind, of punishing them who break their promises (that is to say, those who give today the solemn promise to leave the polytheistic religion, and to follow that preached by Zarathustra, will be punished by God, should they break their promise), O true Spirit.

[I read thus]: When the time for the punishment of these miscreants arrives, Khshathra and Vohû-Manô, who execute thy behests, do put themselves at thy service and disposal, O Mazda, and do give the invading unbelievers into the power of Asha.

Drukh is translated "demon," and taken to mean a spiritual evil being. But I think it came to have that meaning long after the time of Zarathustra. *Dru*, in Sanskrit, means "to run, to attack, to hurt," and *Druh*, "to hurt, to seek to injure or grieve, an injurer." The Zend *druj* is the same word. Haug says it means "destruction," and gives *Drukhs* as the nominative,

and *drujem* as the accusative; *druh*, "to destroy" and *drukhs*, "destruction, lie," as from the Sanskrit *druzha*. The double meaning, "to run and to harm," caused it to be fitly applied to the marauding riders, Tâtars, Turks or Scyths, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes; and it was more than probably the origin of the name Türk or Toorkh. There is abundant evidence in the Gâthâs, that it meant the northern invaders of Bactria and oppressors of the Aryans.

And, as Asha was the fire by which weapons are forged, and the strength and physical force by which victories are won, "to give the Drukhs into the hands of Asha" means to defeat and rout them.

9. (S.) May we belong to Thee [be under thy ward and protection], we who seek to further this world [who are striving to liberate and make prosperous and strong this Aryan land.] May the strong chiefs bring help through Asha. [May the chiefs who are powerful come to our assistance with strong reinforcements of troops.] Whoso is obedient here, he will there unite himself with power [whoever is a true worshipper here of Ahura, will there join the forces that shall be raised there, i. e., insurgent forces in the country held by the infidels].

(H.) Thus let us be such as help the life of the future. [Here, Haug says, we have the germ of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead body.] The wise living spirits [these are the Archangels (Amshaspands)], are the greatest supporters of it. The prudent man wishes only to be there where wisdom is at home.

10. (S.) Then falls on the Drujas the destruction of annihilation; those who enlarge the glory of the good, they gather themselves swiftly to the good dwelling of Vohû-Manô, of Mazda, of Asha.

When the Aryan chiefs and people shall thus rally to the standard of Zarathustra, the power of the infidel oppressors will be crushed; and those who thus cause the Aryan arms to triumph will inhabit the land in which Vohû-Manô, Mazda and Asha dwell.

(H.) Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (the evil spirit). All perfect things are garnered up in the splendid residence of the good mind (Vohû-Manô), the wise (Mazda), and the true (Asha), who are known as the best beings.

11. (S.) Teach both the Perfections which Mazda has given to man, of themselves as many as there are who long time wound the wicked. They are profit to the pure; through them will hereafter come happiness.

(H.) Therefore, perform ye the commandments which, pronounced by the Wise himself, have been given to mankind; for they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believers in the truth; they are the fountain of happiness.

Spiegel thinks that the two "Perfections" are perhaps the Avesta and the Zend, i. e., the Holy Scriptures and the oral tradition. But there was no Zend, nor, indeed, were there any Scriptures, in the time of

Zarathustra. They are more probably the two great prayers, Ahuna Vairyā and Ashem Vohu.

I read this verse:

Teach the two perfect prayers which Mazda has given to men; as many as there are which by their own efficiency have long smitten and slain the unbelieving North-men; for these prayers do make the faithful to prosper; and through them peace and prosperity will hereafter come to the land.

I have substituted “strong,” “powerful” and “power,” in verse 9, for the “wise” and “wisdom” of Mr. Bleek’s translation. *Khratu* means “power,” not “wisdom;” and this much better agrees with the sense of the texts where it occurs.

The “good dwelling” of Ahura is the best and most fertile portion of the Aryan land, around Balkh, held by the infidels.

GATHA I.

SECTION IV, YAÇNA XXXI.

Only part of the verses of this and the following sections of the First Gâthâ are translated by Dr. Haug in his *Essays*.

1. Reciting to you these Perfections, that have not yet [before] been heard, we teach the words against those who destroy the World of Purity with the teachings of the Drujas, thus the best of these who give their hearts to Mazda.

The "World of Purity" is the country of the true faith, the Aryan land, Bactria. The word often rendered "destroy" means rather to do harm or mischief to, to bring calamity upon; and the teachings of the Drujas are the religious doctrines of the idolatrous Tâtars or Toorkhs. The "Perfections" that had not before been heard, were either these hymns, themselves, or certain prayers, then for the first time recited. Whatever they were, they were regarded as emanating from Âhura through Vohû-Manô, and as having in themselves a divine force and efficacy, able to defeat and expel the infidels; and thus to be the most potent auxiliaries of those who devoted themselves to the cause of Ahura—i. e., of the Ahurian religion and of Aryan liberation and triumph.

2. If the Good holds fast without doubt to that which cannot be perceived by the eyes, then comes he to you all, since he desires Ahura-Mazda, the Lord of these good things, from Purity, through which we live.

If the good man, with faith undoubting, places his trust in that which the eyes cannot perceive ("Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"), he will attain unto intercourse with all you Amêsha-Çpêntas, because he addresses his desires to Ahura-Mazda, in whose disposition are all these blessings, the fruits of faith in the true religion, by means of which our life is prolonged.

3. What then in heavenly way, through the Fire and Asha, givest us might for the warriors, as perfection for the intelligent, that announces to us, O Mazda, that we may know it, with the tongue of thy mouth, that I may teach it to all living.

This verse beseeches Ahura-Mazda to communicate to Zarathustra, that he may teach or make it known to all the Aryans, that instruction, as prayers or Manthras, which, acting through or by means of the fire, is the skill that forges weapons, and becoming through Asha, that skill in the use of them by which the soldiery may win battles, is also the intelligent skill of the leaders of these forces. "The Tongue of Thy Mouth" is

Vohû-Manô; or the phrase may mean “reveal or utter it to me in spoken words.” It will be seen by many passages, that devotion, prayer and praise were regarded as actual forces, which themselves achieved results and won victories. To him who used them, they became skill and wisdom and strength; and this intense conviction of the potency of prayer and faith is a striking feature of the religion of Zarathustra. And from this source, the same idea went to the Hebrews, who became familiar with the thoughts of Zarathustra at Babylon; and is so strikingly expressed in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ascribed to Paul, in which, among other things, it is declared that the walls of Jericho fell down by faith, that through it the heroes of Israel won victories, and subdued kingdoms, “Waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.”

4. When they call hither Asha and the Great Lords, then I desire with purity, with wisdom and the best mind, after mighty rule for me, through whose strength we smite the Drujas.

When the presence of Asha, Vohû-Manô and Khshathra is invoked [or is vouch-safed in response to the invocation of the people; but rather, I think, ‘when the people, with renewed faith and piety shall invoke their aid’—which these compositions urged them to do], then I will ask, with sincere faith, with wisdom and good intentions, that the powers of government may be vested in me, that by the concentration of force and energy, which this will give, we may vanquish the infidel oppressors.

“Purity” is unquestionably religious faith, the Ahurian religion abiding in the heart. As to wisdom and the best mind, not knowing what the original words are, nor that the latter may be Vohû-Manô, I am not sure, but the petition is clearly for investiture with kingly power.

5. Say that to me clearly, what good will be apportioned to me through purity. Let me know through Vohû-Manô what is profitable to me; that, O Mazda Ahura, what will not be, and what will be.

The meaning of this is plain, having asked for royal power, *in compliance with the petition of the cattle to Ahura*, Zarathustra now asks that Ahura will give him assurance as to what successes he will achieve, and what advantages for the country reap, as the fruits of his religious faith; and that through Vohû-Manô, the divine wisdom, partially in-dwelling in him, he will enable him to determine upon the measures and movements that will secure victory, and to foresee results, and what movements will and will not be made. It is a prayer for military sagacity, for the gift of divining the enemy’s purposes, and of unerring decision as to the operations to be undertaken.

6. With him may it fare best, who to me, as a sage, openly speaks the Mañthra for fullness, purity and immortality. To Mazda belongs the kingdom, so far as it prospers to him through Vohû-Manô.

May that Sage (probably Jamaçpa), be most fortunate of all (or receive the highest reward), who in aid of my undertaking, recites aloud the Mañthra that petitions for plenty, for the spread of religious faith, and for safety to life, in the land.

The last line connects with the next verse, the subject suddenly changing, and I repeat it.

To Mazda belongs the kingdom, so far as it prospers to him through Vohû-Manô.

7. He came as the first fashioner; brightness mingled itself with the lights: He, the pure creation, He upholds the best soul with his understanding; Thou causest both to increase, in heavenly way, O Mazda Ahura, Thou who art also now the Lord.

(H.) He (Ahuramazda) first created through his inborn lustre (*qâthrâ*, 'by means of his own fire,' Ahuramazda being called *qâthrô*, i. e., having his own light, not borrowed), the multitude of celestial bodies, and through his intellect the good creatures, governed by the inborn good mind. Thou, living spirit, who art everlasting, makest them (the good creatures) grow.

Dominion, Zarathustra declares, belongs to Ahura, so far as it inures to him by means of the Divine Wisdom. In other words, and as St. Thomas Aquinas said, "a thing is not right because God wills it; but He wills it because it is right." "God is the true King," Bossuet said, "under a just God, there is no purely arbitrary power." And Fenelon said, "The absolute dominion of God is not founded on a blind will. His sovereign will is always regulated by the immutable law of His wisdom." And, moreover, according to the doctrine of Zarathustra, dominion also belonged to Añra-Mainyus, but only so far as he had it through Âkô-Manô, unreason.

He (Vohû-Manô, I think) came, i. e., came forth, out-flowed, emanated, as the first fashioner; and splendour, flowing into the celestial luminaries, was manifested through them. He sustains in existence the Aryan race (for everywhere this is meant by "the pure creation," Añra-Mainyus being deemed the creator of the infidel races); he maintains sound reason in them, by his wisdom that is incarnate in them; and Ahura, who is above all the emanations, causes both to increase in excellence. The meaning of "Heavenly way," here and in verse 3 is not clear to me. I do not discover how Haug renders the original of it.

8. (S.) Thee have I thought, O Mazda, as the first to praise with the soul, as the father of Vohû-Manô, since I saw thee with eyes, the active creator of purity, the lord of the world in deeds.

(H.) When my eyes beheld thee, the essence of truth, the creator of life who manifests his life in his works, then I knew thee to be the Primeval Spirit, thou wise, so high in mind as to create the world, and the father of the good mind (Vohû-Manô).

Dr. Haug gives us (p. 136) the original of this verse with a literal translation, telling us that it is “a more free translation” which I have given above.

<i>at</i>	<i>thwâ</i>	<i>menhi</i>	<i>þaourvîm</i>	<i>Mazdâ</i>	<i>yazûm</i>	<i>çtôi</i>	<i>manaphâ</i>
So	thee	I thought	first	Mazda	great	in creation	in mind
<i>Vanhēus</i>	<i>þtarêm</i>	<i>manaphô</i>	<i>hyat</i>	<i>thwâ</i>	<i>hêm</i>	<i>chashmainî</i>	
of the good	father	mind	therefore	thee	together	in the eye	
<i>heñgrabem</i>	<i>haithîm</i>	<i>ashahyâ</i>	<i>dâmêm</i>	<i>anhēus</i>	<i>ahurem</i>	<i>skyaothanaêshû</i>	
I seized	true	of purity	creator	of life	living	in actions	

By comparing this literal translation with the free one, and with that of Spiegel and Bleeck, it will be seen that Dr. Haug takes a large liberty with the literal language, and to a great extent conjectures what the real meaning is. The translation of Spiegel is nearer to it; and in this, it seems that the words of the phrase, “Lord of the World,” have no equivalents in the original.

The meaning seems, however, clearly enough to be:

So I acknowledge thee, O Ahura, to be first in greatness; to be worshipped in mind, as father or origin of the intellect; wherefore, I saw thee, revealed to my eyes as the truth of religion, and the creator of existence, thyself manifested in the material world.

Ashahya, a relative adjective, meaning “what refers to or belongs to religion,” is from *Asha*, *ashem*, ordinarily rendered “pure.” *Asha* means fire, and fire is pure, clear, bright, and purifies everything. “He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire,” John the Baptist said. But, also as the instrument and medium of sacrifice, fire is worship, and worship being an act of devotion, a religious act, *ashahya* means the religion of Zarathustra. The Haöma used in the sacrifice was also called *Ashava*, because put to a religious use, “sacred,” “consecrated.”

As *çtu* means to praise or worship, *çtaomi*, I worship, and *Çtaota* (a noun), praise and worship, though *çtar* and *çtere* mean “to spread, fix, establish, etc.” I follow Spiegel in regard to *çtoi*.

Vanhēus being the genitive of *Vohû*, and *manaphô* of *Manô*, Spiegel properly renders the two words *Vohû-Manô*.

9. (S.) To thee belonged Armaiti, with thee was the understanding which fashioned the cow, when thou, Mazda Ahura, Heavenly, createdst ways for her, from the active proceeds also he who is not active.

(H.) In thee was Armaiti, in thee the very wise fertilizer of the soil, O Thou Wise Living Spirit; when thou hast made her paths that she might go from the tiller of the soil to him who does not cultivate it.

"Fertilizer of the soil," literally "cutter of the cow," *geus tashâ*; and it is Haug's idea that it is Armaiti who goes about, from tiller to herdsman, to persuade the latter to till the soil. *Tash*, he says elsewhere, means "to cut, to prepare." It is identical with the Sanskrit *taksh*, "to slice, cut in pieces, prepare, form, cover with a hide." *Takshan*, also, in Sanskrit, is "a carpenter." *Tasha* is, therefore, properly rendered by "fashion." The Hebrew word *bara*, rendered "create," also means "to fashion or form," out of existing materials. "To prepare," "form," are the Vedic meanings.

Armaiti belonged to Ahura, as "The Word was in the beginning with God, and the Word was God." She was, as Haug translates it, *in* Ahura, and emanated (flowed out from, *e-manavit*) from him. In him, also, was the wisdom that created the cattle. Vohû-Manô was the first fashioner, the creative reason, the Logos, the first-begotten, the Demiourgos.

The cattle were created, when Ahura had prepared ways or paths for them, i. e., pastures, over which they might roam, driven by the Aryan herdsmen.

The last line is connected with the next verse, and the two read thus: "From the active proceeds, also, he who is himself not active."

10. (S.) Of them thou hast chosen for it the active working, as the pure Lord over the good things of Vohû-Manô. The inactive did not, O Mazda, impart the precept to the bad.

(H.) that she might go from the tiller of the soil to him who does not cultivate it. Of these two, she chose the pious cultivator, the propagator of life, whom she blessed with the riches produced by the good mind. All that do not till her, but (continue to) worship the Devas, have no share in her good tidings (the fruits produced by her, and the blessings of civilization).

Zarathustra's songs had it for their object to arouse the religious zeal and enthusiasm of the chiefs and people, as the only efficient means of inducing them to engage with him in the hazardous enterprise of expelling from the country a warlike people from the North who had possessed themselves, probably long before, of much of the country, and ravaged the rest by frequent incursions; while the Turanian tribes of the mountain regions had united with them, repudiating the Ahurian faith, so far as they had been converted to it; and many Aryan chiefs found a kind of safety and immunity by submission, and perhaps paying tribute to the rapacious Tatars, or were deterred by the dangers of the attempt from engaging in the war for liberation and independence. Some of them, also, had become renegades, and more were lukewarm and indifferent in the matter of religion.

He urges upon the chiefs and people, therefore, that all good gifts came from Ahura; that to him and his Amêsha-Çpêntas alone men can look for freedom, peace and prosperity; that in prayer and adoration,

wisdom and strength consist, and that plenty which gladdens a land; and that only those of the Ahurian faith and Aryan race are of the creation of Mazda, the Drukhs being the offspring of the emanations from the evil spirit or mind.

In this ninth verse, he tells them that the productive power of nature was originally in Ahura, and flows forth from him; that the wisdom immanent in him, created the cattle, when he had prepared the pasture for their support.

These hymns thus come to us from a time when the chief wealth of the Irano-Aryans consisted in cattle, their increase and their milk; and when, although the alluvial country near the Oxus, and along the rivers, which could be irrigated, was cultivated by the agriculturist, a large part of the people were herdsmen, who drove their cattle to great distances, even over the Steppes of Rapha, or the Jaxartes, to pasture. Little is said about sheep. They are hardly mentioned as part of the wealth of the people.

The meaning of the tenth verse may be, as Zarathustra presents himself as the champion of the labourers, the toiling masses, against those who exacted their toil and were enriched by it, living in idleness, that the sons of the industrious became idlers; and that, among all the people, Ahura selects the workers and warriors, to possess, as truly religious, the many blessings in the gift of Vohû-Manô; and that it is a sufficient reason for rejecting the inactive and idle chiefs, that they have not endeavoured to convert the native tribes to the true religion; or, to reform the vicious and irreligious, by means of the precepts and teachings of Zarathustra, and so have not given aid to him in his great work of reform as a means of liberation, nor taken up arms.

I cannot believe that by the "active," the husbandmen are meant, and by the "inactive," the herdsmen; and I do not find, anywhere in the Zend-Avesta, a comparison between these two classes of the people, to the disadvantage of the latter; nor anywhere their occupation made little of.

11. (S.) When thou, Mazda, first createdst the world for us, and the laws, and the understanding, through thy Spirit, when thou clothedst the vital powers with bodies, and createdst Deeds [Mañthras and prayers], and teaching, to satisfy the wish for the world to come.

(H.) When thou madest the world with its bodies, and [gavest them] motions and speeches, then thou, Wise, hast created at first through thy mind the *gaēthas* (estates fenced in), and the sacred visions (*daēnās*) and intellects.

By *gaēthas*, frequently mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, Haug says, "the ancient settlements of the Iranian agriculturists are to be understood." Spiegel renders the word by "world," which I had ascertained, before seeing Dr. Haug's *Essays*, or knowing what the original word was, to be erroneous;

and that the word unquestionably meant the Aryan land, i. e., Bactria, which, in the Second Fargard, Yima is said to have enclosed, or fenced in.

Ahura Mazda, Dr. Haug adds, is constantly called the creator of the *gaēthas*; which means that these settlements belong to a very remote antiquity, and that they form the basis of the Ahura religion, or the religion of the agriculturists. The *daēnās* are the revelations communicated to the prophets through visions. The root of the word is *dī*, "to see" (preserved in the modern Persian *didan*, "to see," it is related to the Sanskrit root, *dhyāi*, "to think," thinking being considered to be a seeing by means of the mental eyes). Afterwards, it passed into the more general meaning of "religion, creed," and is kept in the form *dīn*, up to this day, in the Persian. The word is to be found in the Lithuanian language, also in the form *dainō*, meaning "a song" (the mental fiction of the poet).

Dhī, in Sanskrit, is "knowledge, intellect, mind, devotion;" and *dhyai*, "to contemplate, meditate, think on, to reflect."

In the Sanskrit, also, *go* is "a bull" or "cow," "rays of light, the earth, water, speech;" and *goshtha*, "a pasture-ground, cow-pen, stay or abode." It is very likely that *gaēthas* is the Zend form of the same. I cannot see how it is made to mean "fenced estates."

Taking the two translations together, I think the probable meaning to be:

When thou, Mazda, didst create for us our Aryan land and the true religion, and, through Vohū-Manō the Aryan intellect, then thou didst invest the living souls with bodies, and createdst prayers and Mañthras, that should give effect to the desire for the future acquisition of the land not yet acquired.

Difficult as this verse is, I can still less satisfy myself of the meaning of the three that follow. Having as to them no aid from Haug, I give them together, according to Bleeck.

12, 13, 14. Thither turns his voice the liar as the truth-speaker, the wise as the unwise, in his heart and his soul; he who holds fast to wisdom asks after the heavenly abodes. What questions asks as manifest, O Mazda, what as furtive, who commits great sins to cover little ones, all that seest thou, O Lord, pure, with thine eyes. Both these I ask thee, O Lrd, what there is, and what will yet come; what debt do they pay for judgment to the pure, what to the godless, when these shall be concluded?

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Bleeck should not have given his readers the means of judging in some measure of the soundness of his translation, by more than occasionally and very rarely giving us the original of doubtful words. I should be glad, for example, to know the original words that are presented to us masked, as "Lord," "world," "heavenly," "the active," "torment," "shining," "brightness," "the world to come," and the

like. I do not in the least believe that the words so rendered in the translation, really mean "heavenly abodes." In fact, as that phrase conveys no definite idea to *our* minds, not in the least informing us what and where the "abodes" are, they cannot correctly represent the original, whatever it is, if *it* meant anything at all.

Most of the translation of these verses is mere nonsense. What does "thither turns his voice" mean, especially when it is "turned" in his heart and his soul? What is "asking questions as manifest and furtive"?

Spiegel says that "his" before "heart" and "soul," is made by the tradition to refer to Zarathustra. And that "perhaps by 'debt' is implied that Paradise is due to pure men who have earned a right to it by their good deeds." That is much such a light in the darkness, as one flash from a fire-fly would make in the Mammoth Cave.

We can never be sure that an obscure text of these old hymns has not been corrupted; or that particular words have not, before or after they were written down, lost their original meanings, and received derivative ones; or that their real meaning is not unknown, or supposed to be what it never was; or that there is not error in identifying a particular Zend word with a particular Vedic word, especially as the true meaning of so many of the latter is unknown.

Much of the translation of the Veda, by Wilson, Müller and Muir is conjectural. How much more this is the case with the Zend-Avesta, the reader has already seen in part, and will yet have ampler evidence.

The key to at least an approximation to the meaning of these verses is that they and those that follow speak of, variously contrasting one with the other, either two kinds of persons, or two classes or races of men, as in the Aryan country. The wise and the unwise; the liar and truth-speaker; the pure and the godless; those who prepare the kingdom for the wicked, and the wise who strive to increase dominion with purity. Also, in verse 18, the Mañthras of the evil and their teaching are denounced.

I apply this key, and though I do not doubt that the meaning of some words and phrases is hidden from me, I think the general sense of the verses under consideration, to be this:

Into this Aryan country so created by Ahura Mazda, comes teaching the false teacher, as well as the true one; he who is inspired by the Divine Wisdom, as well as he who utters the words of Âkô-Manô, Unreason. Those who, hearing, are convinced by and obey the Divine Wisdom so speaking, will unite in the endeavour to regain possession of the land of Ahura. Thou, O Ruler, the True, seest and knowest what questions asked are sincere, and what are insincere. [Ahura uttered his revelations in reply to questions. Of course, he answered only those put by the devout, with sincere desire to know the truth; and not those put by the heretical, that they might pervert the replies, or to scoff at them, or through other evil motive.] And Thou seest also and knowest who they are who commit

great sins, in order to cover little ones. [Perhaps, who apostatize in order to justify their lukewarmness in the Aryan cause, or their cowardly consideration for their own safety and immunity]. Reveal to me, Ahura, the present condition of the cause and what will be the result [or, more, probably, the present disposition of men, and what will in the end be their course, i. e., who are disaffected or wavering now, and upon which side will they be found; or, perhaps, what their present action and determination are, and what the consequences of them will be]. What will be the justly owed reward, paid by thy award to the loyal believers; what to the unbelievers in thee, when the struggle shall be ended?

15. Concerning this, I ask thee what may be the punishment (for him) who prepares the Kingdom for the wicked, who through evil deeds does not increase life even a little; for the tormenters of the active, and [of] those who do not torment men and cattle?

[Which I read]: As to this, reveal to me what will be the punishment of those who abet and countenance the establishment of the rule of the infidels, who governed by false teachings, do nothing, even the least thing, to save people's lives [or, do not by labour produce, at least in small amount, the means of sustaining life]; for the marauders who harass and impoverish the industrious, and those who, remaining quiet and neutral, do not vex and slaughter the Aryans and their cattle?

16. I ask thee of this: the Wise, who the dominion of the dwelling, or of the confederacy, or of the region, strove to increase with purity, is he like thee, O Mazda Ahura, if he in deeds?

[Which I read]: Reveal this to me, O Mazda Ahura, is the wise man, who, zealous in the faith, has striven to free from subjection and oppression, the home, the confederacies and the regions of country of the Aryans, if he has proven his zeal by actual deeds, is he like unto Thee?

17. Which is greater, what the pure or impure believes, may the wise say it to the wise, may there be no more hereafter one who knows it not. Teach us Mazda Ahura, the tokens of good-mindedness.

[That is]: Which is the more potent, the faith of the Aryans or that of the idolatrous invaders? Let one priest declare it to another, and let there be hereafter no one ignorant of it among the people. Enable us to know, Mazda Ahura, the evidences of loyalty.

18. May no one of you hear the Mañthras of the evil and their teaching; for to the dwelling, to the clan, to the confederacy, or to the region brings he down wickedness which (is) to death. Drive them away, then, with strokes.

"The tradition," Spiegel says, understands by "them" the "Ashemaög-has."

(H.) Do not listen to the sayings and precepts of the wicked (the Evil Spirit), because he has given to destruction, house, village, district and province. Therefore, kill them (the wicked) with the sword.

[I read]: Let none of the people listen to the hymns and teachings of the impious; for into the home, clan, confederacy and region, they bring the idolatrous religion, which causes death. Expel them from the land by force of arms.

19. He will be heard, who has ascribed purity to both worlds, the wise Ahura, who rules with true-spoken words, who has power in his tongue. Through thee, the Red Fire, Mazda gives the decision of the battle.

[That is]: Let the wise Ahura be listened unto, who has assigned the faithful to both the mother-country and the province, to inhabit and possess them: Who, by the words of truth that he has spoken to men, is dominion; and in whose words is power. Through thee, the Red Fire (by which weapons are forged), Mazda decides the fate of battles.

20. Whoso then brings about that the pure is defrauded, he has afterward the dwelling of darkness a long time, bad food, unbecoming speech. To this place, ye wicked, the law conducts you, by reason of your own deeds.

[That is]: Those by whose abetting the devout Aryans are despoiled (or wronged), will, when the invaders are expelled, have for their home, for a long time, the northern land of darkness, bad food and insulting speech. To that region, ye unbelievers, the law of Ahura exiles you, on account of your own acts.

21. Mazda-Ahura created fullness and immortality, unto the perfection of the pure, he, the head of his kingdom; the fullness of Vohû-Manô, for him, who through heavenly deeds, is his friend.

[That is]: Ahura Mazda created abundant production and long life, that the devout Aryans might be prosperous and happy; he, from whom as a source, his dominion emanates; and wealth of wisdom for him, who by acts of worship, conciliates his favour.

22. Manifestly are both of these to the wise, namely, to him who knows through his soul. He is the good king, promotes purity with word and deed; such a one is to thee, Mazda Ahura, the most helpful assistant.

[That is]: Both of these are actually possessed by the wise, that is, by those who have spiritual knowledge [intellectual cognition of Ahura Mazda and the Amêsha-Çpêntas]. He is the good ruler, who by his edicts and acts, advances and extends the true faith; and such a ruler, O Ahura Mazda, renders to thee, most efficient service.

GÂTHÂ I.

SECTION V, YAÇNA XXXII.

[Spiegel says]: Of all the difficult chapters in the second part of the Yaçna, this is the most difficult; and much of it can only be translated at all, by the keys of tradition.

[Haug says]: The fifth section (Hâ) of this Gâthâ (Yaç. 32), is one of the most difficult pieces of the whole Yaçna. It depicts in glowing colors, idolatry and its evil consequences.

The theory of Haug is, that these hymns are denunciations of the old Vedic worship of the Devas. Of course, his translations suit and sustain his theory. In the *Essays*, he translates but three verses of this Hâ. I do not see that it is any more difficult than the other hymns; and unless my reading is entirely wrong, it is even less difficult than many.

1. May the allied desire him, his deeds, with obedience. [I suppose the word rendered 'obedience' to be *Craošha*, which Spiegel elsewhere so renders. It means 'worship, devotion']. According to his mind, are we, ye Dævas, the rejoicers of Ahura, may we be thy messengers, the restraining, who torment you.

There is a wonderful confusion here among the pronouns. Connecting with the last verse of the former Hâ, in which Ahura was addressed, this verse says:

Let the allies of Zarathustra, with devout worship, invoke the aid of Ahura and his emanations. We, ye Dævas, are obedient to his will, and he is satisfied with us. May we be thy instruments, Ahura, to execute thy will, the subduers, who inflict punishment on you, Dævas.

2. To them answered Mazda Ahura, ruling through Vohû-Manô, from his Kingdom, the very friendly with the shining Asha. The perfect Armaiti, teach we to you to know. May she be ours.

I think the first verse corrupted, and that it should read, "The allied invoked him," etc. The last two lines would then be *their* words, invoking him.

For it is they, I think, to whom Ahura replies in the second verse, which I read thus:

To them replied Ahura-Mazda, directing affairs through the Divine Wisdom, Vohû-Manô, and by his dominion (or royalty). Khshathra-Vairyâ, who is intimately connected with the Divine Power and Force, the glorious Asha, 'We will make you amply conversant with the admirable productive power of Ahura in nature, Armaiti.' (And they reply): 'Permit her to be ours and abide with us!'

3. Ye Dævas are all the descendants of Akô-Manô. Whoso brings to you many offerings, belongs to the Drujas and to evil-mindedness. Ye come to me

according to your deceit, ye who spread abroad unbelief on the seven-fold earth [the land of the seven Kareshvares, Bactria].

(H.) Ye Devas have sprung out of the Evil Spirit, who takes possession of you by intoxication (soma), teaching you manifold arts to deceive and destroy mankind, for which arts, you are notorious everywhere.

[I read this]: Ye Dævas are all the issue of the unreason of Añra-Mainyus, Akô-Manô. Whosoever sacrifices to you (or, perhaps, is your tributary, chief paying tribute and so purchasing peace), he is an ally of the Tatar (or of the Toorkhs) and an apostate. You, who propagate a false faith, unbelief in Ahura, throughout all Bactria, do even come to me as spies (or teach even secretly among my people).

4. Whatever is good, that evil men pervert. They are called friends of the Dævas, revolted from Vohû-Manô, removing themselves from the understanding of Ahura Mazda and of purity.

(H.) Inspired by this evil spirit, you have invented spells, which are applied by the most wicked, pleasing the Devas only, but rejected by the good spirit; but the wicked perish through the wisdom and holiness of the living Wise Spirit.

It seems almost incredible that the same line can be understood in two senses so utterly different, as the first line of this verse is, by two distinguished scholars, and nothing could more strikingly show the immense difficulties with which each had to contend.

Following Spiegel, I read this verse:

The false teachers pervert everything that is good. Their true designation is, devotees of the Dævas, in revolt against the Divine Wisdom; who have cast away all knowledge of Ahura Mazda and of the true religion.

5. Of both does defraud men; of fullness and immortality, when to you, Dævas, Akô-Mainyu, through evil mind, teaches evil deeds and words—dominion for the wicked.

(H.) Ye Gods, and thou Evil Spirit! Ye, by means of your base mind, your base words, your base actions, rob mankind of its earthly and immortal welfare, by raising the wicked to power.

[I read this]: The Evil Spirit, Akô-Mainyu, despoils the people of both plenty and length of days [taking away the means of sustaining life, and thereby and by the ravages of war, making life short and precarious], when by Akô-Manô [the spirit of unreason, illusion and falsehood], he teaches you, Dævas, to work and to teach evil and error, by which the infidels bear rule in the land [literally, which are the supremacy of the heathen (not merely *causing* or *producing* it, but being it)].

6. Much punishment does man obtain, if thus as he has announced, Ahura should reckon openly, he who is aware through the best spirit. In Thy Kingdom, O Mazda, is the precept of Asha known.

I am inclined to think that "man," in the first line, means the Aryan people; and that the sense of the verse is, *perhaps*; that:

People will obtain full satisfaction for their wrongs, if Ahura, who knows the hearts and motives of all, through the divine wisdom, shall, as he has declared

he will do, hold his enemies to account by open execution of judgment. Of thy sovereignty, O Mazda, the determinations of the divine power are a part (i. e., the sovereignty of Ahura is exercised, in part, by the defeat and destruction in battle of his enemies).

7. Among these wretches, no one knows anything, namely, that which is manifest at the stroke, what deadly he teaches, what is known as the best steel, their going astray knowest thou, Ahura, best.

Spiegel, or Bleeck, says, "This stanza is utterly unintelligible." I do not think it is more so than half the others are, as they are translated. I take its meaning to be:

No one of these wretches knows the use of the arms with which we shall smite them, of the death-dealing weapons which Ahura has taught us to forge; of those made of the best metal, which we are familiar with. Thou Ahura, best knowest the failure of their attempts to make them.

I offer this as the best explanation I can give, and, of course, only as a conjecture. It would be idle to speak confidently of such a passage.

To these bad spake Yima, the son of Vivañhaô, who has taught us men to eat flesh in morsels. From these will I be distinguished by thee, O Mazda.

It was Yima who, according to Fargard *ii.* of the *Vendidad*, led the first Aryan emigrants across the Oxus, into Bactria, and settled in the broad alluvial plain, on which the city of Balkh was afterwards built. What is meant by his teaching the Aryans to eat flesh in morsels, it is difficult to say. But that he spoke to these bad, plainly enough means that he taught them the true faith, or enacted laws to govern them; and it may be that with this line the last in the former verse should be connected; and that it means that they had apostatized, although they had been converted by Yima. And the expression in regard to eating flesh may mean that he taught the Aryans to sacrifice meat cut up into small portions (which were afterwards eaten), instead of sacrificing cattle and horses whole, as had been the custom on the Steppes.

If this interpretation is correct, "the bad," here, are the Turanian indigenes of the country. From these, says the author of the hymn, I will be distinguished by thee, Ahura; and continuing says, in the next verse:

9. The false prayers, they slay through their teaching the soul of life. They take away my good that is hotly desired by Vohû-Manô. With these prayers of my soul I entreat you, Mazda and Asha.

These prayers of the priests of the false religion, he says, cause by their teachings the destruction of life among the people [for the 'Soul of Life' is that universal life which flows from Ahura, and enters into and is clothed with bodies.] They prevent my success, which the Divine Wisdom ardently desires. Wherefore with these prayers, the sincere expression of my feelings (or, perhaps, these prayers,

children of my intellect, i. e., composed by me); I invoke your assistance and favour, Mazda and Asha [invoking Asha for success in his military operations].

10. He slays my words, who there utters what is evil to see, for the cow, with the eyes, and for the sun, whoso gives gifts to the wicked, who changes the pastures into deserts, and who openly injures the pure.

[To be read, I think]: He makes my words to be of no effect, who there utters that which the cattle and the sun may plainly see to bear evil fruit; who pays tribute to the oppressors, who devastate the fields and make them deserts, and who by acts of violence do mischief to the true believers.

11. He slays me, who thinks the life of the bad as the greatest; cheerful possession is taken away from the masters of houses and the mistresses of houses, he, O Mazda, who wishes to wound the pure soul.

[Which I read]: The deaths of those of us who are slain lie at his door, who thinks the life of the heathen to be the best to lead, the depriving men and their wives of the cheerful comforts of home; he, O Ahura, who endeavoured to do injury to the best of all religions.

I think that the original of “the best pure soul” the true religion considered as the Divine Wisdom is, as an entity, flowing from Ahura—the religious spirit, as a unit or universal.

12. The men who by their teaching hinder from good deeds [acts of patriotism, services to the country, by arms, in its struggle], to these has Mazda announced evil [threatened punishment or calamity], to them who slay the soul of the cow [the cattle of the Aryans], with friendly speech [while professing to be our allies]; to whom morsels are dearer than purity [who to have meat, become enemies of the true religion]; the Karapas among those who wish dominion in evil way.

Spiegel says, “the Karapas seem to be deaf who cannot hear the words of Ahura Mazda:” I think, we shall find evidence elsewhere that the Karapas were a Turanian tribe, that had been converted, but had now ceased to practise the true religion, and become allies or auxiliaries of the Tâtar bands who held much of the country and marauded in that which they had not conquered. And I read the last line: “The Karapas, who are become part of those who seek by violence to become masters of the country.”

13. Whoso wishes the rending of the kingdom, he belongs to the abode of the most wicked spirit, as the destroyer of this world, and he who wishes, O Mazda, weeping; he who wishes to keep the messengers of Thy Mañthras far from beholding purity.

[Which I read]: Whoever wishes to bring about a divided rule in the country [i. e., to assist in establishing the Tâtar or Toorkish government over part of the Aryan country; or, perhaps, whoever is willing to consent by way of compromise to a division of the country with them], he is of the household of Añra Mainyus, as aiding to ruin the Aryan realm; and whoever proposes to rely on tears and supplications, instead of resorting to arms, and wishes to prevent the missionaries charged to teach the Mañthras of Ahura, from seeing the extension of the true faith, he is guilty, as an accomplice, of the utter dismemberment of the realm, and co-operates with the Kavayas.

I have included the first line of the 14th verse. The whole verse is as follows:

14. He makes himself guilty of great dismemberment; he gives his understanding to the Kavayas [who were, I think, another native Turanian tribe]. He, who deceives the active, if they accept the wicked for protection, if he brings that which was spoken for slaying the cow, as protection to him who is far from death.

The residue of this verse I read:

He who misleads the labouring men [or the herdsmen, perhaps], if he induces them to submit to the infidels and accept them as protectors; if he promulgates the doctrines that were uttered to induce the native tribes to become pillagers and slayers of the Aryan cattle, to be a protection for those who (as children of Ahura), are far from death (which comes to them from Añra Mainyus).

15. Away also I will drive you from us, ye Karapas and Kevitayas, away to those whom one does not make as rulers over life, they who bring away both in the dwelling of Vohû-Manô.

[That is]: I will drive you also, Karapas and Kevitayas, as well as the Toorkish invaders, out of the Aryan land, to the country of those who are not invested with power to preserve life [but only to slay; because they are creatures of Añra Mainyus, who created not life, but perishability or mortality]; they who lead astray both these tribes in the land in which the Divine Wisdom abides [the Aryan land].

16. All that comes from the best, which teaches good to the soul [whatsoever by its teachings is of benefit to the soul, comes from Ahura Mazda]. Ahura Mazda rules over that which is manifest to the eye, and what is hidden; what is presented as punishment for the wicked

That is, all that is now seen to occur, and all that is to take place hereafter, is controlled and directed by Ahura Mazda; and the punishment which is decreed shall overtake the oppressors [The rest, Spiegel says, is quite unintelligible.]

GÂTHÂ I.

SECTION VI, YAÇNA XXXIII.

1. As is right, so does he who created the first place, the Master, the most righteous deeds for the evil as for the good, what is false, that mixes itself with that which he possesses of good.

.:. He, the Master, who created the original Aryan land, administers perfect justice to the infidel and to the faithful alike; on the faithless [perhaps the renegades or apostates], that are to be found intermingled with the good and true who are his own.

2. Whoso harm on the wicked, be it with words, be it with the understanding, be it with the hands inflicts, or gives good to the body, he gives according to the wish and will of Ahura Mazda.

(H.) .:. Who are opposed in their thoughts, words and actions to the wicked, and think of the welfare of creation, their efforts will be crowned by success through the mercy of Ahura Mazda.

The word rendered "creation" is in Zend *Açti*. It is the consequence of the adherence to the good principle (*Haug*). Spiegel and Bleeck render it by "body."

Açti (est) is the third person singular of the present tense of the Zend verb identical with the Sanskrit infinitive *as*, "to be, to exist," which is found, essentially the same, in all the Aryan languages, however remote from the parent source. The present tense of the indicative mode is thus conjugated, in Sanskrit, Zend and Latin:

Sanskrit	Zend	Latin
<i>Asmi</i>	<i>Ahmi</i>	<i>Sum</i>
<i>Asi</i>	<i>Ahi</i>	<i>Es</i>
<i>Asti</i>	<i>Açti</i>	<i>Est</i>
<i>Smas</i>	<i>Mahi</i>	<i>Sumus</i>
<i>Stha</i>	<i>Çta</i>	<i>Estis</i>
<i>Santi</i>	<i>Heñti</i>	<i>Sunt</i>

The dual is:

Sanskrit	Zend
<i>Swas</i>	(unknown)
<i>Sthas</i>	(unknown)
<i>Stas</i>	<i>Çto</i>

Thus *açti* means, in Zend, he, she or it "is", "exists;" and, as a noun, "being, existence", and thence body. *Açtvant* means, "having bodies;" and *Açtvat*, "endowed with bodies," it is said by Haug: but these are simply different forms of the present participle, and mean "being, existing." The

former is the original and strong form; the latter a weakened one. (*Bopp* i., §129:)

So that I do not see why *Aṣṭi* should be rendered here by either "creation" or "body." The verse declares that every one acts in obedience to the desire and will of Ahura, who inflicts injury on the infidels, whether by the recitation of prayers and Maṇthras, or by skilful leadership, or by blows struck in the ranks of the soldiery; and also every one who "gives good to the body;" by which I understand, who supplies the means of supporting life, by the production of food, without which the war could not be carried on. His service was as efficient, and as much the cause of victory, as that of the captain or the man-at-arms.

3. Whoso is the best for the pure, be it through relationship or deeds, or through obedience, O Ahura, caring for the cattle with activity, he finds himself in the service of Asha and of Vohū-Manō.

(H.) Whether of two lords, of two yeomen, of two bondsmen, behaves himself well toward a religious man [an adherent to the Zoroastrian religion], and furthers the works of life by tilling the soil; that one will be in fields of the true and good [i. e., in Paradise].

Of the words rendered "lords," "yeomen," and "bondmen," Haug says:

These three names of the members of the ancient Iranian community are very frequently used in the Gāthās, but not in the other books of the Zend-Avesta. The word for 'lord' is *gaētus*, i. e., 'owner;' that for 'yeomen,' *airyama*, i. e., 'associate, friend;' and that for bondman, *terezena*, i. e., 'workman, labourer.'

Bleeck says that the expression, "through relationship or deeds or through obedience" here, is identical with that in Yaçna xxxii. 1, which he translates, "May the allied desire him, his deeds, with obedience." If so, it would have been better to preserve the "identity" in the translation. "Allied" and "relationship" are of widely different meanings.

Dr. Haug gives here the express sanction of his authority to my conclusion that "the pure" are the adherents of Zarathustra. And I take the meaning of the verse to be: "or whosoever renders good service to the Aryan patriots, whether by maintaining friendly relations (which perhaps refers to the Turanian tribes that remained loyal, as we shall find at least many individuals did), or by military service, or as a hired man, pasturing the cattle, he is the servant of Asha and of Vohū-Manō."

4. I curse, O Mazda, disobedience against thee, and the evil-mindedness [disloyalty to the true faith, disaffection], the despising of relationship [disregard of the obligations of alliance, or, perhaps, of Aryan blood], the Drukhs nearest to the work, the disdainer of obedience, the bad measure of the fodder of the cattle.

(H.) But by means of prayer, I will remove from thee (thy community), Mazda! the irreligion and wickedness, the disobedience of the lord and the falsehood of the servant belonging to him and his yeoman, and frustrate the most wicked designs plotted for destroying the fields.

Following Spiegel, I read the latter portion of this verse, "The Drukhs," etc.:

The marauding Tâtars near to cultivation [to the cultivated country; or, whose inroads harass the husbandmen], those who are faithless as hired men, and stint the cattle of their food.

5. I to thy Čraošha [to worship, or the spirit of worship, and devotion], as the greatest of all [the most efficient of all helpers], call for help. Give us long life in the kingdom of Vohû-Manô [in the Aryan land, where the divine wisdom reigns]; unto the pure paths of purity, in which Ahura Mazda dwells.

"The pure paths, or ways, of purity," are, I think, the due observances and ceremonial of religious worship; and Ahura Mazda "dwells" in them, because the prayers and Mañthras are his utterances. It is equivalent to our expression, "divine worship."

6. What Zaöta (walks) in the pure (paths) of purity, he desires after the heavenly paradise, from him has he help through the spirit, who thinks the works which are to be done. These are desired by thee, Ahura Mazda, for seeing and conversation.

Which means, I think:

What the Zaöta (priest), in the observance of the true religion, desires to have revealed to him from the paradise of the sky, that Ahura bestows upon him through Vohû-Manô, who forms in thought the hymns that are to be uttered; the ceremonies that are seen and the adorations uttered, which thou desirkest, Ahura Mazda.

The devotional exercises are meant, which, whether of ceremonial acts, or of adoration sung or spoken, were deemed to proceed from Ahura, through the Divine Wisdom, and not in any sense to be the productions of the mere human intellect, which indeed, was itself deemed to be divine intellect itself, abiding and manifested in the soul, as the light is in the stars.

The prayers and Mañthras were the thoughts of Ahura Mazda himself, uttered by Vohû-Manô, his intellect or wisdom, through the mouth of the priest, who was but the organ of the divine author. Compare with this the opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews:

'God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers of the prophets, hath in these days spoken unto us by the Son,' whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds'. [And also these sentences from Paul's first letter to the Christians at Corinth]: 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit and there are diversities of operations [the 'deeds' or 'works' of the Gâthâs], but it is the same God which worketh all things in all: But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal: For to one is given through the Spirit the Word of Wisdom; and to another the Word of Knowledge, according to the same Spirit but all these worketh the one and the same Spirit, dividing to each one severally

even as he will.' And again: 'Know ye not that ye are a Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you' and 'We speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden, which God foreordained before the world unto our glory but unto us God revealed it through the Spirit but we received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God; that we might know the things that were freely given to us of God; which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth.'

7. Come to me, ye best, of himself may Mazda show to us, together with Asha and Vohû-Manô, who are to be praised before the greatest; may the manifest offerings be manifest to us the worshippers.

[That is]: Come to me, ye who are supreme. May Mazda, self-limited, manifest himself to us, with and through Asha and Vohû-Manô, who are to be adored as above Khshathra, the Divine Sovereignty. May the manifest out-flowings [self-exhibitions?] of the deity be manifested to us who adore him with sacrifices.

For I am clear that the word here rendered by "offerings" means here what the Latin original "offering" meant. *Offerre*, for *offerre*, meant to "exhibit, display, or show one's self, appear."

8. Teach me to know both laws, that I may walk with Vohû-Manô; the offering of thy equal, Mazda, then your laudable sayings, O Asha, which were made by you as help for Ameretât, as rewards for Haurvât.

"Laws," as I have said before, means, in the Gâthâs, religious doctrine and teachings. Zarathustra beseeches Ahura to teach him to know, first the out-flowings or utterances of Vohû Manô, the divine wisdom, whom he terms the equal of Ahura, as it was long after said that the Word was not only *with* God, in the beginning, but *was* God; and as Paul said of Christ, to the Christians at Philippi: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God;" and secondly the efficient and profitable odes, or patriotic exhortations of Asha Vahista (intended to rouse the people and incite them to take up arms against their oppressors). These, composed by Zarathustra, are by him attributed to Asha, the Divine Power and God of battles, who inspired them.

He made them to assist Amérêtât, the Divine Spirit of Life, in making the life of the Aryans safe, that they might live long; by restoring order, quiet and immunity by means of victory; and to be the efficient causes of the benefits conferred by, or flowing from Haurvât, the Divine Spirit of Health; to which the plenty which is the fruit of peace, and comfortable homes, are as essential as they are to length of days.

The words "laudable" and "praiseworthy," the latter of which often occurs, are sometimes ludicrously inappropriate, where the meaning really and evidently is, beneficial, profitable, valuable, entitling the thing spoken of to be eulogized.

9. May the dominion greatly increase to thee, Mazda; to this Heavenly may there come brightness, enduring power through the best spirit, accomplishment of that whereby the souls cohere.

This verse, Spiegel says, is full of difficulties. He creates one, by so punctuating as to ask increase of dominion to "this Heavenly," supposing that to mean Vohû-Manô; and asking for it to come to Vohû-Manô through himself, the "best spirit." I take its meaning to be:

May dominion over the Aryan land increase and extend, to thee, Mazda [i. e., let the power of the Aryan race, and of the Ahurian religion, extend more and more over the Aryan land]. And to this land, created by thee, let enduring prosperity come, and power through Vohû-Manô; the accomplishment of that whereby the lives of the people will be secure and prolonged.

The vital powers, it had been before said, are clothed with bodies. By the restoration of peace, security and plenty, the danger of the severance of the two by violence would be greatly diminished.

10. All the enjoyments of life, which were and still are, and which will be, these distribute, according to thy good pleasure. May I increase through Vohû-Manô, Khshathra and Asha, in happiness for the body.

I suppose the word rendered "body" here, to be *ashti*, as it has been so before. It means "life, existence, being;" and the prayer is by the Aryan people, as I think is the case with some other passages, a license not uncommon in such compositions, and is for abundance of the comforts of life.

11. Ahura Mazda, thou who art the most profitable [most beneficent], and Asha who furthers the world [who makes the land greater and more prosperous, gives it progress and improvement], and Khshathra and Vohû-Manô, hear us and pardon us all, whatever it may be.

I think that here also it is the land or people that speaks, and that asks that its errors and short-comings of all kinds may be forgiven.

12. Purify me, O Lord; through Armaiti give me strength; holiest, heavenly Mazda, give me at my supplication, in goodness, through Asha strong power, through Vohû-Manô fullness of good.

Here it is Zarathustra who speaks; but his prayer is for his cause, people and country, as all are represented by him.

Give me the true faith, O Ruler (he cries); or rather, increase my faith. Through the productive power of God in Nature, Armaiti, give the people and the cause strength; Holiest, Heavenly Mazda [I confess that I attach no precise meaning to the word 'Heavenly'; but neither do I nor can I, to the phrase, 'Our Father who art in Heaven'], give me, in response to my supplication, strong military power through Asha, and through Vohû-Manô abundant prosperity [or, perhaps, complete victory].

13. To teach afar for rejoicing, give me certainty, that from the kingdom, O Ahura, which belongs to the blessings of Vohû-Manô. Teach us, O Çpënta Armaiti, the law with purity.

That is, I think:

To the end that I may carry to distant places the divine teachings that create good fortune, give to our land peaceful settledness, which is the fruit of the Divine Sovereignty, O Ahura, and the issue of the sacred utterances that bless us, of Vohû-Manô. Teach the people, O Çpënta Armaiti, with piety to obey the Divine Law.

'To teach afar for rejoicing' [reminds us of] 'the good tidings of the Gospel.' 'Rejoicing' [according to a common mode of expression in these writings], 'is used to signify that which causes rejoicing, i. e., good fortune or prosperity.'

14. Zarathustra gives us as a gift the soul [Life] from his body; the precedence of good mind; O Mazda, purity in deed and word, obedience and dominion. [Spiegel inserts in parenthesis, 'Give to him,' 'the precedence.]

(H.) Among the priests, Zarathustra maintains the opinion that the peculiar nature of each body (living creature) subsists through the wisdom of the good mind, through the sincerity of action, and the hearing of and keeping to, the Revealed Word.

I am at sea as to the meaning of the first line. I do not think that it is said in the original that Zarathustra "maintained an opinion," especially the one imputed to him by Dr. Haug. "The peculiar nature of a body," or of a living creature, *may* depend on the divine wisdom, or "subsist through it;" but it may not at all subsist through the other things named. That "the peculiar nature of a body subsists through sincerity of action," is, like Spiegel's rendering of the first line, mere nonsense.

I think the meaning may be,

Zarathustra will gladly lay down his life, as a gift to his country, to secure to it the supremacy of Vohû-Manô, O Mazda, the true religion in conduct and in teaching, devotion to thee and sovereignty (or self-government).

GÂTHÂ I.

SECTION VII, YAÇNA XXXIV.

1. The immortality which I (have obtained) through deeds, words and offerings, and purity, give I to Thee, O Mazda, and, the dominion of plenty, of these, give we to thee, Ahura, first.

(H.) Immortality, truth, wealth, health, all these gifts to be granted in consequence of pious (actions), words and worshipping, to these *men* (who pray here) are plentiful in thy possession, Ahura Mazda.

Verse 2 will show that the word “give” is a perversion of the original, and that Dr. Haug is more nearly right in assigning to the original, the sense that Ahura has in possession what Spiegel represents as given to him. The soul does not give good things to Ahura by means of Vohû-Manô.

2. And so to thee, by means of the soul, are also given all good things of Vohû-Manô; also, through the actions of the pure man, whose soul is bound with purity, I come to your adoration, O Mazda, with full prayers.

I take the meaning of the two verses to be:

The length of life, by means of ceremonial observances, of sacred recitations and of sacrifices, and the prevalence of the true religion, and the reign of prosperity and abundance, these we ascribe to Thee, O Mazda; these, we acknowledge to owe, Ahura, primarily to Thee; and so unto Thee, we also ascribe all the blessings, which, through the intellect, we receive from Vohû-Manô. So also, with the observances of the pious, whose minds are devoted to the true religion, we come to worship and adore you, O Mazda, with ample prayers.

3. So with prayer, O Ahura, we offer Myazda to Thee and to Asha. May all good things, which are nourished by Vohû-Manô, be in Thy Kingdom; for he is wholly wise whoever brings profit to such as you.

Myazda [Spiegel says], signifies originally, as the etymology of the word shows, *flesh* in general, but in the Avesta, it is particularly employed of the flesh offered to Ahura Mazda and the genii.

∴ Offering this with prayers to Ahura and Asha, Zarathustra prays that all things useful and beneficial that owe their increase to the Divine Wisdom, may be bestowed upon the Aryan land, the realm of Ahura; for that whosoever sacrifices with offerings to Ahura and Asha and the other Amêsha-Çpêntas, does it wholly by inspiration of the Divine Wisdom.

4. We desire hither thy strong fire, O Ahura, together with Asha, the very swift, powerful, manifestly affording protection to him who rejoices it.

[That is]: We beseech thee, Ahura, and Asha as one with you, to send us thy potent fire, the swiftly-spreading, puissant, which gives manifest protection [against the elements and hunger?], to him who, feeding it, makes it glad.

5. What is your kingdom, what your desire for works? For to you, Mazda, I belong; with purity and good-mindedness, I will support your poor. But all ye, we renounce, Dævas and perverted men.

[That is]: In what does your sovereignty consist (i. e., what obedience do you demand)? What good actions, do you demand of us; for we, O Mazda, are your servants. We will, with true piety and zealous endeavour, defend and protect the poor people of the land. But all of ye Dævas and apostates, we renounce.

6. If you really exist, O Mazda, together with Asha and Vohû-Manô, then give me this token; all the dwellings of this place. [Give us the conclusive proof of your real being, by repossessing us of all the inhabited Aryan land]; that offering, I may join myself to you in friendship, praising draw nigh. [That, by means of worship and sacrifice, we may gain your favour, and draw nigh to you. So in the Gospel according to John, it is said: 'God hears not sinners, but if any man be a worshipper of God, and do His will, him He hears'].

7. Where are thy worshippers, Mazda, who are known to Vohû-Manô [whom the Divine Wisdom is immanent in, and enlightens them. It 'knows' them, as the sun is said, in the Veda, to 'see' all things, because it illuminates all]. The Intelligent carries out the excellent precepts, in joy and sorrow. None other but you, know I, O Asha, so save us.

In prosperity or adversity, the man so enlightened governs his conduct by the excellent teachings of that Divine Wisdom. You only we know, O Asha, wherefore be thou our liberator.

8. Through these deeds, they terrify us, in which destruction is laid for many, when there was mighty there as deceiver, the oppressor of thy law, O Mazda. Those who think not purity, from these hastens Vohû-Manô afar.

There is confusion of tenses here, which makes the verse incoherent. If there be an error, the correction of it must be conjectural. Perhaps the meaning is:

By means of those hostile preparations, they put us in fear, which threaten the extermination of great numbers of our people, made when the oppressor of thy faith, O Mazda, was mighty there as leader of the infidels, or, perhaps, by reason of those irreligious teachings and observances (which, also, are deeds of Añra Mainyus and Akô-Manô), in which the destruction of many Aryans is involved, they cause us alarm, the oppressor of thy religion being mighty there to mislead. From those who are not in their hearts devoted to the true faith, Vohû-Manô goes far away.

9. Those who the Holy Wisdom, which is desired by them which know thee, destroy with evil deeds [teachings], from ignorance of Vohû-Manô [because they are utterly without the light of the Divine Wisdom], from them purity flies far away, so long as they are thereby [by being strangers to the Divine Wisdom], wicked and corrupt.

This verse, Spiegel says, is "altogether difficult and obscure." I do not see that it is more so than many of the others. It is less so than some. "So long," it declares, "as these evil-doers destroy the Holy Wisdom, and

are thereby infidels and apostates, they are wholly without faith" (and, therefore, no longer creatures of Ahura Mazda, but "vessels of wrath," "having," in the language of Paul to the Christians of Ephesus, "the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart").

10. Let the Wise announce the laying hold on Vohû-Manô with the deed, him who knows the Holy Wisdom, the skilful, the abode of purity, but all that [all the evil teaching], O Mazda, let them expel from thy kingdom.

[Which I read]: Let the Priest, him who is inspired by wisdom from Ahura, the skilful of speech, in whom abides the true faith, urge it upon the people to be governed in their action by the Divine Wisdom. But all the evil teaching, let them expel from the Aryan land.

11. For both, serve thee for food; Haurvât and Ameretât, the realms of Vohû-Manô, Asha, together with Armaiti, increase. Let strength and power belong to them, thou, O Mazda, art then without hurt.

The first line is not clear to me. Here, as well as very often elsewhere, it is hard to so far identify one's self with the old poet, as to follow the sequences of his thoughts and discover the connections between them. And yet, if that connection has not been broken, and dislocated sentences put together in the compilation of mere fragments, one cannot truly interpret the thoughts, otherwise.

Zarathustra had besought Ahura to extend the true religion over the country, with its worship and sacrifices, or "offerings" of flesh, and to enable him to expel from the country, the priests and teachers of the false religion. With this connected itself the consequence, also prayed for, of the entire restoration of Aryan sovereignty, throughout the "kingdom" of Ahura, and the extermination or expulsion of the foreign occupants of a part of it, who were pillagers of the residue. Then, the thought naturally followed, the herdsmen and husbandmen, secure against rapine, exposure, suffering and violent death, and living in abundance in comfortable homes, would have health and enjoy long life; and, it occurred to the poet, the offerings for the sacrifice would become abundant. He expresses this thought, without the links that connected it with the one last expressed.

Grant these prayers [he says], for both health and long life are means by which food for the offering is abundant. [The flesh of the sacrifice is the food of Ahura]. Increase [he prays], the realms of the Divine Wisdom and the Divine Strength, with the productive capacity of the land, which it has from thee; and let them be energetic and potent. Then, O Mazda, thou wilt no longer be affronted.

12. What is thine ordination, what thy wish, be it praise, be it offering? Let it be announced, O Mazda; say who fulfils your command the purest. Teach us, Asha, the ways that belong there to Vohû-Manô.

13. The way of Vohû-Manô, of which thou hast spoken to me, the law of the profitable, wherein he who does right from purity finds it is well with him where the reward which thou hast promised to the wise, is given to thine.

I read these verses thus: A general feature of the Zend-Avesta is, that the teachings ascribed to Zarathustra are given in the form of replies to questions, which he is represented as asking Ahura. The questions here, as elsewhere, are not asked that he may, himself, be satisfied or informed, but that the people may hear and heed the replies. So Zarathustra asks:

'What hast thou ordered, what is it thou desirest of us, whether uttered praises, or offerings? Let it be proclaimed, O Mazda; and do thou declare who most religiously fulfils your commands. Teach us, O Asha, the ways, which, as to these, belong to Vohû-Manô [which are expressions, utterances or revealings of the Divine Reason]; that path of Vohû Manô, of which thou hast spoken to me; that law of the profitable, in which he who acts right wisely, from religious faith and principle, finds it to be well with him; and where the reward which thou hast promised to the wise is given to those who are thy creatures.'

14. This wish, O Mazda, grant to the soul, endowed with body: Works of Vohû-Manô, for those who labour with the walking cow, your wisdom, O Ahura, efficacy of the soul, which furthers purity.

[That is]: Vouchsafe, O Ahura, to grant this that I shall now ask, to the minds, endowed with bodies, of the Aryans; intelligence and good sense, for those employed with the moving cattle, your wisdom, Ahura, that vigorous energy of the mind, which extends the true religion.

15. Mazda, announce to me the best words and deeds; these are to thee, together with Vohû-Manô and Asha, the debt of praise. Through thy reason, makest thou, Ahura, increasing at will, the place manifest.

Whatever the word translated "manifest" may really mean, it is quite certain that very often it does not mean *that*. It cannot mean it here. This verse, with which the Gâthâ ends, I read thus:

O Mazda, teach (make known to me), the best lessons and observances; for they are the worship that is due to thee, and to Vohû-Manô and Asha with thee. Throughout thy realm (the whole Aryan land), thou, Ahura, enlarging it according to thy pleasure, thou makest greater the extent of cleared and open land.

According to the tradition, Spiegel says, "He who labours with the stepping cow" is the husbandman. *Gâus azi* is the original phrase, translated "walking cow;" *azi* meaning "walking," "going," or "driven." In Westergaard and Brockhaus, the reading is *gêus verezenê*. *Verez* means "to till the soil." Neriosengh says, that the phrase means a three-year-old cow, i. e., one that is fit for work.

Spiegel says that *Haurvât* and *Ameretât* are almost always named together. The former is said to be lord of the waters, the latter of the trees. It is they who afford what is profitable and agreeable in food.

Professor Bopp says (*Comp. Gramm.*, I. 222 n.): “The two twin Genii are feminine, and mean, apparently, ‘Entireness’ and ‘Immortality.’” But there is a peculiarity about these names that prevents me from being content with a lame and impotent conclusion, a very tame and commonplace one, as to their meaning.

It is true that *mara* means “dying;” *amara*, “undying,” *amérəshairs*, “not dying;” and that *Amérētāt* may mean “undyingness” or “immortality.”

We read in the *Vendîdâd-Sâdes* (p. 225), we learn from Bopp (I. 221), *tôi ubaê hurvâoś-cha amérētât-âoś cha*, “the two Haurvaṭs and the two Amérētâṭs,” *ao* being the dual termination in Zend.

“The two Genii,” Bopp says (221 n.), which Anquetil writes Khordad and Amerdad, appear very frequently in the dual, and where they occur with plural terminations, this may be ascribed to disuse of the dual, and the possibility of replacing the dual, in all cases, by the plural. Thus, we read (l. c. p. 211), *haurvatât-ô* and *amérēt-as-cha*, as accusative, and with the fullest and, perhaps, sole and correct reading of the theme. But *a* was even the more common dualistic termination; and we find *Vendîdâd Sâde*, (p. 23), *haurvata amérētâta*, “the two Haurvaṭs and Amérētâṭs.”

At 228. 1, Bopp, in a note, thus discusses the duality of these Amēsha-Çpēntas:

The so-called *Amshaspants*, together with the feminine form, noticed at §207, n. 1, are found also as masculine, for example (*Vendîdâd. S.* pp. 14, 30, 31, etc.): *Amēshâ Çpēntâ hucsathrâ hudâonhô âyêšé*, ‘I glorify the two Amshaspants (*non conniventesque Santos*), the good rulers, who created good.’

Connivens, ‘closing the eyes, winking, blinking, half-closing the eyes, when heavy with sleep, being darkened, obscured, eclipsed.’ *Non-conniventes*, ‘unwinking, uneclipsed, unsleeping.’ *Amēsha* is the Sanskrit *Amiṣha*.

We find also the forms *Ameshâo Çpentâo*, which indeed *might* also be feminine plural forms, but show themselves only as masculine duals, in the same meaning as the so frequent *Amēshâ Çpēntâ* [final letter of each, *â*, instead of *a*]. We find, also, frequently *Çpēnistâ Mainyû*, the two most holy spirits. The answer to the query, whether generally only two Amshaspants are to be assumed? whether under the name ‘Amshaspants,’ perhaps, we should always understand the Genii Haurvâṭ and Amérētâṭ; and whether these two Genii, according to the principle of the Sanskrit copulative compounds, have the dual termination for this reason alone, that they are usually found together, and are, therefore, two? Whether, in fine, these two twin-genii are identical with the two Indian Aświnen?

The reply to all these queries lies beyond the aim of this book. We will here only notice that (*Vend. S.* pp. 80 and 422), the genii Haurvâṭ and Amérētâṭ, although each is in the dual, still are, together, named *Çpēnistâ mainyû mazdâ tevîshî*, the two Most Holy Spirits, the Great, the Strong. As genii, and natural objects of great indefinite number, where they are praised, often have the word *vispa*, “all,” before them, it would be important to show whether “all Amshaspants” are never mentioned, and the utter

incompatibility of the *Amsh.* with the word *Vispa*, would then testify the impassable duality of these genii. If they are identical with the celestial physicians, the Indian *Açwinen* [which they are not], then "Entireness" and "Immortality" would be no unsuitable names for them. In Panini, we find (p. 803), the expressions *Mâtarapitarân* and *pitara-mâtarâ*, marked as peculiar to the Vedâs. They signify "The Parents," but, literally, they probably mean "Two mothers two fathers" and "Two fathers two mothers." For the first member of the compound can here scarcely be aught but the abbreviated *pitarâ*, *mâtarâ*, and, if this be the case, we should here have an analogy to the conjectural signification of *Haurvât-a* and *Amérêtât-a*.

It is very clear that putting *each* name in where two persons only are named, cannot make two persons of each. Nobody has two fathers or two mothers, and there are not two *Haurvâts* or two *Amérêtâts*. It is probably one of those peculiarities that all languages have, and that cannot be explained, except by supposing that the ear preferred them so; as, in Spanish, when two or three adverbs are used together, the termination *mente* is used only with the last; and as in English, we are governed in using 's, as the sign of the possessive case, when it applies to several persons.

What is curious is, that not only are these two *Amêsha-Çpêntas* almost always named together, and in the dual, as if they were a pair, or a couple; but that their names are sometimes feminine and sometimes masculine. This could not have been from any uncertainty of notion as to their gender. In the Latin, *Ossa* and *Oeta*, names of mountains, are masculine or feminine. So are *dies*, a day and *cupido*, desire. *Linter*, a boat, is feminine, and once, in *Tibullus*, masculine. *Antistes*, *palumbes*, *vates* and *vepres*, *rudens*, *larix*, *perdix*, *varix*, *onyx*, *calx*, *lynx*, and *sandix*, are masculine or feminine, and a great number of nouns are of different genders in the singular and plural. There were no well-settled grammatical rules of the Zend language, and *Haurvat*, which was either health or peace and quiet, and *Amérêtât*, "undyingness," or "continuance of life," being really of no gender, were sometimes used as masculine and sometimes as feminine.

That *all* the *Amêsha-Çpêntas* are spoken of together, is easily shown. In the *Zamyad Yasht*, of the *Khordah Avesta* (xxxv. 19), are these passages:

The strong kingly majesty, which belongs to the *Amêsha-Çpêntas*, the shining, having efficacious eyes, great, helpful, strong, Ahurian—who are imperishable and pure.

Which are all seven of like mind, like speech, all seven doing alike, like is their mind, like their word, like their action, like their father and ruler, namely, the creator, Ahura Mazda.

Of whom one sees the soul of the other [one shares the being of the other, i. e., they have one being and life in common, the life of the mind or intellect or spirit],

how it thinks on good thoughts, words or deeds, thinking on *Garô-nemâna*. Their ways are shining, when they come here to the offering-gifts.

And some of these expressions, I may as well say here, enable us, in connection with the names Ahura and Mazda, to discern in the ante-Zarathustrian obscurity, the original characters of Ahura Mazda and the Amêsha-Çpêntas.

Ahura Mazda, as I have said, is not described in the Gâthâs, nor is anything attempted to be defined there in regard to his nature.

I have already expressed the opinion that Ahura came from the Sanskrit *as* (identical with *ash*), the pure dental and sibilant *s*, changing, as it regularly does, into the Zend *h*. That this root meant "to shine, blaze and burn with a flame" is evident from the Greek $\alpha\varsigma\omega$ and $\alpha\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, "make dry, dry up," and also "to worship," and the Latin *asso*, "roast, broil," and from the meaning "shine," given by Benfey of the root itself.

Aksh, Benfey thinks, is probably an old desiderative, from *aç*. He gives it the meaning of "to pervade, fill, accumulate." And we have from it, *aksha*, "the eye" and "a wheel," and *akshi*, "the eye." May it not have been the old rough verb, afterwards softened down into *ash* and *as*? And the meanings of *akshi* and *akshan* refer to the orbs and eyes of the sky, as shining and blazing there with eternal splendour?

Ahura is the light, as shining. *Mazda* also means the light, from *Mah*, "to shine" and it is because the two nouns are synonymous that the deity is sometimes called Mazda-Ahura, and often by one or the other of the names, alone.

Mahas and *Maha*, which became *Mazda* in the Zend, mean "light, lustre, splendour and sacrifice." And it is curious that the Greek $\alpha\varsigma\omega$ and $\alpha\varsigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, also have the double meaning, "to dry up" and "to worship or sacrifice." Evidently, in each case, the reason is, that the original root meant "to shine or blaze" and thence "to burn."

Now, the Amêsha-Çpêntas are styled "pure;" and the Zend word so rendered, *Asha*, is evidently from the same root, and meant originally "shining," "blazing," "flaming," "splendour;" whence it came to mean to worship, sacrifice; and thence "religious," "pious," became the figurative meanings of the word *Asha*, so incorrectly rendered "pure."

Moreover, the Amêsha-Çpêntas are "the shining, having efficacious eyes; and when they come down to the offering, their paths or tracks are shining." It seems to me that nothing can be clearer than that, when Ahura was simply the light that flowed forth from the luminaries of the sky, the Amêsha-Çpêntas were seven of these luminaries. The planets, Mercury and Saturn, could not then have been known as such, and if Amêsha means *non-conniventés*, the sleepless ones, this makes almost a certainty the probability that they were originally the seven stars of Ursa

Major or the Great Bear, which always circling round the Pole Star, never set.

Zarathustra spiritualized this worship of the light, but Ahura continued to be the pure and perfect light still, and the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the prototypes of the Archangels of the Hebrews. These were: Of Saturn, Mayak-Al (Michael), the image or likeness of Al; of Jupiter, Gabrai-Al (Gabriel), the potency or virility of Al; of Mars, Aurai-Al (Uriel), the light, splendour or shining forth of Al; of the Sun, Zarakhai-Al (Zarakiel), the rising or out-pouring of Al; of Venus, Khamalai-Al (Hamaliel), the mansuetude or clemency of Al; of Mercury, Rapha-Al (Raphael), the healing of Al; and of the Moon, Tsaphai-Al (Tsaphael), the mirror or reflection of Al.

And from the same source, came the ideas expressed in the letter to the Hebrew Christians, in these sentences:

His Son, by whom He made the worlds; the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person; when He bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, He saith, and let all the angels of God worship Him: and of the angels He saith, who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.

The God of Philo Judæus, though he called Him Yehuah, was the Ahura Mazda of Zarathustra; and the Divine Wisdom of the Apocryphal books and of Philo was Çpēnta-Mainyu, the unrevealed Divine Mind or Intellect; as the Logos of Plato and Philo was Vohū-Manô.

I will inquire hereafter as to the meanings of the words Mainyu and Çpēnta. But I may say here that, however doubtful the latter may be, there is no question as to the former. It means mind or intellect.

Zarathustra was, perhaps, the first to conceive of the infinite light-principle, Ahura and Mazda, as pure intellect or mind, or the Supreme Intelligence. Çpēnta-Mainyu was a name for that Divine Intellect, within the Infinite Divine Light, which was God, and yet not all of God, but deity as intellect only.

Tholuck denies that the writer of the Gospel according to St. John derived his ideas in regard to the Logos from Philo Judæus. But no mere assertion of radical differences between the conceptions of the two can amount to much, against the fact that the words and phrases are the same. That a different meaning was fastened upon one or the other afterwards, is nothing to the point. It is not indicated in the Gospel that any of them are used in a new sense. They are evidently used in the same sense as by Philo. The writer's object was to convince the Greeks of Asia Minor, and Hebrews of the same school as Philo, that Christ was the identical Logos, familiar to them as the Creative Emanation from the Deity. Read the whole Gospel as if Philo had written it, and there is no more difficulty in

understanding it than there is in understanding him. And Apollos and other Alexandrian Jews united with Paul without hesitation, because his doctrine was their own. He and they alike adored the Word. That he insisted that a man no longer living had been the Word, did not affect the doctrine, or demand a change of opinion.

The word Çpēnta, whatever its derivation, must have one and the same meaning in the names Çpēnta Mainyu, Amēsha Çpēnta, Çpēnta Armaiti and Mañthra Çpēnta. The last is certainly that universal praise, of which each individual Mañthra is, as it were, a ray or spark. So Çpēnta Mainyu is the universal intellect or mind, that includes in itself all individual intellects, and Çpēnta Armaiti is the universal production or productivity, containing in itself all single acts of producing. Each Amēsha Çpēnta, also, is unity, a single potency, containing in itself, its manifold; and thus, each of the Entities to which the word Çpēnta is applied, is the very self of its manifold, from which all its particulars flow, as from the one light are all the rays and splendours, and as the Very Deity, the Unlimited and Absolute, is the One-All, the Unit, containing in itself all the manifold.

Añra (or *Angrō*) is from the lost Sanskrit verb *añgh* = $\alpha\gamma\chi\omega$ (Vedic *añhu*, Gothic *aggvus*, Latin, *angustus*, *angere*, *anxius*), which meant “to hurt, torment, etc.”, whence *añhas*, “pain, sin;” *agha*, “sin, impurity;” *aghāyu*, “mischievous.” The original rougher form was, no doubt, *naghar*, and the word means “evil, impure, wicked, maleficent, malevolent.”

A “Universal,” as defined by Aristoteles (*Lib. de Interpret. Cap. v.*), “That which by its nature is fit to be predicated of many,” and (*Metaphys. Lib. v. Cap. 13*), “That which by its nature has a fitness or capacity to be in many.” It implies unity with community, a unity shared with many.

Universals have been divided into: 1. Metaphysical, or *Universalia ante rem*; 2. Physical, or *Universalia in re*; 3. Logical, or *Universalia post rem*. By the first are meant those archetypal forms, according to which all things were created. As existing in the Divine Mind, and furnishing the pattern for the Divine Working, these may be said to correspond with the “Ideas” of Plato.

By Universals, in the second sense, are meant certain common natures, which, one in themselves, are diffused over or shared in by many—as, rationality, by all men. Realists give prominence to Universals in the first and second signification.

Realism, as opposed to nominalism, is the doctrine that genus and species are real *things*, existing independently of our conceptions, and expressions. Nominalism is the doctrine that general notions, such as the notion of a tree, have no realities or actualities corresponding to them and no existence but as names or words.

To it, there is no such thing as reason, intelligence, or love, of which the reason, intelligence or love of an individual is a part.

Sensibility, intelligence, reason, are faculties of the soul; unity, identity, activity, are attributes of it. Descartes said, "*In Deo non proprié modos aut qualitates, sed attributa tantùm dicimus esse.*" In God, there is nothing but attributes, because in Him everything is absolute, involved in the substance and unity of the necessary being. Zarathustra personified the attributes and potencies of the Deity, as the Hebrews personified the Divine Wisdom, and Saint John the Holy Spirit.

But in doing so, he did not separate them from Ahura's very self. Of him, he thought as St. Augustine did of God:

God is not a spirit as regards substance, and good as regards quality, but both as regards substance. The justice of God is one with His goodness and with His blessedness; and all are one with His spirituality.

And, though Ahura was Being and Thought, yet he was to Zarathustra, a completely personal deity. As is truly said by Dr. Monsel, "Existence itself, that so-called highest category of thought, is only conceivable in the form of existence modified in some particular manner." Strip off its modifications, and the apparent paradox of the German philosopher becomes literally true—"Pure being is pure nothing." We have no conception of existence which is not existence in some particular manner, and if we abstract from the manner, we have nothing left to constitute the existence. "The attributes of God are one with His Essential Being," says St. Thomas Aquinas, "and, therefore, wisdom and virtue are identical in God, because both are in the Divine Essence."

Necessarily, although the names of the Deity of Zarathustra define him simply as Thought or Mind, and Being, this mind was of the nature, to him, of the mind of man. Anthropomorphism, in this sense of the term, is the indispensable condition of all human theology.

We may confidently challenge all natural theology [Kant says], to name a single distinctive attribute of the Deity, whether denoting intelligence or will, which, apart from anthropomorphism, is anything more than a mere word, to which not the slightest notion can be attached, which can serve to extend our theoretical knowledge. [And Jacoti says], We confess, accordingly, to an anthropomorphism inseparable from the conviction that man bears in him the image of God; and maintain that besides this anthropomorphism, which has always been called Theism, there is nothing but Atheism or Fetichism.

Also, in the Zarathustrian idea, that the human wisdom and force are those of the Deity, in man, we find the doctrine of Hegel:

'The human is immediate, present God'; [and that of Emerson], 'God incarnates Himself in man, and ever more goes forth anew to take possession of His world';

[and that, for this reason only, Christ said], 'I am Divine; through me God acts; through me, speaks.' 'Humanity' [Strauss says], 'is the union of the two natures—God becomes man, the Infinite manifesting itself in the finite, and the finite spirit remembering its infinitude.'

And Marheineke exactly expresses the idea of Zarathustra, in saying:

Religion is nothing at all but the existence of the Divine Spirit in the human; but an existence which is life, a life which is consciousness, a consciousness which, in its truth, is knowledge. This human knowledge is essentially divine; for it is, first of all, the Divine Spirit's knowledge, and religion in its absoluteness.

Ahura Mazda was also the essential *Light*, of which all visible light is a manifestation, and this idea also is the basis of the Kabalistic theories. There is a noteworthy coincidence between the ancient idea and many passages in the letters of Paul, and the Gospel according to St. John, which, familiar to us in a conventional sense, have lost their original meaning.

In Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world This is the condemnation, that Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil As the Father hath Life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have Life in Himself God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and in truth The living Father hath sent me; and I live by the Father.

These passages are from the Fourth Gospel. In the letter to the Hebrews, the writer says, of the Son:

Who, being of the brightness of His glory [and of the angels], Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.

If these sentences were found in the Zend-Avesta, they would be simply expressions, and hardly developments more full and explicit, of the ideas contained in the very *names* of the Deity, *Ahura-Mazda*, "Light-Being" and *Çpenta-Mainyus*, "Pure Mind," the Intellect's very self.

In Vohû-Manô, "the First Fashioner," we find the prototype of the Creative Logos, the Demiourgos. He is verily the "word" of Ahura, and what he effects are the "deeds" or "works" of Ahura, and yet, it is Ahura Mazda himself who teaches Zarathustra, and who is the Lord or Ruler, the Very God, manifesting himself by Vohû-Manô. The words of the Gospel according to Saint John, owing nothing to Semitism, "In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was in God, and the Word was God," are but the refrain or echo of a creed pronounced on the Oxus five thousand years before, and first conceived of in regard to the light and flame, immanent in and manifested from the fire.

Vohû-Manô came as the First Fashioner, when the heavenly bodies first became radiant, shining with the newly-created light. He fashioned the pure creation, for Añra-Mainyus created nothing material. The whole material universe was created by Ahura. Añra-Mainyus, the Evil Mind, created evil spirits only, Akô-Manô, unreason, and the rest, and mischiefs, mishaps, cold, disease, and all the ills that flesh is heir to.

The prayers and Mañthras are the "words," and religious observances, the "deeds" of Vohû-Manô. He is the equal of Ahura, and one with Him. Ahura is the Father, and He the Son. Ahura finds His faith and law obeyed, His dominion over men's intellect to extend, so far as this Divine Wisdom becomes wisdom in men, and speaks by them, as He spoke by Zarathustra. Then Ahura "abides" with them and they "belong" to Him.

So it is said, in the Gospel according to Saint John:

And the Word was born flesh, and abode among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, abounding in loving-kindness and truth He was in the world, and the world was made by Him For He whom God hath sent *speaketh the words of God*; for God giveth not the Spirit in limited measure I proceeded forth and *came from God* He that is from God *hears the words of God* I and the Father are One The Father is in Me, and I am in Him I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life. No man cometh unto the Father [*προς τὸν Ιατέρα*, as it is that the Word was *προς τὸν Θεόν*], unless by (or through) Me. If you had known Me, you would have known My Father also I am in the Father, and the Father is in Me. The words that I speak to you *I do not speak of Myself*, but the Father, *who abides in Me, He does the works* I am in the Father, and you are in Me, and I in you The Spirit of Truth abides with you and shall be in you.

All things that I have heard from My Father, I have made known to you Holy Father, keep through Thine own name, those whom Thou hast given Me, that they might be One as We That they all may be One; as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect, in One.

So Paul said to the Christians at Corinth:

To us, one God, the Father, from which the universality of things (*τὸ παντά*), and we in Him; and one *Yēsous Khristos*, through whom all things, and we through Him.

So, as if speaking of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, in the letter to the Christians at Rome:

For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God.

And, to those of Corinth, and as Zarathustra, not in the same words, but in substance, says of Vohû-Manô:

From Him you are, in *Yēsous Khristos*, who was born to us the wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption.

So, to those of Ephesus:

We are His work (*ποίεια*, as a Mañthra or prayer is the 'work,' *poēma* of *Ahura*), created in *Khristos Yēsous* to good works, which God had pre-ordained that we should walk in them. . . . One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in you all.

To the Christians of Kölössai, he says of the Son of God:

Who is the Image [*eikōn*] of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for by Him all things were created that are in heaven, and that are on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers—all things were created through Him and in Him; and He is before all things, and by Him all things are established.

In Him [Paul says], are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge For in Him abides all the plenitude of the Divine Nature corporeally [i. e., invested with the body]; and you, [he says], are complete in Him, who is the Head of all dominion and power.

God only [he says to Timothēos], has Immortality dwelling in the light unto which no man can approach.

The letter to the Hebrews, says of the Son:

By whom also He [God] made the worlds; who, being the out-shining of His glory, and the form of His subsistence [hypostasis], and upholding all things by the word of His power sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.

As Zarathustra assured the Aryans, so Paul assured the Thessalonian Greeks, that his Gospel had come to them,

not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Spirit, and with full proof of authenticity.

The doctrines of Philo Judæus, in regard to the Word, accurately reproduce those of Zarathustra. I quote a few sentences, from among many.

'The most universal of all things, is God, and in the second place, the word of God.' *On the Allegories of the Sacred Laws*, *xxi*.

'The Father of the universe has caused Him to spring up as the eldest Son, whom, in another passage, He calls the first-born; and He, who is thus born, imitating the ways of His Father, has formed such and such species, looking to His archetypal patterns.' *Confusion of Languages*, *xiv*.

'His Image, the Most Sacred Word.' *Id. xx.*

'For even if we are not yet fit to be called the sons of God, still we may deserve to be called the children of His Eternal Image, of His Most Sacred Word; for the Image of God is His Most Ancient Word.' *Id. xxviii.*

'And the Father, who creates the universe, has given to His Archangelic and Most Ancient Word, a pre-eminent prerogative, to stand near both, and between the created and the Creator. And this same Word is continually a suppliant to the Immortal God, on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery, and is also the ambassador, sent by the Ruler of all to the subject race. And the Word rejoices in the gift, announces it, and boasts of it.' *On Who is the Heir of Divine Things, xlvi.*

'And the Most Ancient Word of the living God is clothed with the world as with a garment.' *On Fugitives, xx.*

'The Divine Word does not come into any visible appearance, inasmuch as it is not like unto any of the things that are cognizable by the external senses, but is itself an image of God, the most ancient of all the objects of intellect of the whole world, and that which is nearest unto the only truly existing God, without any separation or distance being interposed between them.' *On Fugitives, xix.*

'His Word, which is His Interpreter, will teach me.' *On the Change of Scripture Names, iii.*

'God is the first Light and not only the Light, but He is the archetypal pattern of every other light, or rather He is more ancient and higher than even the archetypal model for the real model was His own Most Perfect Word, the Light; and He, Himself, is like to His created thing.' *On Dreams Being Sent from God, xiii.*

'It was impossible that anything mortal should be made in the likeness of the Most High God, the Father of the universe, but it could only be made in the likeness of the second God, who is the Word of the other.' *Fragm. in Euseb. Præp. Evan. B. viii., Ch. 13.*

'The eye of the living God does not need any other Light, to enable Him to perceive things, but being Himself, the Archetypal Light, He pours forth innumerable rays, not one of which is capable of being comprehended by the outward sense, but they are all only intelligible to the Intellect.' *On Cain and his Birth, xxviii.*

Asha-Vahista is, in some way, the divine strength or power, but I cannot but think that it has a more excellent name than even that. Not satisfied with the interpretation I have so far given it, because I have not been able to find, in the name itself, the meaning of power or strength, I have reflected much and long upon it, and will now give—leaving what I have said in previous pages on the subject to stand—the results of my reflection, in the hope that they may be found to be correct.

To the word *Asha* are ascribed the meanings of "pure," "religious," "pious," and "truth." We have seen that in the First Gâthâ, the "laudable sayings" of Asha, made by him as help for Ameretât, and as a reward for Haurvat, are spoken of, and they were, unquestionably, either hymns, prayers or teachings of religious doctrine.

As none of these are utterances of the power or strength of Ahura, but pure creations of the intellect, it struck me with great and uncomfortable force, when I attempted to explain this passage, as inconsistent with the

conclusion that Asha was the divine strength or power, and this difficulty did not diminish as I considered it the more.

Asha is a noun, from the Sanskrit and Zend root, *as* or *ash*, “to shine or burn,” whence also the Sanskrit *ascam*, “light;” the Greek *Αστρον* and Latin *astrum*, “a star,” the Zend *Aṣan*, “day” and *Ashi*, “the eye.” It is formed, as adjectives and appellatives in large numbers are in Sanskrit, by *a* suffixed, most nouns so formed being nouns of agency. Other examples in Zend are *Kshaya*, “king,” as ruling, from *csi*, “to rule”; *gara*, “swallower”, and “throat” (as swallowing); *yoza*, “worshipper;” *Ghna*, “slayer,” and *yaodha*, “combatant.” (See *Bopp*, iii. §915, §922. Haug’s *Essays*, 86. The latter, at page 100, gives its declension, as a noun, meaning truth). And, we have seen and shall further see, that it has also the meaning of fire.

Very frequently, in Wilson’s translation of the Rig Veda, we find the word “truth,” used in connection with Agni and the luminaries, where it is entirely evident that light is meant, by which the herdsman or wayfarer was enabled to discover and follow the right path, and also meaning, sometimes, the keeping the right track or path, in the night-time.

Asha and *Ashem* are generally translated “pure” by Spiegel and Bleick, and *ashaum*, “purity.” And, also, Spiegel ascribes to *ash*, in *Ashēmaogha*, the sense of “very.” (Note 15, to *Farg. ix.*)

As we have seen, Ahura was the essential light, or according to Philo and the Kabalah, that invisible substance of light, of which the visible light was the out-shining. Paul said to the Corinthians:

‘God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to be the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Yēsous Khristos.’ ‘God is light’ [John said, in his first general letter], ‘and in Him is no darkness at all.’

Truth, Tooke said, is that which a man *troweth*. It has always been compared to light, and the words for one and the other have everywhere been almost synonymous. Our own words, to “enlighten,” to “illuminate,” coming to us from different branches of the great Aryan family, are a pregnant proof of this. In the Greek, *φοτιζω*, from *φως*, “light,” “fire,” while it meant “to light up, illuminate, illustrate,” also metaphorically meant *mentis oculos illumino*; *doceo*, and *Αληθεια*, truth, came from *α* and *ληθω*, “hide, conceal;” and meant what is *shown* or *revealed*, and in the Latin *Lux*, “light,” meant also “information, elucidation,” and all the other meanings that “light” has with us. “*Historia testis temporum*”, Cicero says, “*lux veritatis*,” and, “*Ratio quasi quædam lux lumenque vitae*,” and again, “*Civilis lucem ingenii et consilii porrigere*.”

Vahista, according to Haug, is the superlative of *Vohu*, which he renders “good.” He gives also, for the comparatives, *vahyō* and *vāñho*, and we

find also *vāñhu*, "good," from which, probably, *vahista* was formed, as *yāñh* becomes in the nominative *yāo* and *yahi*.

It seems, therefore, that Asha-Vahista means the "perfect truth," as an attribute of Ahura, and an emanation from Him. If this be so, the expression, "the laudable sayings of Asha," at once has a clear and definite meaning. Abundant proof is found in the Gâthâs and other parts of the Zend-Avesta, that an actual and irresistible force and potency were attributed to the Mañthras and prayers, even to win battles. And if this was because they contained the words of eternal truth, spoken by Ahura-Mazda, we can understand why such a virtue was ascribed to them. Then, as now, men who believed in a God, believed also that "His truth was mighty and would prevail."

'The Gospel of Khristos [Paul said to the Christians at Rome], is the *power* of God unto salvation, to every one that believes . . . for in it, the righteousness of God is revealed, from faith to faith.' [And to the Christians of Corinth], 'Lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Khristos, who is the image of God, should shine into them.'

He exhorts those of Ephesus to have their loins girt about with truth, and to have on the breastplate of righteousness; and the writer of the letter to the Hebrews, says:

The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword . . . and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

It was the cross, visible in the sky, by which Constantine was told that he might conquer; and however it may be in these later days, the ancient world firmly believed that God was always on the side of truth and justice, and that therefore to these the victory must always belong. Even at the present day, the side that wins returns its thanks to God, and claims that the just cause has conquered, and chants hallelujahs loud in proportion to the injustice that has stamped out the right.

As I shall show hereafter, the prayers and Mañthras collectively are often termed *khratu*, and this word, though translated by the word "wisdom," really means "power." And this was a natural use of the word, because the great truth sought by Zarathustra to be inculcated on the Aryans was that the power of God to give them victory, peace and prosperity, was exerted through the utterances of divine truth in the sacred compositions.

Asha was, undoubtedly, at first, the *fire*, and identical with the Vedic Agni, "fire" (probably, Benfey says, from *anj*, in its original signification "to shine"). The signification "religion, piety," which Asha came to have, was no doubt a consequence of the use of fire in sacrifice and worship; and its meaning "truth" may have been a still more remote derivative one,

from the connection of the prayers and Manthras, as divine truth, with worship and the fire.

As to *Vahista*, there is no doubt of its derivation. There are in the Sanskrit five verbs written *vas*; meaning, 1. to dwell; 2. to shine (being the original form of *Ush*, and found in the *Rig Veda* i. 48. 3, and its infinitive *vastavo*, in *Rig Veda* i. 48. 2); 3. to wear, to put on; 4. to be unbending; 5. to love, cut, take, offer, kill. The adjective and noun *vasu* has various meanings, from these different roots, and among them, from the second, a name of Agni, the Sun, and a ray of light. *Vacishtha* or *Vasishtha* is its superlative. *Vâsci*, also, in Sanskrit, means "fire."

The original meaning of *Vahista*, therefore, seems to have been "most shining, most radiant;" and this changed, no doubt, when Asha, still continuing to be the fire, son of Ahura Mazda, was elevated by Zarathustra to the dignity of an emanation from the divine intellect, and became the divine truth and omnipotence.

Proclus, as translated by Taylor, says:

Good is measure and light, but evil is darkness and incommensurability. And the latter, indeed, is without location, and is debile; but the former is the cause of all location, and of all power. The former, likewise, is preservative of all things, but the latter leads everything with which it is present, to destruction.

The genius which is the interpreter of the gods, is continuous with the gods, knows their intellect and elucidates the divine will. This angelic genius, also, is itself a divine light, proceeding from that effulgence which is concealed in the adyta of Deity, becoming externally manifest, and being nothing else than good, primarily shining forth from the beings which eternally abide in the unfathomable depths of the one.

Providence, he says, is above intellect, and exists in the One alone, according to which every god is essentialized, and is said to attend providentially to all things, establishing himself in an energy pure to intellectual perception.

And the 'prudence' which subsists according to the One, and imparts good to all things, is that of the good, which is the same as the One, through being which it provides for all things.

This one, the Good, is the Ahura Mazda of Zarathustra, who, also, is above the intellect, immanent in the one—Çpênta-Mainyu.

The hyparxis [the summit of the essence of a thing, and that according to which the thing principally subsists], of every god subsists according to the One; and this One is prior to Intellect [as the Sephirah Kether, the Divine Will, is the first and Hakemah, Wisdom or Intellect as male or generative of intellection, the second], and is the same with the Good, from which also it proceeds The ineffable principle of things, as it is more excellent than every power, so likewise it transcends Providence.

The gods [=the Amêsha-Çpentas] the kingdoms of the gods, their numbers and their order, obtain the first portion of being, or rather they preside over all beings, and an intellectual essence, on which being, as it were, seated, they generate and rule over all things, proceed to and are present with all things, without being

mingled with them, and exemptly adorn every thing which the universe for the gods themselves, indeed, are beyond all beings, and are the measures of existence, because everything is contained in them, just as number is in monads.

Souls are derived from that Soul which ranks as a whole, and partial intellects are derived from an all-perfect Intellect; and so from goodness itself, and the unity of all good, the most primary number of all things that are good is derived, the Being and Existence of which is nothing else than Unity and Goodness. For neither is the essence of partial intellects anything else than intellection, nor of souls anything else than vitality.

Philo said, in a letter to Hephæstion:

The soul of man is divine, God has breathed into man from Heaven a portion of His own Divinity. That which is divine is indivisible. It may be extended, but is incapable of separation This alliance with an upper world of which we are conscious, would be impossible, were not the soul of man an indivisible portion of that divine and blessed spirit.

The Emperor Julian, in his *Discourse in Honour of the Sun-King*, addressed to Sallust, says:

This magnificent and divine world, which extends from the vault of the sky to the furthest extremities of the earth, in accordance with the laws of an impenetrable providence of God, exists from all eternity, without having been created; and will always continue to exist, primarily, under the direction and immediate conservation of the fifth body, or Solar Principle, from which it emanates as a ray; then, ascending one degree, under the mediate influence of the intellectual world, and finally under that of a third cause, more ancient or more remote, which is the King of all beings, and around which the vast aggregate connects itself. This ulterior cause, or this principle, which it may be permissible to call the Being above our intelligence, or, if one pleases, the prototype of all that is, or better still, the Single Being, or the One (for this One must precede all the others, as being the most ancient), or, in fine, what Plato was wont to call the Being Supremely Good, this cause, I say, being the simple and single model of all that beings can contain, of beauty or perfection, of harmony and of potency, produced from Himself, by his permanent and primordial energy, the being similar in all respects to himself, the Sun-God, holding the middle ground between the intellectual causes and the active intermediary causes.

Such is, at least, the doctrine which our divine Plato has expressed in these terms: 'I define, then, the Intelligent Reason to be a production of the principle or being good *par excellence*, engendered supremely good, and like unto this principle, because it proceeds immediately from him. This Intelligent Reason thus sets the Sun in place, to preside in the visible world, as it itself presides in the intellectual space, over all that is of the domain of the spirit and thought.'

Certainly, the light of the Sun must have the same analogy with all that is visible, as the truth has with all that is intellectual. But this first intellectual product, which I say emanated from the form of the first and sovereign good, because it was, from all eternity, in the proper substance of the latter, has received from it domination over all the intelligent gods, to whom it distributes the same gifts that it has received, and which it possesses from the sovereign good, or the Good Principle, *par excellence*, source of all benefit for the intellectual gods.

I hardly need say to the reader who may have followed me so far, that here again we meet with Ahura Mazda, the Supreme Beneficence, and Çpēnta-Mainyu, the Intelligent Reason. It is also to the purpose to note that the light of the Sun is treated as flowing, meditately, from the Deity as its source. And Julian says again:

The sages of Phœnicia, versed in the knowledge of divine things, teach us that the splendour of the light diffused in the universe, is a real act of the purity of the intelligent soul of the Sun; and there is nothing improbable in their opinion. For the light being incorporeal, and as consequently it cannot have its source in any body, we may reasonably suppose that the pure energy of the solar intelligence issues from the luminous region that our Sun occupies, in the middle of the Heaven, whence it fills with its living radiance all the celestial globes, and whence it makes shine everywhere a divine and unmixed light.

The All-perfect and the Eternal [Plotinus said], sends out from himself, in the overflowing of his perfection, that which is also eternal, and after him the best, viz.: The Reason or World-Intelligence, which is the immediate reflection and image of the Primal One, from which the world-soul eternally emanates.

I come again to Çpēnta-Armaiti. Etymological conclusions, based upon literal resemblances of words, are confessedly uncertain; and when to this is added, as in my case, scantiness of knowledge of Sanskrit and Zend, I cannot but have many misgivings as to the soundness of my deductions. But if the scholars fail to prove to me the meaning of a word, to my satisfaction, I must examine for myself.

Ram, in Sanskrit, means “to rest, to rejoice,” and as a noun, “a private part.” *Suram* means “sexual love.” *Ramya* means the same as *ram*. *Ramaya*, “to exhilarate, to be delighted, to rejoice.” *Rama* (reversed, *amar*, with which compare the Latin *Amare*, to love), is, “pleasing, a husband, a lover, the god of love,” and *ramati* means love and paradise.

R is a semivowel, and *a* is very commonly prefixed to it as an augment; as it is also to words beginning with other letters. Augmentation consists in prefixing a short *a* either to the verbal root, or to the crude form of the present tense, to form the imperfect and some other tenses; and sometimes, also, in the present tense. This augment, Dr. Haug says (*Essays*, 77), early became unintelligible, and was often left out; hence it does not regularly appear in the Zend. Examples of this augmentation, otherwise than in forming the tenses, are, from the Sanskrit root, *pri*, “to love,” *priñāmi*, and in Zend *âfrinami*, “I love;” from *cta*, Zend, “to stand,” *açtvaiti*, “being, existing;” from the Sanskrit *ram*, “to rest,” *aram* (Lithuanian *rimstu*, “I rest”), to which answer the Greek *ἐρέμω* *ἐρέμεω*, and the Gothic *rimis*. (*Bopp*, iii. § 935 n.)

Ati, suffixed in Sanskrit, and *aiti* in Zend, form adjectives, participles and abstract nouns. Haug (88) instances *Armaiti* as one of these, and as meaning "devotedness" and the sacred name of the earth. Another is *bérézaiti*, from *berez*, "high." See further, as to the augment, *Bopp*, *iii.* §§537 to 541; and as to the terminations *ati* and *aiti*, *Id.* §§844 to 850.

Thus derived, *Armaiti* means, as I had concluded before interrogating etymology as to its derivation, the power of production and increase, both by birth and growth, of living beings and the vegetable creation; which potency (female, of course, as productive), acts through the animal creation and the earth; and the name has been supposed to mean the earth, because of its productiveness. The instrument or passive agent has usurped the name of the active cause.

The meaning of *Çpēnta* I have already endeavoured to ascertain. Haug derives it thus (p. 89): Root *çvi*, "to thrive;" whence *çpan* and *çpen*, "thriving," "excellent;" comparative, masculine *çpanyādō*, "more excellent;" *çpenistō*, "most excellent." *Çvi*, in Sanskrit, means "to swell, to increase;" and another old verb *çvi*, "to shine," whence *çvit*, "white" and "shining;" but I do not see how we are to get the meaning "holy," from either.

Bopp, *i.* §50, says that *çpēnta*, "holy," is not corresponded to by a Sanskrit *śwanta*, which must have originally been in use, and which the Lithuanian *szanta-s* indicates. But I find in Benfey *svānta*, *i. e.*, *sva+anta*, "the mind," evidently from *sva*, "one's own or very self; soul."

Çpitama, which Haug insists was the family name of Zarathustra, is evidently from *çvit* (Sansk.), "white, shining." *Tama* is the superlative suffix, both in Sanskrit and Zend. *Çpitama* means, therefore, "most white, most shining;" and, as applied to men, "most noble, most illustrious." And as Zarathustra was of high family, a chief and a military leader, and finally a monarch, I take *Çpitama*, applied to him, to have meant "most noble."

I shall inquire hereafter more particularly what philosophic conception was embodied in *Çpēnta-Mainyu*, and what were the difference and relations between it and *Vohū-Manō*, when I come to consider Dr. Haug's notions in regard to the doctrine of the two Principles, of Light and of Darkness, of Good and of Evil.

To what is said elsewhere of Khshathra-Vairyā, I add here, that *vara*, in Sanskrit, means "better, best, excellent, precious, beautiful, eldest;" and as a noun, "soliciting, wish, boon, blessing;" being in fact, *vri+a*, *varada*, "conferring a boon, propitious;" *varayitri*, "a husband." *Vaira*, *i. e.*, *vīra+a*, is "heroism, prowess;" *vairāya*, "to fight;" *vairu*, "heroic." Also from *uru*, "large," comes *variman*, "greatness," *variyams*, comp. of *uru*, "greater," *varishtha*, superl., "greatest." Also *virya* [compare the Latin *vir*, "a man"], *i. e.*, *vira+ya*, means "strength, fortitude, power, heroism,

dignity and splendour." *Vira* (i. e., *vri+a*, probably for original *vara*) is "heroic, strong, powerful, eminent, heroism, sacrificial fire." *Vîr*, is "to be valiant, to show heroism."

To *Haurva* is imputed the signification of "all, whole," but Dr. Muir, by a note of interrogation, hints a doubt of this. It is supposed to be the same as the Sanskrit *Sarva*, "all, whole;" and *Haurvatât* or *Haurvatât* to mean "wholesomeness, health." *Çarv* and *Sarv*, in Sanskrit, mean "to kill;" *çaru* or *çri+u*, or rather *çar+vau* (Greek *κεραυνος*), is "an arrow, any weapon, the thunderbolt of Indra, passion, anger;" and *Çarva* is a name of Siva, the Destroyer; while *çárvara* means "nocturnal, mischievous, pernicious, darkness." But *Sarva*, probably *sa+tra+va*, means "all, every, whole, entire" (compare Greek *ὅλος*, Latin *Salvus, salus*), and we find in the Veda, *Sarvatati=δλοτης*, "totality," English, "the whole."

Amēsha is considered to mean "undying," and *ameretât*, "immortal." *Mērē* is considered to mean "to die," *mērēthya*, "death," and *mereñch*, "to kill," and *mahika*, "death;" all in Zend.

From *mri*, "to die," are derived, in Sanskrit, *mriti*, "death;" *mritiyu*, "death;" *mridh*, "to kill;" *mâra*, "dying, death;" *mâraka*, "a slayer;" *mârana*, "killing;" *mâri*, "killing;" *maraṇa*, "dying;" *maraka*, "epidemic, disease;" *marata*, "death;" *martya*, "a mortal, a man;" *marta*, "a mortal, a man."

Amērēta is no doubt from the same root, but *Amēsha* is from *mish*, "to wink, to contract the eyelids." Another verb, of the same letters *mish*, means "to sprinkle," as *mih* (for original, *migh*, does), whence (Benfey thinks) *mesha*, probably for *meksha*, "a ram." It is from the first of these verbs that *Bopp* derives *Amēsha, non-conniventes*, "unwinking or unsleeping."

CONTRARIES OF THE AMĒSHA-ÇPĒNTAS.*

There are errors in the principal text, here, in regard to the contraries or opposites of the Divine Potencies.

1. *Añra, Añgra* or *añgrô-mainyû* is the contrary of *Çpēnta-Mainyû*, the Bright, White, Beneficent Intellect. The former part of the word is probably from a root which became the Greek *ἄγχω*, and in the Latin *ango*, "to press tight, throttle, strangle," and thence "to torture, vex, trouble." *Añra-Mainyû* is evidently "Maleficent Intellect," but I do not find that *añra* or *añgra* means "dark."

*This section, through (7) on page 176, was written much later than the main text and was inserted into it by the author to amend and correct interpretations which follow.—Transcriber.

2. *Akô-Manô* is, according to Dr. Haug, "naught-mind." I do not find *ako* or its superlative *ach+ista*. *Ak+tu*, in Sanskrit is "night." The root of *Akô* may be *añch*, "to go, bend, curve," and *akô* mean "wandering, erratic, perverse." *Akô-Manô* will thus mean, as it should, "Perverse Intellect, Unreason."

3. *Andar* is the opposite of *Asha*. The verb *and* is said to mean, "to bend;" and *andha*, "blind, obstructing the sight." No doubt *andar* means "feebleness, weakness;" but the Sanskrit does not furnish a derivation for it.

4. *Çaurva* is the opposite of *Khshathra*. It is either the Sanskrit *çri*, "to cling to, lean on" (with other meanings of uncertain authenticity), +*va*; or *câr*, "to be weak," +*va*. One meaning of *çri* is "to serve." *Çri*, identical with *câr*, is said to mean "to hurt, wound," and its passive, "to be broken, split in pieces," and its past participle, "broken, withered, wasted, decayed, slender, thin." *Çarva*, i. e., *çri+va*, is a name given in a later age to *Çiva*. *Çarvarî*, i. e., *çri+van+i*, is "night, a woman." *Çaraṇa*, akin to *çri*, is "refuge, protection, help, a protector;" *çaraṇya*, "needing protection, helpless, poor, miserable."

Çaurva, from *çri*, must mean "submissiveness, dependence, servility."

5. *Nâoñhaithi*, *nâoñhaitya*, or *nâuñhaithya*, is the opposite of *Çpênta-Ârmaiti*. In the first form, it is identical with the Sanskrit *nasati* or *nâsati*, *aoñh* being the Sanskrit *as* and *ah*. *Nâoñhem* being *nâsam*, and *Ahurâoñhô* (nom. plur. of Ahura), *asurâsah*. I think that the name is = the Sanskrit *na-sati* or *na-â-sati* or (second form and third), *na-satya* or *na-â-satya*. *Sati*, i. e., *san+ti*, is, in Sanskrit, "gift, giving;" and the name may thus mean "not giving, returning or yielding, barrenness, sterility."

6. *Taura* is the opposite of *Haurvatât*. *Tuvara* in Sanskrit is "a eunuch;" and *Taura*, no doubt means "impotence, inability to procreate."

7. *Zairica* is the opposite of *Améréta*. The Sanskrit *j* is in Zend *z*; *jri*, *jar* is "to waste away, decay, be sublimated, become rotten, fade, be consumed;" and *jar+ika*, = *zairika*, is "decay, tabescence, caducity."

It is reasonable to suppose that the antagonistic evil spirits of the Amêsha-Çpêntas contain in their names meanings exactly the opposite of those of the divine emanations respectively; and that to find out the meanings of the names of the evil beings will aid us in ascertaining the meanings of the good ones, their opposites.

The antagonist or opposite of *Çpênta-Mainyûs* is *Añra* (or *Añgro Mainyûs*), the spirit or essence of evil, harm and mischief.

The opponent and opposite of *Vohû-Manô* is *Akô-Manô*, Unreason.

That of *Asha Vahista* is *Andar*, *Andha* in Sanskrit, “blind, obstructing the light,” and *Andh*, a denominative verb of *Andha*, “to make blind, to obstruct the light;” *ândhya*, “blindness;” *andhaka*, “blind;” *andha-kara*, “darkness;” *andhatâ*, *andhatva*, “blindness.” *Andar* for *andhar*, is a noun, like *patar*, “father,” *datar*, “creator,” *matar*, “mother,” *âtar*, “fire,” and means literally the blinder, the one who makes blind. *Asha* is the flame and its light that enable men to see; and *andar* is, no doubt, “the darkness;” and also, perhaps, untruth or falsehood, which blinds and misleads the mental vision, and is the antagonist of *Asha* as truth or the intellectual light.

The opposite of *Khshathra-Vairya* is *Çaurva*. Dr. Haug considers the equivalent of *Sarva* and *Çarva*, names of Siva. These are, it is true, in the later Hindu books, names, epithetical only, of Siva, and the former of Vishnu also. I think it is as fanciful an idea, that either of these names and *Caurva* are identical, as that *Naoñhaithi* and *Nasatyas* are so.

Çî, in Sanskrit, means “to lie down, to sleep,” and *Çâr*, *Sâr*, “to be weak,” whence (from the former *çî*), *Çâyaya*, “to cause to lie down, to throw down;” and from *çar*, *çaranya*, “needing protection, helpless, poor, miserable.” *Urva*, in Zend, means “mind, soul.” *Caurva* may, therefore, be a compound word, from *çî* or *çar*, and whether from one or the other, would mean “the spirit of submission, submissiveness, obedience, subordination, and, in a worse sense, obsequiousness, cringing, the spirit of vassalage, and servility or servitude.” That this is the very opposite of the supremacy and superiority of a people or individual, and of dominion and rule, is quite conclusive of the correctness of the derivation.

All the original Sanskrit roots are biliteral, and the formation of *Caurva* from *Çî* is as natural as that of *grâvaya* from *çru*, *Khraoçya* from *khrug*, *çrayati* from *çri*, and many others, where the *i* of the verb changes into *a*.

The antagonist of *Çpênta Armaiti* is *Nâoñhaithi*. *Âoñha*, in Zend, means “he has been;” and *nâoñha*, “he has not been.” *Âoñha* is the Zend form of the Sanskrit *âsa*, “he was;” *âoñhañm* of *asam*, *earñm*. (*Bopp*, *i. §56b*). *As* is “to be, to exist,” which, with *na*, “not,” very often means “to be lost.” *Asu* means (*Rig Veda* *i. 112. 3*), “sterile, barren.” *Naç*, “to be lost, to disappear, to perish.” *Nâsa* (and *naha* also), “loss, destruction;” and *nasa* becomes in Zend, *nâoñha*, and the termination *aiti* or *aithi* gives the word the meaning of “causer or creator of sterility or barrenness;” and this means by laying in waste or destruction. The spirit of unfruitfulness, infecundity, and that of waste, devastation and destruction is clearly the antagonist of *Çpênta Armaiti*, the divine productive power.

The antagonists of *Haurvaṭ* and *Ameretāṭ* are *Taura* and *Zairica*.

I feel quite sure that *Haurvaṭ* meant something that conduced to security and to length of life. This is plain to me from the intimate connection between it and *Ameretāṭ*. I do not believe that it is derived from *Sarva*, "all," or "the whole," because no meaning derived from that could characterize an emanation from the deity. I do not understand how the signification of "wholesomeness," which means "salubrity," comes from that, and I suppose Dr. Haug mistook the meaning of that word.

Crī, in Sanskrit, is the deity of plenty and prosperity, the wife of Vishnu; also "fortune, success, happiness, prosperity, well-being;" and *Haurvaṭ* may come from this verb. It clearly means either health, or the peace, plenty and prosperity that conduce to long life.

Sāra, in Sanskrit (perhaps, Benfey says, *sri+a*), has among other meanings, those of "affluence" and "wealth," "pith, sap" and "vigour."

Haurvalāṭ means "wholeness, entireness," ὁλοτης.

The names of the opponents of these emanations may confirm these conclusions as to *Haurvaṭ* and *Amērētāṭ*.

I will inquire first as to *Zairica*. *Z* is very often, in the Zend, substituted for the Sanskrit *j* and *g* as in *zhēnu* for *jānu*, "knee;" *yaz* for *yaj*, "to adore;" *zaōsha*, "to please," from *jušh*; *zâta* for *jâta*, "born;" *hizva* for *jihwâ*, "tongue;" *zâo* from *gaus*, etc. (*Bopp*, §§58, 59, 37, 57). *H*, also becomes *z*, as in *azēm*, "I;" *zaçta*, "hand;" *zainti*, "he strikes;" *vazaiti*, "he carries;" *ha-zapra*, "thousand;" *hi*, "for;" *mazô*, "great"—for *aham*, *hasta*, *hanti*, *vahati*, *sahasra*, *hi*, *mahat*, of the Sanskrit (*Id.* §57).

Jvi, Sanskrit, in composition *jai*, means "to grow old, decay, be destroyed, fade;" and *jaratha*, "old." *Zairica* may come from this root, and with this, the meaning given to it, "destruction" agrees. Muir (*Sansk. Texts*, v. 231) gives *zaurva*, "old age," as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *jaras*. With *aka*, *āka*, *ika*, *uka*, in Sanskrit, are formed adjectives, and nouns of agency or appellatives, as *khan-ika*, "a digger;" *mush-ika*, "a mouse" as "stealing;" *ghâtuka*, "destroying." (*Bopp*, iii. 951.) So that, if thus derived, *zairica* would mean "the destroying one, the destroyer."

As to *Taura*, the antagonist of *Haurvaṭ*, I find in Benfey, *trish*, "to thirst, thirst;" whence, Gothic, *thausjan*, *thaursus*, etc.; old High German, *durst*; Anglo-Saxon, *thurst*, *thyrr*; English, *thirst*; Greek, *τερπομαι*; Latin, *torrere*, "to burn;" and *torrens*, "burning hot, inflamed."

With the suffix *ra*, base words are formed, like *dipra*, "shining;" *bhadra*, "happy, good;" *subhra*, "dazzling, white;" *chandra*, "moon, as light-giving;" *mudira*, "voluptuary;" *chidira*, "axe, sword," from *chid*, "to cleave";

and in Zend, *çuwra*, “shining;” *çucra*, “shining, clear;” and *Sûra*, “strong,” Sanskrit *Sûra*, root *svi*, contracted *su*. (*Bopp*, *iii*. 939, 940). Eichoff gives this root as *tars*, “to dry up, to burn;” and thence, Greek *τερσω*; Latin, *torreo*; Gothic, *thairsa*; German, *durste*, *dorre*; Lithuanian, *trokstu*; and Sanskrit *tarṣâ*, *tarṣus*, “thirst, heat;” Greek, *θερειος*, “torrid.” Muir gives us, Sanskrit *trishnâ*, Zend, *tarshna*, “thirst.”

The change of *a*, Sanskrit, into *au*, Zend, is common. I think *taura* means “fever, calenture,” as that makes hot, dry and thirsty. In all newly settled and especially alluvial countries, the marsh or swamp fever is one of the most common and fatal diseases*. And *Taura*, therefore, is fever sickness, or sickness generally, as the opposite of *Haurvat*, “wholesomeness, health.” Caused by malarial miasma, too, was natural to consider it as an emanation from Añra-Mainyûs. Accordingly, he is said, in *Fargard i.*, to have afflicted Hapta-Hindu with irregular fevers.

And it is noticeable that the antagonist of *Ameretât* is not *Mérēthya*, “death” generally, from whatever cause, or *Mérētat*, “mortality or caducity;” but the Destroyer, as if there was particular reference to the invaders, who ruthlessly slew the Aryan colonists; and, also, that the antagonist of *Khshathra* is submission, sleep, slothfulness, as if with reference to those who tamely submitted to the infidels, accepted their yoke, and slept in cowardly apathy and indifference.

I proceed now to the Second Gâthâ.

*It should be remembered that the first link in the discovery of the Anopheles and its agency in the spread of malarial diseases, dates from several years after these pages were written.—Transcriber.

GÂTHÂ II.—USTVAITI.

HÂ I, YAÇNA XLII.

Of this Gâthâ, Haug says (*Essays*, 146):

Whilst the first Gâthâ appears to be a mere collection of fragments of songs and scattered verses, made without any other plan than to transmit to posterity what was believed to be the true and genuine sayings of the Prophet, in this Second Gâthâ we may observe a certain scheme carried out. Although it contains, with the exception of a few verses only (*xvi. xlvi.* Spiegel, 13–17), all sayings of Zarathustra himself, yet they have not been put together, as is the case in many other instances, irrespective of their contents, but in a certain order, with the view of presenting the followers of the Prophet, a true image of the mission, activity and teaching of their great Master. In the first section of this Gâthâ, his mission by the order of Ahura Mazda is announced; in the second, he receives instructions from the Supreme Being about the highest matters of human speculation; in the third, he appears as a Prophet before a large assembly of his countrymen, to propound to them his new doctrines; and in the fourth or last section, we find different verses referring to the fate of the Prophet, the congregation which he established, and his most eminent friends and supporters.

This Gâthâ being the most important of the whole Zend-Avesta, from which to obtain an accurate knowledge of Zarathustra's teaching and activity, I submit to the reader, in the following pages, a translation of the whole of it.

This Gâthâ, he says (137),

is called *Ustvaiti*, from the beginning words *Ustâ Ahmâi*, 'Hail to him.' *Ustâ*, it is said, means 'Hail! Happiness, Health!' *Ustâ*, also, means 'high, great'; and *Ustatât*, 'greatness'. *Ustem* is also said to mean 'spoken'. *Ahmâi* is the dative of *ho*, 'this, this one, he.'

1. Hail to him, who suffices for happiness to each! May Ahura create, making after his own wish! May power and strength (come to me) according to Thy will! That I may be able to maintain purity, give me that, O Armaiti (namely) kingdom, blessing, and the life of Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ Blessed is he, blessed are all men, to whom the living wise God of His own command, should grant those two everlasting powers (wholesomeness and immortality). For this very good, I beseech Thee (Ahura Mazda). Mayest Thou, through Thy angel of piety (Armaiti), give me happiness, the good true things, and the possession of the good mind.

In this and the second section, Zarathustra addresses Ahura, asking for power, and the establishment of his rule and government, and the overthrow and expulsion of the invaders.

I follow Spiegel, and think the verse means:

Hail to him who hath in his gift good fortune for all the people. Mayest Thou, Ahura, who governest with power uncontrolled, exert this power over events and of Thy grace and favour, may Thy dominion and power enable me to

maintain the true faith. Give me that, Armaiti, dominion, victory, and the blessing of Vohû-Manô!

The “Life of Vohû-Manô” means nothing. Spiegel guesses it may mean “earthly life.” I do not know what the original word is, which he translates “life.” Haug translates it “possession.” This must be more nearly correct: and to possess the Divine Wisdom is to be inspired by it.

2. To the man, full of brightness, may the brightness which is the best of all be given. Manifest Thyself, O Holiest, Heavenly Mazda, Thou who createdst, O Pure, the good things of Vohû-Manô, day by day, from love for long life.

(H.) ∴ I believe Thee to be the best being of all, the source of light for the world. Everybody shall choose Thee (believe in Thee), as the source of light, Thee, Thee, Holiest Spirit Mazda! Thou createst all good true things by means of the power of Thy good mind, at any time, and promisest us (who believe in Thee), a long life.

It must be admitted that there is little meaning in the translation of this verse by Spiegel. Nor, the two translations being so utterly different, does one help us to understand the other.

Haug does not find here, in the first line, a word meaning “man.” He renders by “being” the word which Spiegel so translates. And it will be seen in other passages that the word translated “man” often means an individual, e. g., one of the emanations. The word rendered “brightness,” evidently means, in other passages, good fortune, prosperity, especially that of the Aryan country. I think that the verse should be read:

May that glory, which is the most excellent of all, be bestowed upon us by the Being who has the fullness of glory. Show Thyself forth, O Most Beneficent Intelligence, Mazda! Thou, O Source of the True Faith, who didst utter forth the excellent thoughts of Vohû-Manô, day after day, desiring thereby to give long life.

3. May every man attain the best, who teaches us to know the right paths for profit, for this corporeal world as well as for the spiritual. The manifest towards the worlds in which Ahura dwells (and) the offerer, who is like Thee, wise, holy, O Mazda.

(H.) ∴ This very man (Çraošha) may go (and lead us) to Paradise, he who used to show us the right paths of happiness, both in the earthly life and that of the soul, in the present creations, where Thy Spirit dwells, the living, the faithful, the generous, the holy, Mazda!

I read this:

May every man attain good fortune, who makes known to us the right courses to be followed, to be of benefit to this Aryan land and to our lives; who openly promulgates the faith in the Aryan regions, wherein Ahura abides; the sacrificer, who is, in wisdom and excellence like unto Thee, O Mazda.

These were the coadjutors of Zarathustra, of whom Jamâçpa was the foremost, who traversed the country as missionaries, arousing the people from their lethargic apathy, to make common cause against the infidels.

4. Thee thought I as the Strong, as well as Holy, O Mazda, as Thou with Thine own hand protectest the blessing which Thou has created for the good as well as for the wicked; the warmth of Thy fire, endued with pure strength, when there came to me a robber of Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ I will believe Thee to be the Powerful Holy (God) Mazda! For Thou givest with Thy hand, filled with helps, good to the pious man, as well as to the impious, by means of the warmth of the fire, strengthening the good things. From this reason, the vigour of the good mind has fallen to my lot.

This I read:

I conceived of Thee, Mazda, as the Powerful as well as Beneficent One. For Thou, with Thine own hand preservest the blessing which Thou didst create for those alike of the true faith and the infidel oppressors—the heat of Thy fire; but endowed by Thee with the potency of religious worship, when there came to me energy from Vohû-Manô.

The word which Spiegel translates by “robber,” Haug renders by “vigour.” Spiegel thinks that the line refers to “a legend respecting Zarathustra, with which we are not acquainted.” What he imagines “a robber of Vohû-Manô” to be, he does not tell us. The Parsees for whom Dr. Bleek’s translation was prepared, will not have been much enlightened by this and hundreds of other lines, that are merely nonsense.

Zarathustra, to revive the zeal of the Aryans for the true faith, and so to arouse and unite them against the northern invaders, and the native tribes allied with them, magnifies here the attributes and supremacy of Ahura Mazda, and the potency of his worship to give victory. His beneficence and power preserve the fire, for all men alike; which, used for the sacrifice, has the potency of faith and worship, but to the Aryans only came, in hymns and prayers, the victory-giving energy of the Divine Wisdom.

5. For the Holy One, I held Thee, Mazda-Ahura, when I first saw Thee at the origin of the world, as Thou effectest that deeds and prayers find their reward; evil for the evil, good blessings for the good, at the last dissolution of the creation, through Thy virtue.

(H.) ∴ Thus I believed in Thee as the Holy God, Thou Living Wise! Because I beheld Thee to be the primeval cause of life in the creation. For Thou hast made holy customs and words, Thou hast given a bad future to the base, and a good to the good man. I will believe in Thee, Thou glorious God, in the last (future) period of creation.

Here the two translations in a measure agree. I read the verse:

I deemed Thee to be the Beneficent, Ahura, when, at the first settlement of the Aryan land I saw that Thou didst cause observances and prayers to produce fruit, of misfortune for the faithless and prosperity for the true believers.

The last line, I think, belongs to the next verse. If it does not, it and the one that precedes it contain no verb, and are therefore incoherent and expressive of no idea.

6. At this dissolution there will come to Thy Kingdom, O Holy, Heavenly Mazda, through good mindedness, he through whose good deeds the world increases in purity. Armaiti teaches them, the leaders of Thy Spirit, when no one deceives.

(H.) ∴ In whatever period of my life I believe in Thee, Living Wise, in that Thou camest with wealth and with the good mind through the actions of which our warriors thrive. To these (men who were present) Armaiti tells the everlasting laws, given by Thy intellect, which nobody may abolish.

Here the same Zend word is translated by "dissolution" by Spiegel, and "period" by Haug; and what the former rendered by "will come" the latter translates by "Thou camest."

It will be seen in many passages that the "creation" of Ahura is the Aryan people or country. And I read this verse, with the last line of the fifth, thus:

At the final division and distribution of the country conquered and acquired by Thee, by means of Thy power exerted in our behalf through Thy prayers and Mañthras, all those by means of whose exploits and services the domain of the true faith shall have been enlarged in the land, shall for their loyalty and fidelity, O Supreme Intelligence, Mazda, share the land over which Thou wilt then reign; and Armaiti will bestow the blessing on these, the ministers of the teachings of Thy intellect; these whom no one has been able to lead astray, seducing them from the true faith and Thy cause.

7. For the Holy One held I Thee, Mazda-Ahura, as it came to me through Vohû-Manô and asked me, 'Who art Thou? To whom dost Thou belong? How shall I, at the question, teach to know the signs of the day, in reference to Thy worlds and the bodies?'

(H.) ∴ Thus I believed in Thee, Thou Holy, Living, Wise Spirit! Therefore he (Çraošha) came to me and asked, 'Who art Thou? Whose son art Thou? How dost Thou at present think to increase and improve Thy estates and their beings?'

Spiegel says that the latter question must be ascribed to Zarathustra, not to Ahura Mazda; but I think he is mistaken. In verse 9, Ahura asks him, "What wilt thou know, etc.?" And so here, I think, he is represented as asking what He shall teach him; a mode of asserting to the people that the words about to be spoken were dictated by Ahura. I do not know how Haug brings in Çraošha.

What Spiegel translates "worlds and bodies," is, with Haug, "estates and beings." I read thus:

∴ I deemed Thee to be the Beneficent One, Mazda Ahura, as it (Thy Spirit) came to me through Vohû-Manô, and asked me, 'What art Thou? Of whom art Thou the votary?' [Not, I think, 'declare whom Thou art, and on whom Thy being depends.']. How shall I, upon thy questioning, teach thee revealings of the Light, in respect to thy countries and people?

"The signs of the day" is nonsense. In verse 15 we find the Divine Intellect acknowledged to have given Zarathustra "tokens for the understanding;" and the two phrases, I imagine, mean one and the same thing. "Of the day" may mean "plain, clear, intelligible"; and words dictated by inspiration were properly styled "signs," the outward expressions and representations, the symbols, signs and tokens of the Divine Thoughts.

8. Then spake Zarathustra to him first: 'Since manifold torments are desirable for the wicked, so may I suffer for strong joy to the pure; since I will bring knowledge in the power of the Ruler, so will I as long as I exist, laud and praise Thee, Mazda.'

(H.) ∴ I replied to him: Firstly, I am Zarathustra. I will show myself as a destroyer to the liars, as well as be the comforter for the religious men. As long as I can praise and glorify Thee, Thou Wise, I shall enlighten and awaken all that aspire to property (who wish to separate themselves from the nomadic tribes, and become settlers in a certain country).

It is to be supposed that this is a reply to the questions asked by Ahura. He would hardly have been represented as asking who it was that addressed him, and whose son; or as needing to be told that it was Zarathustra, who, if he *was* inquired of as to his parentage, made no reply to that, though Haug makes him say:

'Firstly, I am Zarathustra.' [I think we may read the verse thus]: Then made Zarathustra this first reply to him: 'Since that which is of vital necessity is utterly to defeat and bring calamity upon the infidels, enable me *thus* to give occasion for great rejoicing to the faithful Aryans. Since I will use my power as Ruler, to enlighten the people with knowledge, so will I, all my life, adore and worship Thee, O Mazda.'

But "in the power of the Ruler" may mean that he will instruct the people in the true faith, by means of the potency and inspiration of Khshathra or Vohû-Manô.

Cela va sans dire, that the reader must often enough think the interpretations I give of the text to be latitudinous, and my conjectures venturesome and of doubtful legitimacy. I am myself distressed with like misgivings, and welcome some guesses as that of Haug in the last line of this verse, as at least entitling me to a recommendation for mercy, upon

conviction. I think I might even justify, by the extraordinary want of resemblance between Spiegel's and Haug's translations.

The conviction was forced upon me that these were patriotic odes, addressed to the Aryan people, urging them to unite with Zarathustra in the attempt to free part of the country from the tyranny of northern invaders who had conquered it. Of course, when so convinced, this became for me the one key of interpretation. Without it, the whole seems to me both incoherent and worthless. As to the nature of Ahura and the Amēsha-Çpēntas, I have no doubts at all, nor have I any as to the general meaning of the hymns.

9. For the Holy One held I Thee, Mazda Ahura, when it came to me through Vohû-Manô, asking me, 'what wilt Thou know?'

(H.) ∴ Thus I believed in Thee, the Holy One, Thou Living Wise! Therefore He came to me with the good mind (and I asked Him) 'To whom dost Thou wish the increase of this life should be communicated?' Standing at Thy fire among Thy worshippers, who pray to Thee, I will be mindful of the truth (to improve all good things), as long as I shall be able.

This verse, Spiegel says, is very obscure. Most of it seems plain enough. I read it:

I deemed Thee to be the Beneficent, Mazda Ahura, when Thy Spirit came to me through Vohû-Manô, asking me, 'What dost Thou desire to know?'—'The orisons of religious adoration for Thy sacrifices, as many as I can receive and recollect.'

10. Give Thou to me perfect purity, since I desire it for myself, Thou who art bound with wisdom. Ask us the questions which Thou hast for us, for Thy questions are those of the mighty, since to thee the Ruler gives strength at will.

(H.) ∴ Thus mayest Thou grant me the truth. Then I shall call myself, if accompanied by the Angel of Piety, a pious, obedient man. And I will ask in the behalf of both of us, whatever Thou mayest be asked. For the King will, as it is only allowed to mighty men, make Thee for Thy answers a mighty fire (to cause Thy glory and adoration to be spread over many countries like the splendour of a blazing large flame).

'Both of us' [Haug says] refers to Zarathustra and Kava Viçtâçpa, for whose welfare and renown the Prophet is here praying. Spiegel says (*Gloss*): 'Thou becomest mighty when thou utterest the law.'

It is difficult to say, he says, "what is the meaning of this strophe, since we do not know to whom it is addressed." I assure the reader, who otherwise may well doubt it, that these translations are, really, of the same verse. As far as I can discern the original, hidden behind the two, it seems to me that Zarathustra both asks and is answered in it. As Haug translates by "angel of piety" the word which Spiegel renders by "wisdom," and as Ârmaiti is said by the latter, elsewhere (Note 1, to *Yaq. i.*), to be in the older writings especially the Goddess of Wisdom, I presume that

she is named here. For "bound," Haug has "accompanied." I read his request:

O Thou who art inseverable from Ârmaiti, give Thou to me in perfection the true faith, since I ask it for myself [and the reply of Ahura and Ćpēnta Mainyû]. Ask us the questions which thou hast for us, for thy questions are those of one invested with power. [Uttered by whom the responses will be potential; as 'the Ahurian Question' means the replies of Ahura to questions prompted by himself; and these questions, eliciting the responses, are deemed one with them in potency]; since to Thee, Khshathra gives absolute dominion [i. e., royal authority without limitations, autocracy; which will be found elsewhere to be the meaning of 'ruling at will'].

11. As the Holy One thought of Thee, Mazda, when it came to me through Vohû-Manô, when it was first taught me through your prayer, that the spreading abroad of the law through me among men was something difficult. That I will do which was said to me as the best.

(H.) ∴ Thus I believed in Thee, the Holy One, O Living Wise! Therefore he (the angel Ćraōsha) came to me with the good mind. For because I, who am your most obedient servant amongst men, am ready to destroy the enemies first by the recital of your words; so tell me the best to be done.

Nothing is more noticeable in these translations than the uncertainty as to the tenses of the verbs. It seems to prove that the rules of conjugation are as yet imperfectly known, though stated with apparent confidence by Bopp, Muir and Haug. Thus, in this verse, where one reads "that will I do," the other has "to be done;" and "was said to me," and "so tell me" represent the same words of the original. So do "it was first taught me" and "by the (future) recital."

I think that this verse should be read:

I deemed Thee to be the Beneficent ['from whom blessings flow'], O Mazda, when Thy inspiration came to me through Vohû-Manô; when I was first taught, through your prayers [the prayer Ahuna Vairyâ, the first and greatest of all, the words of which were dictated by Ahura], that by the promulgation of the Ahurian doctrine, through me, among the Aryans, the infidel power would be crushed ['destroy the enemies' Haug.] I will follow that course which I was thus instructed would insure success.

12. Since Thou hast commanded me, 'come especially to the pure,' so command me not that which will not be heard, so that I lift myself up before for me has arrived obedience united with great blessing, which will turn your pure gifts to profit for the warriors.

(H.) ∴ And when Thou camest to instruct me, and toldest me the true things; then Thou gavest me Thy command not to appear (before large assemblies as a prophet), without having received a (special) revelation, before the angel Ćraōsha endowed with the sublime truth, which may impart the good things to the two friction woods, for the benefit (of all beings) have come to me.

In parenthesis, also, after the words "friction woods" ("by means of which the holiest fire, the Source of all good, in the Creation, is produced").

I do not know what the Zend word is here, which is translated "warriors" and "friction woods," i. e., the two pieces of wood by which in the Vedic worship fire was always produced. The Sanskrit word for these pieces of wood is *arani*, and *ârya* means "warrior." The similarity is probably as great in the Zend, and the word may be different in different manuscripts.

The same disagreements as to modes and tenses of verbs are found here, as in other verses. It is so general, indeed, as to need no further notice. I read the verse thus:

Since Thou hast commanded me to teach especially those of the true faith, so do Thou not command me to preach that which will not be heeded, whereby I may rise in arms (against the infidels) before Çraôsha conjoined with great success shall have come to me, who will make your words and observances of devotion be victory for the Aryan armies.

13. As the Holy One thought I Thee, Mazda, when it came to me through Vohû-Manô (that) I should teach the right guidance of the will. Give me the (reward) of a long life, as no one obtains from you, among the desirable of creation, who are named in Thy Kingdom.

(H.) ∴ Then I believed in Thee, Thou Holy One, the Living Wise! Therefore He came to me with the good mind. Let me obtain the things which I wished for; grant me the gift of a long life; none of you may detain it for me, for the benefit of the good creation subject to Thy dominion.

This means, I think:

I deemed Thee to be the Beneficent, Mazda, when Thy inspiration came to me through Vohû-Manô, that I should teach the people to submit to right government. Give me the gift of long life, as no one obtains it from you, to be bestowed upon the most esteemed among the Aryans, whose names are often spoken of in the land which is Thy kingdom.

I am not at all sure that I understand the phrase translated "as no one obtains from you." Haug has it "none of you may detain it from me." The original is very probably corrupted.

14. The wished-for, what a wise man gives to his friend, for me, O Mazda, Thy perfect rejoicing. What Thou, O Khshathra, hast commanded from purity will I encourage the heads of the doctrine, together with all those who recite by Mañthras.

(H.) ∴ Therefore the powerful proprietor of all goods (Çraôsha), communicated to me, his friend, knowledge of Thy helps (Thy powers); for, endowed with all the gifts granted by thee, as to the various kinds of speech, like all other men, who recite Thy prayers, I was resolved upon making my appearance *in public as a prophet.*

"Thy perfect rejoicing" probably means that great joyfulness and content which peace and prosperity cause. I do not think that Zarathustra asked long life and this rejoicing, for himself alone. The purpose of these

hymns was to incite the people to engage in a hazardous enterprise; and whatever rewards are asked for or promised are for them, and as incentives. Perhaps the latter portion of the preceding verse, and the first two lines of this, form but one sentence, and mean,

Grant, in answer to my prayer, the request for a longer life than any one has yet obtained from you, among the deserving of the Aryans, who are under Thy rule [or distinguished in the Aryan land]; for me, what a wise man gives his friend, Thy perfect content.

I read .the residue of the verse:

What Thou, O Khshathra, hast commanded, I will, by the efficacy of the true faith, encourage the religious teachers and all the worshippers who recite Thy Mantras to do.

The “Heads of the doctrine,” I imagine, were the highest among the priests, and “those who recite the Mañthras” the body of the priesthood.

15. As the Holy One thought of Thee, Ahura, when it came to me through Vohû-Manô, and gave tokens for the understanding; swift thought is the best, a perfect man shall not seek to make a bad one contented, then became all the bad to Thee as Holy.

(H.) ∴ Thus I believed in Thee, Thou Holy One, Thou Living Wise! There He came to me with the good mind. May the greatest happiness brightly blaze out of these flames! May the worshippers of the liar (bad spirit) diminish! May all these (that are here present) address them to the priests of the Holy Fire.

One or the other translator is all at sea here. Except the two lines repeated from former verses, the translations contain wholly different ideas. Each, literally read, is chiefly nonsense; and that of Haug would make the Gâthâs poor stuff to have been preserved so many ages, and which had better be at once burned as worthless. In that of Spiegel there may be a meaning concealed. Perhaps it is this:

When Thy inspiration came to me through Vohû-Manô, and imparted these expressions of Thy thoughts, comprehensible to the human understanding. Prompt determination is best [as the opposite of indecision and hesitation in resolving what course to adopt]; an Aryan of the true faith should not endeavour by submission to conciliate the oppressors; for thus all the infidels would become as acceptable to Thee as those devoted to the true religion.

16. I, Zarathustra, O Ahura, rejoice myself with the Heavenly, I am of all the Holiest. May the corporeal be holy, the vital powers mighty, may the Sun be beholding in the Kingdom of Armaiti, may they give blessings for works through Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ Thus prays, Living Wise, Zarathustra and every holy (pure) man for all that choose (as their guide) the Holiest Spirit. Essence and truth (the foundations of the good creation), may become predominant in the world! In every being which beholds the Sun’s light, Ârmaiti (the Genius of Piety) may preside! She who causes by her actions through the good mind, all growth.

Here Haug has “she who causes” (which I think is right), for Spiegel’s “may they give;” and “all growth” for “blessings,” the meaning probably being fruits and benefits. In fact, Spiegel, mistaking the character of Ârmaiti altogether, adapts his translation, here as elsewhere, to the mistaken idea; as Haug everywhere does his, to his theory that the Gâthâs were wholly religious and philosophical instruction, though there is neither philosophy nor instruction in them, nor common sense, as he translates them.

Amid the confusion of modes and tenses, persons, numbers and cases, it is impossible to know the sense of the verse; and the discrepancy as to the meaning of particular words is quite as great. I offer the following as a mere conjecture:

. . . I, Zarathustra, O Ahura, rejoice in the protection of the divine emanations and place my reliance on the Divine Wisdom. May the Aryan people become obedient to the true faith, and the vital powers of the race be thereby strong. May the Sun shine beneficently in the realm of Ârmaiti, and abundant blessings crown the labours of the husbandman for acts of worship inspired by Vohû-Manô.

GÂTHÂ II.

HÂ II, YAÇNA, XLIII.

1. That ask I Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura, unto the praise of your praise, mayest Thou, O Mazda, teach me, the friend. Through purity, may friendly helpers be our portion, until he shall come to us through Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ That I will ask Thee, tell it to me right, Thou Living God! whether your friend (Çraošha) be willing to recite his own hymn as prayer to my friend (Frashaostra or Vistâspa), Thou Wise! and whether he should come to us with the good mind to perform for us true actions of friendship.

The meaning is, according to Haug:

The Prophet wants to ascertain from Ahura Mazda, whether or not the genius Serosh would make communications to his (the prophet's) friend.

"Unto the praise of your praise" cannot be a translation of the original, unless that is itself nonsense, and in the request to be taught "unto" it, I see no meaning. The version of Dr. Haug is silly, hardly respectable twaddle. "Whether your friend is willing to recite his hymn!" The two versions agree in nothing, neither in the meaning of single words, nor in the grammatical construction, nor in the modes, tenses or persons of the verbs.

And who is "he" who is to come through Vohû-Manô? Spiegel's "friendly helpers" are, for Haug, "true actions of friendship."

I can only guess the meaning to be:

I ask Thee, this: Give unto me true answer, Ahura, be Thou pleased, O Mazda, to teach me, your votary, the hymns that belong to your worship. Through the true faith, may we obtain allies, until he shall come to us through Vohû-Manô. [By 'he,' Dr. Haug understands Çraošha.]

2. That will I ask Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura! How is the beginning of the best place (Paradise), how is it to profit (him) who desires after both (the Avesta and Zend, according to Spiegel). For Thou art, through purity, the holy over the wicked, the ruler over all, the Heavenly, the friend for both worlds, Mazda.

(H.) ∴ That I will ask Thee, tell it right, Thou Living God! How arose the best present life (this world)? By what means are the present things (this world) to be supported? That Spirit, the Holy (Vohû-Manô), O True Wise Spirit, is the guardian of the beings, to ward off from them every ill; he is the promoter of all life.

I read this, after the first line:

How is the fertile alluvial country to become Aryan? How are those to possess and enjoy it, who are struggling to maintain possession of both countries? For it is Thou who art, by means of Thy true religion, supreme over the infidels,

the Sovereign over all, the Heavenly, the Protector of both Aryan countries, Mazda.

But the first question *may* be, "How did the Aryans first obtain possession of Airyanem Vaêjô?"

3. That ask I Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura! Who was the father of the pure creatures at the beginning? Who has created the way of the sun, of the stars? Who (other than) Thou (causest) that the moon waxes and wanes? That, Mazda, and other (things), I desire to know.

(H.) ∴ That I will ask Thee, tell me it right, Thou Living God! Who was, in the beginning, the father and creator of truth? Who made the sun and stars the way? Who causes the moon to increase and wane, if not Thou? This, I wish to know, except what I already know.

Dr. Haug (p. 137), gives us the original and a literal rendering of this verse, as follows:

<i>Tat</i>	<i>thivâ</i>	<i>pereçâ</i>	<i>eres</i>	<i>môi</i>	<i>vaochâ,</i>
That	Thee	I will ask	right	me	tell,
<i>Ahurâ!</i>	<i>Kaçna</i>	<i>zâthâ</i>	<i>ptâ</i>	<i>ashahyâ</i>	<i>paouruyô</i>
Ahura!	What man	Creator	father	of purity	first.
<i>Kaçna</i>	<i>gêng</i>	<i>çtaremchâ</i>	<i>dât</i>	<i>advânem?</i>	<i>Ke</i>
What man	sun	and stars	made	path?	Who
<i>yâ</i>	<i>mâo</i>	<i>ukhslyêitti</i>	<i>nerefcaiti</i>	<i>thwat?</i>	
that	the moon	increases	wanes	besides Thee?	
<i>Tâchît</i>	<i>Mazdâ</i>	<i>raçemî</i>	<i>anyâchâ</i>	<i>viduye.</i>	
Such things	Mazda	I wish	and other	to know.	

Here, Haug translates *ashahyâ*, "purity," but at page 150, "truth," and "such things I wish, and other, to know" (with which Spiegel's translation agrees), becomes at page 150, "this I wish to know, except what I already know;" which has a very different and not an improved meaning.

Ashahyâ, in the second line is, according to Haug, the genitive singular, in the Gâthâs; *ahya* being the termination of masculine and neuter nouns, ending in *a*, in that case and number, as *asya* is in the Sanskrit. I do not see how it can be made to mean "pure creatures," as it is by Spiegel. That line, it seems, must be read, "Who, at the beginning, was the Creator-Father of the true religion?"

4. That will I ask Thee, tell me the right, O Ahura! Who upholds the earth and the unsupported [the luminaries], so that they fall not; who the waters and trees; who has united swiftness with [given motion to] the winds and the clouds? Who, O Mazda, is the creator of Vohû-Manô?

(H.) ∴ Who is holding the earth, and the skies above it? Who made the waters and the trees of the field? Who is in the winds and the storms that they so quickly run? Who is the creator of the good-minded beings, Thou Wise?

5. That, Who, working good, has made light as well as darkness? Who, working good, sleep and waking? Who, the morning-dawns, the noons, the nights? Who (him) who considers the measures of the law?

(H.) Who made the lights of good effect, and the darkness? Who made the sleep of good effect, and the activity? Who made morning, noon and night, reminding always the priest of his duties?

Spiegel's translation of the last line cannot be correct. After asking who made light and darkness, and morning, noon and night, the question who made the priests would hardly be asked, in the same breath. The "Measures of the Law" are either the metrical hymns of the Mazdayaçnian religion, or the times and hours for the feasts and sacrifices. The last two lines may mean:

Who has made the mornings, noons and nights, for him who observes the fixed times of religion?

6. That will I, These sayings—are they also clear? Does Ârmaiti increase purity through deeds? Does the kingdom belong to Thine on account of their good-mindedness? For whom hast Thou made the going cow, as a gracious gift?

(H.) What verses I shall recite, if the following ones have been recited. [Here, says Haug, are quoted the beginning words of three certainly ancient prayers, which are no longer known]. Piety doubles the truth by her actions. He collects wealth with the good mind: Whom hast Thou made for the imperishable cow, *Rânyôskereti*?

This, Haug says, "is a mythological name of the earth, to be found in the Gâthâs only." It means, "producing the two friction woods."

Certainly, we find *kere*, "to make;" *kerepam*, "the body;" and *kerent*, "to operate, surgically;" and *arani* means the pieces of wood to produce fire. *Kri*, in Sanskrit, is "to make," and *kriti*, "making, action." Spiegel translates this compound word, "a gracious gift;" and *azi* is translated by him, "going, walking," and by Haug, "imperishable." I cannot understand how the "imperishable cow" is a mythological name of the earth, meaning, "producing the friction woods." *Râ*, I find, means, "to give;" as it does in Sanskrit; and *ra*, "to go, move," in Sanskrit, as *rakh* and *rangh* do.

Following Spiegel, I take the meaning of the verse to be:

Is there any doubt as to the answers to these questions? 'Does Ârmaiti, by the labours of the agriculturist, extend and amplify the true religion?' 'Do superiority and rule belong to Thy children [the Aryans], on account of their loyalty?' 'For whom didst Thou create the cattle, a bountiful gift?'

7. That, Who has created the desired wisdom, together with the kingdom? Who created through His purity, the love of father to son? For these, I turn myself most to Thee, Heavenly, Holy, Creator of all things!

(H.) Who has prepared the Bactrian (*bérékhda*) home, with its properties? Who fashioned, moving up and down, like a weaver, the excellent

Son out of the Father?* To become acquainted with these things, I approach Thee, Wise, Holy Spirit, Creator of all things.

Bérékheda has ascribed to it, the sense of "high," "elevated." *Bahr* or *varh*, in Sanskrit, means "to be pre-eminent." In the First Fargard, the name of Bactria is *Bakhdi*. So that I see no reason for imputing to *Bérékhdi*, the meaning of "Bactrian." Nor can I understand how the same word should be taken by Spiegel to mean "wisdom" and by Haug "home."

I conjecture the meaning of the verse to be:

Who created the Pre-eminent Wisdom (*Vohû-Manô*), united with Dominion (*Khshathra-Vairyâ*)? Who, by means of His true religion, created (between Himself and the believer) the love of Father to Son? To know these things, I address myself to Thee, above all, Divine, Beneficent, Creator of all things.

8. That will I, Thy five-fold precept, O Mazda, the prayers according to which Thou art asked through *Vohû-Manô*, the purity which is to be known perfectly in the world—how can my soul rejoice itself with these good things (and) obtain them?

(H.) ∴ What soul (what guardian angel) may tell me good things, to perform five times (a day) the duties which are enjoined by Thyself, Thou Wise! And to recite those prayers which are communicated for the welfare of all beings by the good mind? What good, intended for the increase of life is to be had, that may come to me?

Spiegel says, of "the five-fold precept," "the meaning of this allusion is not known." Haug says, "the so-called five Gâhs: *Hâvânîm* from 6 to 10, a. m.; *Rapithwan*, 10 a. m. to 3 p. m.; *Uzayêrîna* from 3 p. m. to 6 (sunset); *Aiwîgrûthema* from 6 to 12 p. m.; *Ushahina* from 12 to 6 a. m."

Perhaps, to be read:

Thy five-fold precept, O Mazda; the prayers, in the words whereof, inspired by *Vohû-Manô*, Thou art petitioned; the true faith which is to be known by all in the Aryan land—how can my soul, obtaining these excellent favours, rejoice itself with them?

"Through *Vohû-Manô*" may mean, however, that the Divine Wisdom or Word, being, as Philo says, the mediator between God and man, who intercedes for the latter, the prayers, addressed to Him, are transmitted or conveyed to the Very Deity, Ahura Mazda.

9. That, How shall I maintain for myself pure, the pure law which the Lord of the Wise Realm teaches? Truthful kingdoms (possessest

*This refers to the production of fire by means of two wooden sticks, which was in ancient times the most sacred way of bringing into existence, the Fire, commonly called Ahura Mazda's Son. (Haug). I have not found that this, the mode of producing the sacrificial fire among the Indo-Aryans, was also used among the Irano-Aryans. It is said that they kept their fire always burning.

Thou); swiftness, O Mazda, Thou who rejoicest the dwelling with Asha and Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ How shall I bless that creed which Thy friend (Serosh), who protests it with a true and good mind, in the Assembly of the Heavenly Spirits, ought to promulgate to the Mighty King?

Which means, I think:

How shall I maintain uncorrupted, for myself [to effect my purposes], the true religious doctrine, which the Lord of the Domain of Wisdom (Vohû-Manô) teaches; loyal dominions and zealous service, O Mazda, Thou, who by Asha and Vohû-Manô, makest homes happy?

10. That will I, About the law which is the best for beings, which furthers me continually, the worlds in purity, makes right with the words and deeds of perfect wisdom—for my wisdom, I desire Thy gifts of fortune, O Mazda.

(H.) ∴ In the faith which, being the best of all, may protect my possession, and may really produce the good things, by means of the words and actions of the angel of the earth. My heart wishes that I may know Thee, Thou Wise!

I take it, from Haug's translation of this verse and the next, that what Spiegel here calls "Perfect Wisdom" is, in the original, Çpënta Ârmaiti. And, according to Spiegel, I think the verse means:

In regard to the doctrine which is of the most benefit to men, which continually ameliorates the condition, by the true faith, of the Aryan countries, causing them to prosper with the words and harvests of Ârmaiti. That I may have this as mine, I beseech Thee for Thy beneficence that gives good fortune.

11. That, How does a share in wisdom come to those to whom, O Mazda, Thy law is announced? I desire to know Thee first of them, all the others I will watch from hate of the (evil) spirit.

(H.) ∴ How the angel of earth may visit those men to whom the belief in Thee is preached? By these there I am acknowledged as a prophet; but all dissenters are regarded as my enemies.

I read this verse:

How may a part of the favours of Ârmaiti be bestowed on those to whom, O Mazda, the doctrine of Thy religion is imparted? I desire Thee to be known first of all, by them. All the others I will watch on account of their enmity.

12. That, Who is pure among those for whom I ask, who wicked? To whom (cleaves) the evil, is he himself the evil? Who to me as a wicked man opposed Thy profit as a foe, wherefore is he not the evil whom one takes as such?

(H.) ∴ Who is the religious man and who the impious, after whom I wish to inquire? With whom of both is the black, and with whom the bright one? Is it not right to consider the impious man who attacks me or Thee to be a black one?

There is at least a general resemblance between these translations of this verse. I think we may read:

Who among the Aryans for whom I pray, is an adherent of the True Faith, and who is irreligious? Is he who consorts with the unbeliever himself an infidel? Why is he not an unbeliever and to be regarded as such, who as an infidel might do, uses against me, being thereby my enemy, the wealth that comes from Thee?

13. That, . . . How shall we drive away the Drujas from here, away to those who are the champions of disobedience? Who do not unite themselves to the pure when they mark him, do not desire after that for which the pure spirit asks.

(H.) ∴ How shall we drive away the destruction (destroyer) from this place to those who, full of disobedience do not respect the Truth in keeping it, nor care about the thriving of the good mind?

∴ How shall we expel the Drukhs from our country, driving them away to where those abide who are the ringleaders of disobedience to Thy law (the Daevas); and those who do not ally themselves with the apostle of the True Faith when they recognize him, do not care for that which the soul of the believer prays for?

These latter, I think, are the native tribes, and perhaps the perfidious Aryans. Of the Drukhs I have already spoken. Haug translates the word "destruction;" but in Sanskrit *dru* means "to run, to attack, to hurt;" and *druh*, "to hurt, an injurer;" and the same *drukh*, therefore, meant "marauding riders."

14. That will I, . . . How shall I, through Purity, get the Drukhs into my power, in order to slay them with the Mañthras of Thy precept, bring forth a mighty overthrow among the wicked, to the deceivers and godless, that they may not come again?

(H.) ∴ . . . How shall I deliver the Destroyer to the hands of Truth to be annihilated by means of the hymns for Thy praise? If Thou, Wise, communicatest to me an efficacious spell to be applied against the impious man, then I will destroy every difficulty and every misfortune.

∴ How shall I, by means of Thy Holy Faith, overcome the Drukhs, thereby to slay them by means of the hymns which Thou hast dictated, and win a great victory over the infidels, and over the apostates and atheists, that they may never again invade the land?

"Purity" means the True Faith, and the adherence to it and the practice of its duties and observances. Perhaps it is best translated by "Piety," in the present sense of that word.

15. That will I, . . . Whether Thou rulest openly in that time with purity, when both the imperishable hosts came together * according to those laws which Thou, O Mazda, teachest, where and to which of both givest Thou the victory?

*The tradition refers this to the time of the Resurrection, when the hosts of Ahura Mazda and those of Añra Mainyus will encounter each other, and the former prove victorious. (*Spiegel.*)

(H.) ∴ When or to whom of the lords givest Thou as proprietor this fat flock (of sheep), two armies being gathered for a combat in silence, by means of those sayings which Thou, Wise, art desirous of pronouncing?

“In silence” is the meaning imputed by Haug to the Zend word, whatever it is, which Spiegel considers to mean “imperishable.” Remembering that in verse 6 of this section, Haug translates *azi* “imperishable,” and Spiegel “going, moving, walking,” we may be permitted to doubt whether here the original word means “imperishable,” whatever it may be. Omitting this epithet, the plain sense seems to be:

∴ That will I ask Thee whether Thou wilt, by the potency of piety distinctly determine the issue, giving effect unto that true doctrine which it is Thyself, O Mazda, that teachest, when the Aryan and infidel armies engage in battle? To which cause and to which army of the two wilt Thou give the victory?

16. That will I, Who is the victoriously smiting, through (Thy) powerful word who are? Make manifest to me a wise law for the creatures in both worlds. May obedience come, through the good spirit, to that one whomsoever Thou wilt, O Mazda.

(H.) ∴ Who killed the hostile demons of different shapes, to enable me to become acquainted with the rules established for the course of the two lives (physical and spiritual)? So may the angel Serosh, assisted by the good mind, shine for every one towards whom Thou art propitious.

∴ Who is it that is to be victorious, smiting and slaying the foe? Who are to be so through Thy powerful Word? Show unto me a wise Ruler for the Aryan people in both their countries, and let Čraošha come, through Vohū-Manô, unto him whom it may please Thee to select.

17. That will I, When shall I attain to the dispensation which proceeds from you, for your completion, which is the wish of my words. That Haurvaṭ and Ameretâṭ may be rulers, according to this Mañthra, which is the gate which proceeds from purity.

(H.) ∴ How may I come to your (of God and the angels) dwelling-place to hear you sing? Aloud I express my wish to obtain the help of the angel of Integrity, and that of Immortality, by means of that song which is a treasure of truth.

∴ When shall I be endowed with power, emanating from you, for the accomplishment of your will, for which I petition by my prayers; that Haurvaṭ and Ameretâṭ may be sovereigns in the land, by the efficacy of this Mañthra which is the utterance of piety?

18. That will I, How shall I, through purity, make myself worthy of reward? Ten male horses and one camel, which Haurvaṭ and Ameretâṭ have promised me, that I may offer both to Thee.

(H.) ∴ How shall I, Thou True, spend this gift, ten pregnant mares and even more, to obtain in future the two powers of integrity (wholesomeness) and immortality, in the same way as Thou hast granted them to these men (to others known to the prophets)?

∴ How shall I, by what services of religion, make myself worthy of Thy favour? Shall it be by sacrificing to Thee ten male horses and a camel, which Haurvaṭ and Ameretâṭ have promised me?

19. That will I, He who withholds this reward from the worthy, if one gives nothing to him, the truth-speaking, what is the punishment therefore at first? I know that which will follow at last.

(H.) ∴ How is the first intellect of that man who does not return *what he has received* to the offerer of this gift, of him who does not grant anything to the speaker of truth; for the last intellect of this man (his doing) is already known to me.

Dr. Haug supplements this utter nonsense by this note:

The first and second intellects are notions of the Zoroastrian philosophy; see the fourth essay. The first intellect is that which is innate to the soul which came from Heaven, the second is that one which man himself acquired by experience.

The verse, as translated by him, only becomes more hopelessly meaningless, when darkened by this commentary.

∴ What is the present punishment for him who prevents him who deserves it from achieving this success, by giving no aid to him, the promulgator of the true faith? What the future punishment will be, I know.

20. Have the Daevas ever been good rulers? Of that I ask, who will war against these through whom the Karapas and Uçikhschas give the cow to Aeshma; the Kavas so greatly increased themselves. Fodder is not to be given to them through Asha as a reward.

(H.) ∴ What are, Thou good Mazda, the Devas? Thus I might ask Thee for those who attack the good existence (the good beings) by whose means the Priest and Prophet of the idols expose the earth (the cultivated countries) to destruction; and, *I wish to know besides*, what the false prophet has gained by doing so. Do not, O True God, grant him a field to fence it in (to make it his own property).

I think that the reader, if he has read what precedes, will agree with me, that it would be useless to endeavour to extract any coherent sense out of Dr. Haug's translation; and that although Mr. Bleek, expressing the hope "that Professor Spiegel's commentary will render the Gâthâs at least tolerably intelligible;" adds, "which is more than can be said of them at present," still it is possible, seeing *through* his translation, to ascribe to these old hymns a rational purpose and an object, and a connected sense. If Dr. Haug's version is at all correct, they are not worth a thousandth part of the labour already bestowed on them. That the translation of Spiegel, notwithstanding Haug's sweeping denunciation of it, and the account the latter gives of his own superior qualifications for the task, is in great measure, in the main, indeed, literally correct, I am the more convinced because, although the general meaning of the different works, and especially of the Gâthâs, is widely different to him and myself, it sustains, I think, my interpretation, without being at all made with reference

to it; and in fact being supposed by Spiegel to have another construction altogether, in its leading features.

I read the last verse:

Have the Dævas ever been beneficent rulers? Therefore I ask, who will unite with me in warring against these, by whom the Karapas and Uçikhschas are enabled to rob us of our cattle, and the Kavas have been so greatly enriched with booty? Asha will not permit our crops to be given to them in the way of tribute; [i. e., if we united against them, Asha, the Divine Power of Truth, displaying itself as our valour and strength, will prevent them from seizing our grain as tribute.]

Spiegel considers the Karapas, Uçikhschas and Kavas as different kinds of evil spirits. What use evil spirits would have for "fodder" he seems not to have considered. They are, undoubtedly, native Turanian tribes, enabled to plunder the country by an alliance with the Drukhs or Toorkhs, who had invaded it, and held a large part of it.

In regard to this latter name, I add here, that *t* and *d* are both dentals, as *th* is, and therefore are commonly interchanged. The Sanskrit *duhitṛi* becomes the Greek θυγατῆρ; *dwar*; θυρα (Greek); the Zend, *dva*, the Gothic *tvai*; and *dasa* and *dashina*, Zend, the Gothic *taihun* and *taishvō*. The Sanskrit *dhi* becomes the Greek θι; *madhu*, μέθυ, and *dadhāmi*, τίθημι. The change of *drukh* into *Toorkh* is therefore simple enough.

GÂTHÂ II.

HÂ III, YAÇNA XLIV.

Having thus enlarged upon the supremacy, wisdom and beneficence of Ahura Mazda, the relations of the Aryans to Him as His creatures, the potency of the Amêsha-Çpêntas and their power to benefit men, the efficacy of worship, devotion, piety and prayer; and the certainty that to Ahura alone, and to His emanations could the Aryans look for victory, prosperity and plenty; all which he has endeavoured to impress on the popular mind, in the shape of questions addressed to Mazda, Zarathustra now directly addresses and exhorts the people, for the same great purpose of organizing a powerful and continued movement against the Drukhs and the allied tribes, as follows:

1. Now will I say to you; now give ear unto me, now hear, ye who are near, ye who are afar, that which is desired. It is now manifest, the Wise have created all. Evil doctrine shall not for the second time destroy the world, evil choice has the bad lighted on with the tongue.

(H.) ∴ All ye, who have come from nigh and far, listen now and hearken (to my speech). Now I will tell you all about that pair of spirits, how it is known to the wise. Neither the ill-speaker (the Devil) shall destroy the second (spiritual) life, nor that man, who being a liar with his tongue, professes the false (idolatrous) belief.

∴ Now I will speak to you; now give ear unto me; now hear, ye who are near and ye who are afar off, that which now necessity demands. It has now been plainly made known to you that the Amêsha-Çpêntas are the authors of all that is good. Irreligious doctrine will now again bring calamity upon the Aryan land; the Spirit [Akô-Manô or Añra Mainyus himself], whose utterances are those of irreligion, has chosen that part that shall bring upon him disaster.

2. Now will I announce: the two Heavenly Ones at the beginning of the world—of these two thus spake the Holy One to the Evil; not do our souls, not do our doctrines, not our understanding, not our wishes, not our sayings, not our works, not the laws, not the souls, unite themselves.

(H.) ∴ I will tell you of the two primeval Spirits of Life, one of whom, the White one, told to the Black; 'Do not follow me, the thoughts, the words, the intellects, the lores, the sayings, the actions, the meditations, the souls.'

In a note, Haug says:

'All things are now following me, I am the only real Master and Lord, Thy empire is nothing but illusion.'

I do not see how this can be got at, even by his own translation.

∴ Now will I make this known; the two Divine Ones, at the beginning of things (were); of these two, the good or Bright One said to the evil or Dark One (Çpênta Mainyus to Añra Mainyus); neither our thoughts, nor our teachings,

nor our understanding, our purposes, our words nor our works, nor our laws, nor our attributes are in unison.

3. Now will I say to you what as the first in the world, the wise Ahura Mazda has said to me; 'He among us who will not act according to this Maithra, namely, according to the spirit as well as the word, to him will the end of the world turn to downfall.'

(H.) ∴ I will tell you the first thought of this life, which the Living Wise communicated to me, to those among you who do not live according to the sayings (of God and His Angels), as I think and pronounce them; to these men the end of life may be a help.

∴ Dr. Haug explains the "end of life" as "experience;" and says: "Its meaning is that experience will convince them of the truths of the prophet's words."

Now will I tell you what to me, first of all in the Aryan land, Ahura Mazda has said: 'Whosoever among your people will not obey the commands of this Maithra according to its meaning as well as to its letter, upon him what is finally to happen in the land shall bring calamity.'

4. Now will I announce to you who is the best in this world (proceeding) from Holiness, Mazda knows (him), who created him, the Father of the good effective spirit. His daughter is Ārmaiti, the well-doing. Not to be deceived is Ahura, the all-knowing.

(H.) ∴ Thus I will tell you which is the best substance of this life. The Wise, who created it, possesses it by means of truth. (*I will speak of him*) the Father of the good active sense (mind), whose daughter Ārmaiti is endowed with good actions. Not is the Being who creates all, to be deceived.

In subsequent verses of this hymn Ahura is called "Holiest." In the third Gâthâ "the Holiest Spirit" is Vohû-Manô, and Zarathustra teaches "Holiness." In this verse Haug gives us "Truth" as the meaning of the same word. The verse is difficult to understand, although the version of Dr. Haug is of some assistance. With many doubts, I conjecture its meaning to be:

∴ Now will I promulgate among you that which in this land is most potent for good, the issue (or utterance) of the Divine Truth. Mazda, from whom it came forth, the Father of the Excellent Efficient Spirit (Vohû-Manô, among whose 'works' are the Maithras and prayers), is its essence. His daughter is Ārmaiti, the beneficent; Ahura, the All-knowing, is not to be deceived.

5. Now will I say to you what the Holiest has in words imparted to me—a prayer, which the people shall recite, the most beneficial to men [to the Aryans]. He who therefore renders me obedience, and teaches it farther, to him come Haurvat and Ameretât, through the deeds of the Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda.

(H.) ∴ I will tell what the Holiest delivered to me, the word, the best to be heard by men, to all who pay me attention, and have come here for this purpose. Wholesomeness and immortality are by means of the good mind's actions, in the possession of the Living Wise.

∴ Now will I say to you what the Most Beneficent One has in words imparted to me, a prayer which the people shall recite, the most potential for benefit

to men [to the Aryans]. Whosoever, therefore, shall pay obedience to me and win for me that of others, to him will Haurvat and Ameretât come, by the action of Vohû-Manô, Ahura Mazda.

6. Now will I say to you the greatest things of all; praise with purity (of him), the wise there (of those) who are. May Holiest, Heavenly Ahura Mazda hear it, may He to whom praise is asked by good mind, may He, through His understanding teach me the best.

(H.) ∴ Thus I will tell you of the greatest of all (Çraošha), who is praising the Truth and doing good, and of all who are gathered round him (to assist him), by order of the Holy Spirit (Ahura Mazda), the Living Wise may hear me; by means of his goodness the good mind increases (in the world). He may lead me with the best of His wisdom.

∴ Now I will declare to you what is the most mighty of all things; praise (adoration), with sincere piety, of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, who are present (at all worship). May the most beneficent, divine Ahura Mazda hear it, He to whom adoration is due by all who are devoutly loyal. May He, through His divine wisdom, teach me that which is the best.

7. He for whose profit desire all the offerers, who were ever living, or are so still. Immortality is the wish of the soul of the pure; strength, which is a weapon against the wicked; the kingdom, whose creator is Ahura Mazda.

(H.) ∴ By means of His power and His rule, the generations gone by subsisted, and also those to come will subsist on him. The sincere man's mind is aspiring to the everlasting immortality, the destroyer of the wicked; she is in the possession of the Living Wise, the Lord of the creatures.

∴ He for the benefits in whose gift all the worshippers offering sacrifices, that ever live have prayed, and those now living do pray. The earnest entreaty of the soul of pious believers is for security of life, for the divine strength, which is a weapon against the infidels; for that superiority and rule which are the creation of Ahura Mazda.

8. Him will we serve with praiseworthy prayers; for now it is evident to the eyes, he who in works and words of the Good Spirit knows purity, he (knows) Ahura Mazda. His praise also will we lay down in Garô-Nemâna.

(H.) ∴ Him whom I desire to worship and celebrate with my hymns, I beheld just now with my eyes, Him who knows the truth, Him, the Living Wise, as the source of the good mind, the good action, and the good word. So let us put down our gifts of praise in the dwelling-house of the (*heavenly*) singers* (angels).

∴ Him, Ahura, we will worship with prayers that entitle to blessings; for now, it is evident by what the eyes behold, that he who by the observances and words that are the utterances of Vohû-Manô knows the true religion, he hath cognition of Ahura Mazda Himself [because He manifests Himself, through Vohû-Manô, the Divine Wisdom, in the symbolism of ceremonial observances and the thoughts expressed in the hymns that are His out-speaking]. His place of worship, also, we will build on the Mountain of Adoration.

*It is thus, that Haug translates Garô-Nemâna, which the commentators term the abode of Ahura Mazda. I find in Benfey *giri* (for original *gara*; cf. Slav. *gora*, *gos*, probably from *gur* for *gar*), 'a mountain'; and *nam*, 'to bow to,' *namas*, 'bowing, adoration.' The suffix *ana* forms abstract substantives, as, in Sanskrit, *gamana*, 'the going,' and appellatives like *mayana* (root *ni*), 'the eye,' as 'guiding,' *vadana*, 'mouth,' 'as speaking,' etc., and in Zend, *zavana*, 'living.' (Bopp, *iii.*, §§932, 852, 876, 877.) I think, therefore, that *Garô-Nemâna* is 'The Mountain of Adoration,' or 'of Worship.'

9. Him we will content with good-mindedness, who made the rejoicing and the joyful serviceable to us, our cattle, our men, so that they may increase through the purity of Vohû-Manô, unto the good birth.

(H.) ∴ Him will I adore with our good mind, Him who is always propitious to us at day and night; He, the Living Wise, who by His own labour is making the properties (to the religious men), may advance the thriving of our cattle and our men, and through the sublimity of the good mind, protect the truth.

∴ By loyal devotion, we will win the favour of Him who made prosperity and adversity serviceable to us. May Mazda Ahura make our possessions serviceable to us, our cattle, our people, so that, through the true faith, which is from Vohû-Manô, they make increase with abundant progeny.

10. To Him desire I to draw near, with the offering of Ârmaiti, who is called with name as the Wise Lord. He who announces Him with purity and good-mindedness, to him will Haurvat and Amérêtât in the kingdom, continually give power and strength.

(H.) ∴ Him will I adore with the prayers of our devotion, who is known alone to be the Living Wise; because He is acknowledged as intelligent, and endowed with the true good mind. In His empire, there are wholesomeness and immortality. He grants this world these two everlasting powers.

∴ With Him, I desire to commune, by means of offerings of the fruits of the earth; to Him who is called by us, Ahura Mazda. Unto the man who with sincere faith and loyal singleness of heart proclaims Him the true God, Haurvat and Amérêtât will give continually increasing might and strength in the Aryan kingdom.

11. May there come to Daevas, then to men, scorn if they scorn Him, the contrary, if they highly esteem Him; to the serviceable Wise, is, through the Holy Spirit, friend, brother, father, Ahura-Mazda.

(H.) ∴ He who thinks the idols, and, besides, all those men who think of mischief only, to be base, and distinguishes such people from those who think of the right; his friend, brother or father is Ahura Mazda, Himself. Thus, is the saying of the Supreme Fire Priest.

∴ May contumely be the lot of the Daevas, and through them men, if they scoff at Him, but the contrary future to men who revere Him! Ahura Mazda is the friend, the brother, and the father of the wise who serve Him (or sacrifice to Him).

GÂTHÂ II.

HÂ IV, YAÇNA XLV.

1. What land shall I praise, whither shall I go praying, after that I have imparted individuality and obedience? Those do not make me contented who act after their own pleasure, nor, again, the evil oppressors of the region. How shall I satisfy Thee, Mazda Ahura?

(H.) ∴ To what country shall I go? Where shall I take my refuge? What country is sheltering the Master (Zarathustra) and his companion? None of the servants pays reverence to me, nor do the wicked rulers of the country. How shall I worship Thee further, Living Wise?

∴ What land shall I command, whither shall I go to worship, when I have secured to the people self-government [or independence] and obedience? Those do not content me, who in inactivity, consult their own pleasure, nor do the unbelieving oppressors of the land. How shall I effect what Thou desirest, Mazda Ahura?

This is the only sensible interpretation I can find for the verse. "Imparting individuality and obedience" answers to "sheltering the Master and His companion," with Dr. Haug. Neither means anything and the two translations so disagree as to the meanings of particular words, the particles and the cases of the nouns, that the sense of the passage is mere matter of conjecture. It is most probable that the trouble is the word rendered "imparted;" and that this should be "parted with;" "entirely lost;" "abandoned the struggle for." For certainly Zarathustra was not debating the propriety of abandoning the Aryan country. We should probably read the first lines:

What land shall I command, whither shall I go to worship, when I have abandoned the struggle for independence and the free exercise of our worship?

I conceive that he intended to remind the people that there was no other land to which they could go, when their freedom, the great Aryan heritage, should be lost, and their worship forbidden.

2. I know that I, O Mazda, am without concupiscence: I have little wealth, few men: I complain to Thee, mayest Thou see it, O Ahura, affording joy which a friend gives to a friend; instruction, the pure goods of Vohû-Manô, O Pure.

(H.) ∴ I know that I am helpless. Look at me being amongst few men, for I have few men; I implore Thee, weeping, Thou Living God, who grantest happiness, as a friend gives to his friend. The good of the good mind is in Thy own possession, Thou True!

∴ I know, O Mazda, that I have no ambition (for power or greed for wealth), I have little wealth and a slender following. I make my plaint to Thee, mayest Thou give heed to it, Ahura, and give me that cause for gladness which a friend gives to a friend—counsel, the spiritual teachings of Vohû-Manô, O Source of Faith.

3. When, O Mazda, come the increasers of the days, who step forwards to the maintenance of the pure world, with performed precepts; the souls of the profitable, to whom comes profit through Vohû-Manô? For me, I desire Thy instruction, O Ahura.

[Haug says]: I omit the third verse, consisting of several sentences which seem not to be connected with each other.

∴ When, O Mazda, will those appear, through whom there will be length of days [longer lives] in the land? Those, who will march (against the Drukhs), to save from ruin the Aryan land, with full observance of Thy precepts, that are the life of that which is the cause of prosperity, and by which comes good fortune through Vohû-Manô? I pray Thee, O Ahura, for foreknowledge of this.

4. They who do purity, these the wicked hinder, the cows from going forward through the districts and regions. He, the Tyrant, worthy of death by his deeds, he who by resistance to him takes away the rule or the life, O Mazda, he obtained for the cows the granaries of wisdom.

This is one of many verses, which conclusively prove that the life-purpose of Zarathustra was to arouse the Aryan people to unite and combine, under his leadership, to expel the Drukhs from the Aryan country, and to reduce to their former state of submission and dependency, the native tribes allied with them.

It seems to me, that, wanting this key to the meaning of the Gâthâs, Dr. Haug *could* not correctly translate these old poems, more properly to be styled "songs" or "odes" than "hymns," in one sense of today of that word. Taking them to be entirely religious, and to have been composed and recited by Zarathustra to promulgate his new doctrine, as polemics against the old Aryan fire-worship, whose partisans persecuted him, and as a vindication of his claim to the character of an inspired prophet, Dr. Haug, of course, found them incoherent and incomprehensible, wherever they could not be made to fit that theory, as in the third verse of this hymn. To him, Zarathustra was wholly priest and prophet, inculcating devotion and virtue. He was, in fact, no prophet, as he did not pretend to be able to foretell future events; and he was soldier, general, and finally king, both of the mother-country and its colony.

Dr. Spiegel, also, failed to see, I venture to think, the real meaning of the Gâthâs and of much of the other writings of the Zend-Avesta. To him, also, Zarathustra was wholly a religious teacher. But he translated, as literally as he could, and as correctly as it was possible for him to do, holding this view of the poems. But he did translate literally, giving only the words that are among the derivative meanings of each, or the Parsee false meaning, which suited his view. He has not tried to pervert the text to make it fit his theory; and, therefore, we can generally see the real meaning through the erroneous one. There are, also, many errors, indeed, a general current of error in his translations, in consequence of his conviction that Zarathustra taught the immortality of the soul and a future existence.

The words "heavenly," "immortality," "world," "purity," "creatures," "creation," "wicked," and many others, are always non-equivalents of the original words. If we add to this, that neither Spiegel nor Haug knew the nature or meaning of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, and that the latter holds that Zarathustra's doctrine was pure monotheism, and insists that he did not teach the co-existence of the good and evil principles, we shall not wonder at the enigmatic character of a large part of each translation. I need not speak of grammatical uncertainties. The reader who compares the translations, will find them in every verse. Single words, also, often have radically different meanings to the two translators. If the Sanskrit is the best guide to the meaning of Zend words, it is very easy, also, to make etymological mistakes by referring Zend words to the wrong Sanskrit roots, not only because two or more of them, with totally different meanings, are often the same or nearly the same, but because of liability to err in regard to the transmutations of letters and to additions made to the roots in forming derivative words.

I read verse 4, in what seems to me to be its plain sense, thus:

∴ The unbelievers harass those who openly perform their religious duties, and prevent their driving their cattle to be pastured in the districts and distant regions of the Aryan land. Whosoever, O Mazda, by uniting in armed resistance against the Tyrant, who by his outrages, deserves death, shall aid in depriving him of his power or his life, he will obtain for the cattle the grain that he (the Tyrant) has previously stored up.

Haug's translation of this verse is as follows:

(H.) ∴ The wicked man enjoys the fields of the angel of truth, who is protecting the earth in the district as well as in the province, but by choosing evil instead of good, he cannot succeed in his deeds. Who drives him out of his dominion, or out of his property, Thou Wise, he is going further on the paths of good intellect.

5. Whoso as ruler gives not to him who brings hurt, skilled from the law, or from the covenant; whoso as a right liver, pure, to the wicked, he is intelligent, he shall speak forth for himself, he is raised, Mazda Ahura, above oppression.

(H.) ∴ If in future the ruler takes hold of one who trespasses the law, or if a noble man takes hold of one who violates the bonds of friendship; or if a religious man, living righteously, takes hold of a wicked man, he shall then, having learned it, inform the Master; into distress and utter want he shall be thrown to be unhappy.

∴ Whosoever, being a chief (of a clan or tribe), pays not tribute to the marauding unbelievers, whether he pays heed, in refusing to do it, to the obligations imposed by his religion, or to his treaties of alliance (or of submission); whosoever as one of the true faith, and truly living as such, refuses to pay tribute to the infidel, he is of right judgment and shall speak out boldly for himself, and his boldness will insure him against oppression.

6. What man does not willingly approach him, he goes openly over to the creation of the Drujas; for he is a wicked one, who is best for the wicked, the pure to whom the pure is friendly, so long as the first law endures, Ahura.

(H.) ∴ But who, although he may be able, does not go to him (the chief of the community), he may, however, follow the customs of the untruth now prevailing. For he is a wicked man whom another wicked considers to be the best one, and he is a religious man whose friend the religious man is. Such sayings of old hast Thou revealed, O Wise!

∴ The Aryan who does not voluntarily rally to him (to the chief who defies the infidels), unmistakenly goes over to the hordes of the Drukhs. For he is an infidel, who gives aid to the infidel, and those are true believers, to whom the true believers are friends, so long as the law that has been from the beginning endures, O Ahura.

7. Whom has Mazda appointed a protector for my fellows, if the wicked chooses me for vengeance? What other than Thou, the Fire and the Spirit, through the deeds of both of whom, purity is increased, this help for the law tell me.

(H.) ∴ Who is appointed protector of my property, Wise, when the wicked endeavour to hurt me? Who, also, if not Thy fire and Thy mind, through which Thou hast created the existence (good beings), Thou Living God! Tell me, the power necessary for holding up the religion.

∴ Whom has Mazda appointed to be the protector of my comrades, if I should be the victim of the vengeance of the unbelievers! Whom, other than Thee, Asha-Vahista, and Thee, Vohû-Manô, by means of the effects outflowing from each of whom the true faith is magnified and glows. Manifest to me, this aid for the Mazdayaçnian law.

8. He who commits these earthly goods to the foe, my punishment will not strike him for these shameful deeds, through tormenting there comes to him that to (his) body, which drives him away from the good life, not even from the wicked, through hatred of Mazda.

(H.) ∴ Who spoils my estates and does not choose me by bowing before my fire, retribution may be made to him for his person the same way. He shall be excluded from every good possession, but not from a bad one, filled up with evil, O Thou Wise.

∴ Punishment by me may not smite for his shameful course him who pays tribute of the fruits of the earth to the enemies of the true faith, but by constant plundering his means of living will be so destroyed as to compel him to become an exile from Aryan people; never, for his hostility to Mazda, to leave the land of the unbelievers.

9. Who is the offerer who first teaches me how I may exalt Thee, ascending to win, in doing, the Holy, Pure Ahura? What Thou Pure, what the Maker of the cow said pure, that desire I from Thee, through Vohû-Manô.

(H.) ∴ Who is that man, who, whilst supporting me, made me first acquainted with Thee, as the Most Venerable Being, as the Living True God? The true sayings revealed by the Maker of the earth, come to my hands by means of Thy good mind.

∴ Who is the priest that shall first teach me how I may glorify Thee, as I desire to do, in my religious observances, Thee, Ahura, Beneficent and True? Whatsoever truth, Thou, who art the maker of cattle, hast uttered, that I pray Thee to make known unto me through Vohû-Manô.

10. What man or what woman, O Mazda Ahura, gives me in this world, the best that Thou knowest, blessing for purity, the kingdom through Vohû-Manô, and those whom I exhort to your praise, with all these, I go forward to the bridge Chinvaṭ.

(H.) ∴ What man or what woman, Thou Living Wise, performs the best actions, known to Thee, for the benefit of this life, promoting thus the truth for the angel of truth, and spreading Thy rule through the good mind, as well as gratifying all those men who are gathered round me, all these, I will lead over the Bridge of the Gatherer (heavenly bridge).

To Paradise, [Haug adds, and in a note], None can enter Paradise without having first passed the 'Bridge of the Gatherer' (called Chinvaṭ), the passing of which can be facilitated to the deceased, by prayers recited for him.

Undoubtedly, this is what the Bridge Chinvaṭ was in the later writings. It is permissible to have very grave doubts whether the term was used in that sense by Zarathustra.

Again, Haug says (266) :

-Between Heaven and Hell is *Chinvat Pérētu* (*Chinvaṭ Pul*), i. e., 'the Bridge of the Gatherer,' or 'the Bridge of the Judge' (Chinvaṭ can have both meanings), which the soul of the pious alone can pass, while the wicked fall from it, down to Hell. Obviously, he derives *Chinvaṭ* from the Sanskrit *Chi* (participle *Chinu*), 'to arrange, heap, collect, gather.' It also means 'to seek for,' 'search.' It is the present participle, and may mean 'gathering, collecting, arranging, searching or hunting,' or, as a noun, 'searcher, gatherer, hunter.'

Of *pérētu*, Bopp says (iii. §864), that its feminine gender is proved by the accusative plural *pérētūs*, but, he says, "its abstract nature has been changed into concrete." It perhaps originally signified, "passage, crossing," but has, however, assumed the signification, "bridge." The root of it, he says, is *pēnē*=Sanskrit *par, pri*.

I had concluded, before knowing the original of the word "bridge," that it meant, in the Gâthâs, "a crossing, a ford, over a stream," or perhaps, "a pass, crossing," through the mountain ranges, south and east of Bactria. I think now that it means the latter, and probably a pass between the mother-country and a colony, south of the Hindu Kush or Paropamisus. I read the tenth verse, as follows:

∴ That Amêsha-Çpênta, male or female, who in this Aryan land communicates to me the most precious things that emanate from Thee (or, that inhere or are immanent in Thee), success and the fruit of piety, the mastery through Vohû-Manô (gained by wisdom and skill), and those whom I exhort to adore You, with all these, I will advance to the Pass of the Hunter.

11. To Empire have the Karapas and Kavis united themselves, in order through wicked deeds, to destroy the world for men, whose own souls, whose own state, becomes hard. If they come thither, where the Bridge Chinvaṭ is, so will they forever place themselves in the abode of the Drujas.

(H.) ∴ The sway is given into the hands of the priests and prophets of idols, who by their actions endeavour to destroy the human life. Actuated by their own spirit and mind, they ought to avoid the Bridge of the Gatherer, to remain forever in the dwelling-place of destruction.

∴ The Karapas and Kavis have allied themselves with the Drukh chiefs, that they may, by pillage and rapine, bring distress and ruin upon the land for the Aryan people, and their nature and minds have become hardened. If they come (with the enemy's forces) to the Pass of the Hunter, they will be made to find a home always hereafter in the land which is the home of the Toorkhs.

12. When purity in the families and races of the relations arises at the speech of the kinsmen, which increases the world through the activity of Ārmaiti, then dwells with them together, through Vohū-Manō, to them for joy commands Ahura Mazda.

(H.) ∴ When after the defeat of the enemy Fryāna, the true rites (fire-worship and agriculture) arose amongst the (Iranian) tribes, and their allies, Thou fencedst with stakes, the earth's estates. Thus, the Living Wise, having fenced them all, He assigned them to those men, His worshippers, as property.

Here, [Dr. Haug says], the origin of the so-called *Gaēthas*, i. e., 'possessions, estates,' so very frequently alluded to in the Zend-Avesta, is described. We must understand by them the original settlements of the Iranians, exposed to constant attacks from the part of nomadic tribes.

I should rather say that *gaēthas* was the same as the Sanskrit *goshtha*, and meant "pastures," from *go*, Zend *geus*, "bull, cow," and in the plural, "cattle." The reader will note here, that Dr. Haug sustains my conclusion, formed before I saw his work, that the word translated "world," by Bleeck, from Spiegel's German, does not mean what the world is to us, but the Aryan land or possessions.

∴ When the true faith prevails among the families and races of those who are of the Aryan blood, by means of the teachings of their kinsmen—that true piety which makes the land to prosper, through the productive energy of Ārmaiti, then Ahura Mazda, through Vohū-Manō, abides with them and rules over them, bestowing happiness.

13. What man, the holy Zarathustra, through gifts among men, makes contented, he is worthy to be praised, to him gives Ahura Mazda a place, He increases to him, the earthly goods, through Vohū-Manō, him I hold for you, on account of his purity, as a good friend.

(H.) ∴ Who among men pays zealously reverence to Zarathustra Çpitama, such one is fit to deliver in public, his lore. To him (Zarathustra), the Living Wise, entrusted the life; for him, He established through the good mind the estates; him we think to be your good friend, Thou True!

∴ Whosoever, by efficient service rendered to the Aryan cause as a military leader, rejoices the soul of Zarathustra, is worthy of grateful eulogies. To him, Ahura Mazda will give high station, and through Vohū-Manō, increase of all the fruits of the earth. Him, I regard, on account of his zeal for the true faith, as one devotedly Thy adherent, Ahura Mazda.

14. Zarathustra, what pure one is thy friend, with sublime greatness, or who is it who desires to praise? So it is that Kavā Vistâçpa, the warlike, but whom

He, Ahura Mazda, leads amongst His kinsmen, then I praise with the prayers of good-mindedness.

(H.) ∴ Zarathustra, who is thy sincere friend (to assist in performing) the great work? Or, who will deliver it in public? The very man to do it, is Kavâ Vistâspa. I will worship, through the words of the good mind, all those whom Thou hast elected at the (heavenly) meeting.

∴ Zarathustra, what devotee of the true religion has, by great deeds of renown, proven himself thy friend, or who is it that thou desirest to praise?

He is that Kavâ Vistâspa, the heroic soldier. But, also, O Mazda Ahura, his kinsmen whom he leads, I commend unto Thee in loyal prayers."

15. I praise you, the Holy, belonging to Haêchat Açpâ, you who divide between good creation and wicked, through these your deeds holiness is given to you as the first creatures of Ahura.

(H.) ∴ Ye sons of Hêchataçpa Çpitama, to you I will speak, because you distinguish right from wrong. By means of your actions, the truth (contained) in the ancient commandments of the Living God, has been founded.

∴ I commend you, the renowned, who are of the family [or the descendants, progeny] of Haêchat-Açpâ, who hold the frontier between the Aryan settlements and the country held by the infidels. For the services you render there, eminence is given you, as the foremost among all the Aryan children of Ahura.

16. Frashaôstra, take thou there, the reward, O Hvô-Gvâ, with which we also are content, for happiness there, where Ârmaiti is enthroned with Asha, there, where are the wished-for realms of Vohû-Manô, there where Mazda Ahura dwells, in the self-chosen place.

(H.) ∴ Venerable Frashaôstra, go thou with those helpers whom we both have elected for the benefit of the world (the good beings) to that field where piety resides, attended by truth, where the stores of the good mind may be acquired, where is the dwelling-place of the Living Wise (i. e., Paradise).

While Haug considers Çpitama (which Spiegel translates "Holy") as the family name of Zarathustra, here, on the other hand, Spiegel says, "Hvô-gvâ is taken by the translators as a family name of Frashaôstra," though in the next verse he has "Jâmâçpa-Hvô-gvâ," while Haug translates it "venerable."

Gava, in Sanskrit, in composition, means, "a bull." *Hvô* is said to be the Sanskrit *sva*, "self," which also means "property," "wealth," i. e., what is one's own; *svâ*, as a feminine adjective, also meaning "own;" whence *svamin* means "owner," "proprietor." May not Hvô-gvâ mean, simply "owner of cattle," an epithet likely to be applied to persons of wealth and importance?

∴ Do thou, Frashaôstra, owner of herds, take in that region, your remuneration (or allotment of part of the country to be conquered), with which also we are content, there to prosper; there, where productiveness is enthroned with the Divine Truth, and the auspicious domain of the Divine Reason is, and Ahura Himself has chosen it, to abide therein.

The meaning of which is that the region in question is held by the Aryans under Frashaôstra (and as the next verse shows, by Jâmâçpa),

and that there the true religion alone was known, and Ahura and the Amēsha-Çpēntas were worshipped.

17. There, where also only the measured will be spoken, not the unmeasured, through the wise Jāmāçpa-Hvō-gvā; continually he comes to you with prayers, the offerings of obedience, he who divides between good and bad creation, ye Wise Thinkers, Asha and Ahura Mazda.

(H.) ∴ Where from you only blessings, not curses, Venerable Wise Jāmāspas, are to be heard, always (protecting) the goods of the leader and performer of the sacred rites, namely, of the Living Wise Himself, endowed with great intellectual power.

∴ There, where also, through the Magus Jāmāçpa, proprietor of large herds, ['through' him, because they are utterances of Ahura, Himself], litanies in verse only will be recited, and none in prose. Continually he appeals to you by prayers, the offerings of devotion, he who abides between the Aryan settlements and the infidels (or, who remaining between them, protects the Aryans against the infidels); Wise Thinkers, Asha and Ahura Mazda.

18. Whoso for my sake continually does the best, to him grant I of my goods through Vohū-Manō, oppressing him who oppresses us. Mazda and Asha, in your desire I find contentment, that is the decision of my understanding and soul.

(H.) ∴ For him who bestowed most favours on me, I collect all the best of my goods (acquired) through the good mind. But to their last shifts I will put all those, Thou Wise, True, who have put us to them. I will beseech you to assist me. Such is my decision, conceived according to my intellect and understanding.

∴ Unto every one who, in the cause wherein I am engaged perseveringly does good service, I will give a share of the spoil, which, impoverishing those who have plundered us, I shall acquire by successful leadership. Mazda and Asha, in your worship [for it is adoration that they expect], I will find the accomplishment of my designs. Such is the firm conviction of my understanding and my soul.

19. He who to me from holiness thus works openly that which according to his will is the first to Zarathustra, to him they grant as reward the world.beyond, together with all good things known to me.* . . . That hast Thou said to me, Mazda, Thou who knowest it best.

(H.) ∴ Who makes increase this very life by means of truth to the utmost for me, who am Zarathustra myself, to such one the first (earthly) and the other (spiritual) life will be granted as a reward, together with all goods to be had on the imperishable earth. Thou, Living Wise, art the very owner of all these things to the greatest extent, Thou who art my friend, Wise!

∴ He who, obeying the dictates of patriotism and duty thus efficiently aids me, Zarathustra, to compass that which I have above all things else at heart, shall have allotted to him by Mazda and Asha, as a reward, lands in the transmontane country, and a share of all the booty that I may acquire. For to Thee, Mazda, all the spoil belongs; and so hast Thou, perfectly knowing what is to be, given me Thy promise.

In this Gāthā, Ahura Mazda is declared to be friend, brother and father. He is never represented as capricious, cruel, vindictive, jealous.

*Quite unintelligible. (*Spiegel.*)

His votaries are not asked to fear, but to reverence Him. Surely, it is to be lamented that the Semitic idea of the deity was ever substituted for this; and that, even now, we, who are of Aryan lineage, borrow our conceptions of a God, cruel and merciless, one to be feared, and who in vain demands of us love, from the savage hordes that followed Joshua into Canaan, to murder their kinsmen, and make concubines and prostitutes of the daughters of their slaughtered kinswomen. In the simple prayer which Christ dictated, we find the Iranian idea of Ahura Mazda, but this is, in our pulpits, too often eclipsed by the baleful shadow of the Baal and Malak, whom the Hebrews retained as their Aloh, under another name, but with the same hideous lineaments and brutal characteristics.

Neither do I understand Zarathustra as proposing to sacrifice ten horses and a camel to Ahura, but rather, asking that it might be answered in the negative, whether he desired to be so propitiated.

But it shows, as the Veda does, that in days much earlier, when their ancestors, probably a Tâtar tribe, drove their herds to pasture over the Steppes between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, horses and camels had been so sacrificed.

GÂTHÂ III.—ÇPËNTA-MAINYÛ.

Of the three remaining Gâthâs, Haug gives, in his *Essays*, but a short account, translating a few verses. He says:

The several chapters, except the last of the third Gâthâ, form, as regards composition, nowhere a whole, but are, on an average, mere collections of detached verses, which were pronounced at different occasions, either by Zarathustra himself, or his disciples. While in the first two Gâthâs, the majority of verses can be traced to Zarathustra himself, in these last three Gâthâs, most verses appear to be the work of the Master's disciples, such as Jâmâçpa, Frashaöstra, Vistâçpa, others, perhaps, even that of their pupils, because all of them are spoken of with high reverence.

HÂ I, YAÇNA XLVI.

1. Through the Holiest Spirit and through the best-mindedness, which springs from purity with words and works, to us has Mazda Ahura given fullness and immortality, good things and understanding.

(H.) Ahura Mazda gives, through the White (Holy) Spirit, appearing in the best thought, the truth of speech and the sincerity of action, to this world (universe) wholesomeness (Haurvatât) and immortality (Amérêtât), wealth (Khshathra) and devotion (Ârmaiti).

I do not know whether Dr. Haug means that these names are given in the original text. I hardly think they can be, or Spiegel would have retained them in his translation. Nor do I know what the original word rendered "best-mindedness" is. Haug makes it the best thought, which is his meaning of Vohû-Manô.

It would be, I think, a sound principle to set out with, in endeavouring to find the meaning of these hymns, to assume that the composer of them has some coherency of ideas and distinctness of conceptions. In Dr. Haug's translation he has neither. What would be the use of inquiring into his meanings, if, for example, Ârmaiti was sometimes the earth and sometimes devotion and sometimes wisdom?

∴ Through Çpënta-Mainyû, and through that loyalty which is the fruit of the word and works of Piety [or, the Divine Grace that is obtained by acts of devotion], Mazda Ahura has given unto us abundance (or, if the word is Haurvat, health), and long life, wealth of chattels and intellectual gifts.

2. Of his Holiest Spirit best does He, the best through the loud prayers, by means of the mouth of Vohû-Manô. With the hands of Ârmaiti performs He pure deeds; through His own wisdom is Mazda the father of Purity.

(H.) From his (Ahura Mazda's) Holiest Spirit, all good has sprung in the words which are pronounced by the tongue of the Good Mind (Vohû-Manô), and the works wrought by the hands of Armaiti (Angel of the Earth). By means

of such a knowledge, Mazda Himself is the Father of all Truth (in thought, word and deed).

∴ Through this Beneficent Mind, He confers the greatest benefits, benefits that are the fruit (or, rather, the issue or progeny), of prayers uttered aloud, and which are the spoken thoughts of Vohû-Manô. Through the operation of Ârmaiti, He is the Author [by thus supplying the flesh and grain for them], of sacrificial observances; and through the divine, His own attribute (or outflowing), He is the source of the true religion.

3. Thou who art also the Holy in Heaven, Thou who hast created the cow as a helpful gift. Thou who givest her fodder and delight according to Thy wisdom, when Thou, Mazda, hast consulted with Vohû-Manô.

∴ Thou who art also the Beneficent in Heaven, hast created cattle, and given them for our sustenance, and hast supplied them with pasture and comfort, by Thy wise providence, taking counsel, O Mazda, with Vohû-Manô.

4. Hurt arises from this Spirit, the Wicked, not so from the Pure Holy Mazda. Even in a small thing, man desires for the pure, in a great one, if he is able, the bad for the evil.

∴ All that is hurtful comes from the maleficent mind [Aîra-Mainyus]; none thereof from the pure beneficent (mind), Mazda. Even in small matters, the Aryan strives to do that which the true religion requires; but the unbeliever, even in the most important, does, if possible, that which is pernicious.

5. That, Beneficent Mind, Mazda-Ahura, mayest Thou give to the pure, what is best. Without Thy will, the wicked takes a share in his works; he who springs from the dwelling of Ako-Manô.

∴ Give, O Beneficent Mind, Mazda-Ahura, to those of the True Faith, prosperous future! The infidels, without Thy permission, take for themselves, in part, the acquisitions of the Aryans,—the unbelievers, who come from the lands where Ako-Manô has his home.

6. That hast Thou created, Çpënta-Mainyû, Mazda Ahura, through the Fire gives He decision for the combatants, through the greatness of Ârmaiti and Asha, for this teaches perfectly him who wishes it.

∴ He whom Thou hast brought forth [i. e., Vohû-Manô], O Beneficent Mind, Mazda Ahura, making use of the fire [in forging weapons], decides the fate of battles between the combatants [the Aryans and infidels], through the potency of Armaiti and Asha; for this one (Vohû-Manô), teaches skill in leadership to those who ask it by prayers.

It will have been noticed by the reader, that while in verses 5 and 6 of this hymn, Çpënta-Mainyû seems to be but another *name* of Ahura Mazda, in verses 1 and 2 Ahura Mazda is represented as creating or producing *through* Çpënta-Mainyû; and that in verse 4, they seem to be distinguished from one another.

This suggests a very interesting inquiry, in regard to the most essential features of the doctrine of Zarathustra.

The number of the Amësha-Çpëntas has always been considered to be *seven*, a number suggested, at least, by the seven ever-visible stars in Ursa Major, circling around the Pole-star; if these were not indeed the originals of the emanations of the later worship. At first, it is said, Ahura

Mazda himself was one, the chief, of the Amēsha-Çpēntas; but as He could not be both emanation and source, this was contrary to the philosophical idea of the system. God is not an attribute of Himself.

Afterwards, it is said, He ceased to be one, and Çraōsha became the seventh. But there is no hint of this in the Gāthâs. He is no more an Amēsha-Çpēnta, anywhere in the Zend Avesta, than Ashis Vanuhi is.

Here I am greatly indebted to Dr. Haug; and I shall copy here his section on "Zarathustra's Two Primeval Principles," at page 258 of his *Essays*.

The opinion, so generally believed now, that Zarathustra was preaching Dualism, that is to say, the supposition of two original independent spirits, a good and a bad one, utterly distinct from each other, and one counteracting the creation of the other, is owing to a confusion of his philosophy with his theology. Having arrived at the grand idea of the unity and individuality of the Supreme Being, he undertook to solve the great problem, on which so many a wise man of antiquity and even of modern times was engaged, viz.: How are the imperfections discoverable in the world, the various kinds of evils, wickedness and baseness, compatible with the goodness, holiness and justice of God? The great Thinker of so remote antiquity solved the difficult question, *philosophically*, by the supposition of two primæval causes, which, though different, were united, and produced the world of the material things, as well as that of the Spirit, which doctrine may best be learned from Yaçna 30.

The one who produced the reality (*gaya*), is called *Vohū-Manô*, i. e., good mind; the other, through whom the non-reality (*ajyaiti*) originated, bears the name *Akem-Manô*, i. e., naught mind. All good, true and perfect things, which fall under the category of 'reality,' are the productions of the 'good mind,' while all that is bad and delusive, belonging to the sphere of 'non-reality,' is traced to the 'naught mind.' They are the two moving causes in the universe, united from the beginning, and, therefore, called 'twins' (*yema-yama*), 'twin,' in Sanscrit. They are spread everywhere, in Ahura Mazda as well as in men.

These two primæval principles, if supposed to be united in Ahura Mazda Himself, are not called *Vohū-Manô* and *Akem-Manô*; but *Çpēnta-Mainyus*, i. e., white or holy spirit, and *Angrō>Mainyus*, i. e., dark spirit. That Angrō>Mainyus is no separate being opposed to Ahura Mazda, is unmistakably to be gathered from Yaçna 19. 9, where Ahura Mazda is mentioning his "two spirits," who are inherent to his own nature, and in other passages (Yaç. 57), distinctly called the 'two Creators,' the 'two Masters' (*pâyû*). And, indeed, we never find mentioned in the Gāthâs, Angrō>Mainyus as a constant opponent to Ahura Mazda, as is the case in later writings. The evil, against which Ahura Mazda and all good men are fighting, is called *drukhs*, i. e., 'destruction,' and 'lie,' which is nothing but a personification of the Devas. The same expression for 'the Evil' spread in the world, we find in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, where, moreover, Angrō>Mainyus as the opponent of Ahura Mazda is never mentioned. God (Ahura Mazda) is in the rock-records of King Darius only One, as Jehovah in the Old Testament, having no adversary whomsoever.

Spēntô Mainyus was regarded as the author of all that is bright and shining, of all that is good and useful in nature, while Angrō Mainyus called into existence all that is dark and apparently noxious. Both are as inseparable as day and night,

and though opposed to each other, are indispensable for the preservation of creation. The bright spirit appears in the blazing flame, the presence of the dark is marked by the wood converted into charcoal. Spëntô-Mainyus has created the light of the day, and Angrô-Mainyus the darkness of the night; the former awakens men to their duties, the latter lulls them into sleep. Life is produced by Spëntô-Mainyus, but extinguished by Angrô-Mainyus, whose hands, by releasing the soul from the fetters of the body, enables her to go up to immortality and everlasting life.

I am indebted to this for the suggestion that Çpënta-Mainyû is not Ahura Mazda himself, but a primæval principle in Him; and for the further idea that Ahura Mazda is *above* Añra-Mainyus as well as Çpënta-Mainyû. As to all the rest, I think it is but a succession of errors. "The twins" spoken of in *Yaçna xxx.*, are clearly Çpënta-Mainyûs and Añra Mainyus, the Beneficent and Maleficent Minds. But it is nowhere said that both issued from Ahura, nor, anywhere that *He* produced Añra Mainyus; and I do not imagine that we are to assume this on account of the word rendered "twins," for Benfey gives "pair" as well as "twins" as the meaning of *yama*; and that word would express a pair of horses as well as twin children. If Zarathustra's ideas were what Haug supposes them, and these Gâthâs were expositions of his philosophy as well as theology, it would be incredible that there would be in them no distinct statement that Añra Mainyus was in or issued from Ahura. The truth is, that they are not his philosophical teachings, nor, primarily, his religious ones. They rather briefly restate doctrines that had already become well known, not to *teach* them, but as inducements to the people to rise against their oppressors.

The two spirits did not *unite* in creating anything. Each created independently of the other, according to his own nature. How non-reality or unreality could be produced or created, it is impossible to conceive. *jati* means "birth, life, existence" in Sanskrit.

The phrase in *Yaçna xix.*, which Haug translates "the white of my two Spirits," Spiegel translates "I, out of Heavenly Holiness." The "two Masters" (*pâyû*), "the two creators" (*thwôrestâra*), in the Çrosh Yasht, are, in Spiegel's translation, "The Protector and the Maintainer," though it is admitted that they are in the dual. Certainly Çraošha did not offer sacrifice to Añra Mainyus, and the line reads: "Offered to the Protectors and Maintainers (or, masters and creators) [in the dual], who created all creatures." When Haurvaṭ and Ameretâṭ are named together, each name is always in the dual, as *each* twin is, when both are mentioned. I have no doubt that these emanations, health and life, are the protector and maintainer mentioned here.

What is clear to me now is, that Çpënta-Mainyû is not the Very Self of Ahura, but the divine Mind or Intellect, and the first Amësha-Çpënta, containing them all in Himself. He is the Kether of the Kabalah, the

First Sephirah, next below whom are Hakemah and Bainah, wisdom and understanding. But also, He is the Beneficent Mind, and while distinct from Ahura, as such, he is also the whole Divine Intelligence, and therefore spoken of as being Himself; the two names being used together.

The problem which Zarathustra endeavoured to solve, is very well stated by Proclus, in his *Ten Doubts Concerning Providence*. He says (as translated by Taylor) that his fifth subject of inquiry "why, if Providence exists, Evil has a place among beings," disturbs the imaginations of many; and continues thus:

For through this, many are persuaded, either to deny the existence of providence, in consequence of perceiving that evil extends to all things; or, if they admit that providence adorns all things, they are led to exclude evil, and to assert that all things are alone good, though certain persons think fit to call that good which is most remote from primary natures, 'evil'; for that there is not any evil, which is not a less good. If, therefore we also accord with these, there is no occasion to investigate any further what we proposed to consider. For there will not be anything evil, which, as we have said, will molest providence. But if there is something, which in some way or other we assert to be evil, it is necessary to explain whence this is derived. For it is not proper to say that it is from providence, from whom every thing that is good proceeds; but if it is derived from another cause, if this ranks among the causes which originate from providence, then again it will be requisite to refer it to this cause. For the beings which proceed from the causes that owe their existence to providence, proceed likewise from providence. If, however, they are produced without providence co-operating in their existence, we shall make two principles, one of good and the other of evil; and we shall not preserve providence unmolested, since it will have something contrary to it!

I refrain from quoting the old argumentation by which Proclus endeavoured to account for evil without ascribing its existence to providence. It has been often repeated, and Dr. Mansel, in his *Limits of Religious Thought* (Note 38 to Lecture 7), fitly says of it:

The theory which represents evil as a *privation* or a *negation*, a theory adopted by theologians and philosophers of almost every shade of opinion, in order to reconcile the goodness of God with the apparent permission of sin, can only be classed among the numerous necessarily fruitless attempts of metaphysicians to explain the primary facts of consciousness by the arbitrary assumption of a principle of which we are not and cannot be conscious, and of whose truth or falsehood we have therefore no possible guarantee.

Evil is simply the necessary condition of imperfection, and in creating beings not perfect like Himself, indeed, in creating a material world at all, the deity could not but create, or make necessary, the various forms of evil. So far as we know from the Zend Avesta, Zarathustra did not speculate upon this subject. He conceived of a primary Spirit of Evil, without

endeavouring to account for his origin. And it is certain that these writings contain nothing to sustain the proposition that he regarded this Evil Spirit as a twin emanation with Çpënta-Mainyû, from Ahura Mazda.

Neither does he represent Evil as a privation or negation. The Spirit of Evil, with him, is an actual existence and power. He did not even conceive of darkness as the mere absence of light.

But also it is true, as Haug says, that Ahura Mazda and Añra Mainyus (Ormuzd and Ahriman) were not the two rival, eternally co-existent principles of good and evil, light and darkness, for these two principles were Çpënta-Mainyû and Añra Mainyû. Of these, Çpënta-Mainyû alone was an emanation of Ahura Mazda. No source of the other was pointed out. It was enough for Zarathustra to know that evil existed, and yet Ahura Mazda was beneficent.

As is remarked by Mackay, in his *Progress of the Intellect*:

Although through distinctions or personifications, the many aspects or attributes of God might give to Him a semblance of plurality, His nature was only *extended*, not divided; each attribute, being an essential part of Him, became entitled to represent the entire Godhead; each emanation was itself the Great Being from which it sprung.

Iamblichus (*de Mysteriis*, viii. 4), says:

The Egyptians are far from ascribing all things to physical causes; life and intellect they distinguish from physical being, both in man and in the universe. They place intellect and reason first, as self-existent, and from these they derive the created world They place pure intellect above and beyond the universe, and another (i. e., mind revealed in the cosmos) consisting of one continuous mind pervading the universe, and apportioned to all its parts and spheres. [This is the idea embodied in the Zarathustrian conceptions of Çpënta-Mainyus and Vohû-Manô],—that of a deity both immanent and transcendent; spirit passing into the manifestations of its *Anderseyn* (otherwiseness), but not exhausted by so doing.

As Vohû-Manô was the Logos or Word, so was Çpënta-Mainyû the Sophia or Wisdom, of later ages. God is said in the Proverbs to have “created wisdom, the beginning of His ways” [the first of His outgoings or outflowings], for the purpose of his works. She is the pre-existent Word, “the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mind of God’s power, and image of His goodness,” dwelling, according to Philo, alone with God, “the Spiritual dwelling of the Great King, the depository of His Thought, and organ of His Act”, an emanation before all worlds, God Himself as Intellect; which, manifested as Vohû-Manô, pours itself from above into the Souls of men.

GÂTHÂ III.

HÂ II, YAÇNA XLVII.

1. When the coming Asha shall smite the Drukhs, when there comes what was announced as delusive, immortality for men and Daevas, then shall Thy profitable land increase, O Ahura.

Spiegel says that the gloss refers this to the resurrection. I am sure that "immortality for men and Daevas" is a mis-translation, unless the text is corrupted. Probably some word is omitted.

. . . When Asha encountering them, shall smite the Drukhs, and that shall come to pass, the promise whereof has been derided as delusive, to-wit, security of life for the Aryan people (in despite of) the Daevas, then, O Ahura, shall Thy fertile land be prosperous.

2. Tell me, for Thou knowest it, O Ahura, before that (the man) reaches to the double bridge, how shall the pure, O Mazda, smite the wicked? For that is acknowledged in the world as a good accomplishment.

. . . Tell me, for it is foreknown to Thee, O Ahura, before the two armies reach the pass, how shall the Aryans there defeat the infidels? For throughout the Aryan land that is regarded as a most desirable result.

3. To know as the best of teachings are (these) which the wise Ahura teaches with purity. Thou, the Holy, knowest (also) the hidden teachings (and) he who resembles Thee, Mazda, through the understanding of Vohû-Manô.

4. Whoso makes the mind better, and performs good works, he (acts) according to the law with word and deed, wealth unites itself with him, according to his desire and will, according to Thy mind is at last every one.

(H.) He who created by means of His wisdom the good and naught mind, unthinking, words and deeds, rewards his obedient followers with prosperity. Art Thou not He in whom is the last cause of both intellects (good and evil) hidden?

. . . 'By having that wisdom which the best of the teachings are, that the wise Ahura teaches by the true religion.' Thou, the beneficent, knowest also the occult meanings. He who is like unto Thee, Mazda, by having the wisdom of Vohû-Manô, and who increases in righteousness, and performs his religious duties; who conforms to Thy law in speech and action, good future shall come to him, to the utmost of his wish and desire. At last the condition of every one will be according to Thy good pleasure.

The purpose of these verses seems to me to have been to inculcate the idea that the desired victory over the infidel army must be altogether the work of Ahura; and that the requisite sagacity of the leaders, and skill and courage of the men, were only to be had by means of the punctual practice of religious observances and of a sincere faith and piety. The efficacy of prayer as the efficient cause of victory has been a tenet of faith, and an

instinctive conviction of humanity in all ages. So, by the prayers of Moses, when his arms were held up by others, the Israelites were victorious, and the free Swiss, confronting the spearmen of Burgundy, and the Ironsides of Cromwell, relied upon the efficacy of prayer.

Prayers that were to be recited aloud, and which are preserved in the Zend-Avesta, were held to have been made by Ahura, and given by him to Yima and Zarathustra, through Vohû-Manô, His Word. These prayers were effectual, as also ceremonial observances and sacrificial rites were, to gratify the deity and procure his favour. Blessings, benefits, abundance, booty, were not the rewards, but the fruit of prayers, and by prayers victories were won by the faithful.

5. May good kings rule, may bad kings not rule over us, with deeds of good wisdom, O Ârmaiti. Purity is to man the best thing after birth, for the cattle is it laboured; (let) the diligent (bestow) us this for food.

∴ May good rulers and not evil ones reign over us, with wise measures, O Ârmaiti. During all his life, the true faith is of all things the most beneficial to man. By performance of its duties our cattle are increased, and we who are diligent thereby have food.

I greatly doubt whether it is possible to ascertain with any approach to certainty the meaning of the latter part of this verse: but the general sense seems to be clear enough.

6. This has to us brightness, this has to us strength, might given, according to the desire of Vohû-Manô, so too has it made trees grow with purity for Mazda at the birth of the first world.

Spiegel says, "This refers to the cattle." But the cattle did not make trees grow. It refers, I think, either to piety, faith in thought and act, or to Ârmaiti. I should think, clearly, the former, if I did not find the word "Purity" again in the last: and I am inclined to think so, notwithstanding that, because it is consistent with the potencies elsewhere and often ascribed to faith.

∴ This sincere piety has heretofore given to us the glory of victory, has given us greatness and power, by means of the good will of Vohû-Manô. And also, at the origin of the Aryan land, it caused the growth of vegetation, and of offerings for Mazda.

7. Drive away wrath, drive away hatred (ye), who are created for the bringing up of Vohû-Manô; for that pure pleasant thing that the holy man would know, so becomes this creation Thy creation, O Mazda.

∴ Expel from the land those that pillage it; expel from it those who are our foes, Aryans who were created to be reared by Vohû-Manô, for that possession of piety and virtue which every man should have, in whom the divinity abides.

[It is impossible to be certain as to the meaning of this line.] So, O Mazda, will this Aryan people become Thy people [or, this Aryan land Thy land].

8. How is the desire for Thy good Kingdom, O Mazda? Which (is it) according to Thy Holiness, for me, O Ahura? What shall I desire of Thee, O Asha, as manifest reward, living with the deeds of the good Spirit.

∴ How great (how general or extensive among the people) is the desire, O Mazda, for Thy rule in the land, which, according to Thy supreme will, is for me, O Ahura? What shall I, O Asha, living in accordance with the teachings of the good Spirit (Çpēnta-Mainyus or Vohû-Manô], ask of thee as substantial reward?

The “deeds” or “works” of the divine mind or intellect, through Vohû-Manô, are hymns, prayers, and acts of worship. I have called Vohû-Manô the divine reason. He is to Çpēnta-Mainyûs, what the Hakemah, wisdom, of the Kabalah is to Kether, the crown. Çpēnta-Mainyû is the whole divine mind and intellect as *in* Ahura. Vohû-Manô is the same intellect manifested *outwardly*, the mind-being, the intellect, as reason, having existence as a Hypostasis, thinking and uttering its thoughts. It is the original type of the Creative Logos.

9. How shall I know whether Ye rule over something, Mazda and Asha, whereof a doubt comes to me? The weightiest life is the destruction of Vohû-Manô. Let the profitable know how he may attain to purity.

∴ By what results shall I have unmistakeable demonstration, O Mazda and Asha, that you do indeed have control over human affairs, whereof doubts force themselves upon me? Life is hardest to bear, when the Divine teachings are set at nought. Show those who have the power to aid me, how they may attain the True Faith. [The ‘profitable’ are those who have means.]

10. When, O Mazda, do the men of understanding come, when will they drive away the dregs of the world (?), which protect the disobedient in badness, and with understanding the wicked rulers of the regions?

(H.) When will appear, Thou Wise, the men of vigour and courage, to pollute that intoxicating liquor (the Soma)? This diabolical art makes the idol-priests so overbearing, and the evil spirit, reigning in the countries, increases this pride.

Dr. Haug thinks that this verse refers “to the Brâhmanic Soma-Worship, which as the cause of so much evil, was cursed by Zarathustra.”

Dr. Haug’s notion is, that the Iranians separated from the other Aryans, during their wanderings, and settled in “such places between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers and the Highland of Bactria, as were deemed fit for permanent settlements,” and there became agriculturists; that those whom they had left regarded their settlements “as the best fitted objects for their excursions and warfares,” and made frequent attacks on them. The result was, according to him, that these kinsmen became detested as Daeva worshippers, and their religion hateful, whence came “the Ahura-religion of agriculture.” When inroads were made, the Kavis, the spiritual guides of the

Deva-worshippers, made themselves drunk with Soma, and led the raids, whence their successes were ascribed to the Soma sacrifices, which became an object of abomination and terror, and the Iranians invented a new fashion of preparing the sacred drink, and then drank the Soma, while abominating it when prepared in another way.

There is nothing in Spiegel's translation that in the least degree sustains this theory, in any of its parts. The Drukhs came from the north, and were not Aryans. The verse last quoted needs to be pretty elastic to admit of stretching enough to make it apply to the Soma, which is not named in it. Spiegel admits that the line which Haug makes speak of it, is "very doubtful;" but it is nevertheless made to fit Dr. Haug's fanciful theory. I can only conjecture the meaning.

.: When, O Mazda, will the wise beings come to aid us? When will they expel from our land the hordes that infest it, who protect the revolted native tribes in their irreligion [or, in their maraudings], and with their counsel and advice the wicked rulers of the districts?

11. When will Mazda, Asha, together with Ârmaiti, come (and) Khshathra, the good dwelling with fodder? Who will command peace to the rude wicked? To whom arrives the wisdom of Vohû-Manô?

.: When, Mazda, will Asha with Ârmaiti come and abide with us? When will Khshathra? When shall we have comfortable homes and pasturage? Who will compel the unbelieving barbarians to cease to harass us? And who will be endowed by Vohû-Manô with the sagacity and skill that shall entitle him to be our leader?

12. They are the profitable of the regions, who take to themselves contentment with Vohû-Manô, with the works of Thy teaching, O Pure Mazda, these are created as adversaries against the will. [The last word is unintelligible. *Spiegel.*]

.: Those render effective service in the various districts, who have become well-affected through Vohû-Manô, with the religious services that Thou, O Pure Mazda, hast taught us; these, that have been so made by Thee, to be the adversaries of (the infidels). [Or the profitable are the wealthy chiefs.]

GÂTHÂ III.

HÂ III., YAÇNA XLVIII.

1. Protect me so long as the perishable world endures as the greatest, I who teach holiness to the wickedly brought up, O Mazda, from goodness come hither to those displeasing to me, may I work their destruction through Vohû-Manô.

.:. Protect me, O Mazda, so long as those who are of the creation of Añra Mainyus continue to have rule in the land. I who teach the doctrines of the true religion to those who have been reared in unbelief, have in the fulfilment of duty come hither, among those who are detested by me. Let me, enabled by Vohû-Manô compass their overthrow!

It seems that having already preached resistance to maraudings and refused to pay tribute, to the people of the Aryan settlements not yet under the government of Toorkhish chiefs, Zarathustra then went upon the same mission into the settlements over which these invaders ruled.

“The perishable world” is the “creation” of Añra Mainyûs; and may mean the land of the Toorkhs, as the word “world” by itself signifies the Aryan land; but in each case it is the land as peopled, or perhaps *only* the people. We have already seen, in Yaçna xxx., that, of the two spirits, minds or intellects, Çpënta-Mainyûs created life, and Añra Mainyûs perishableness, mortality or caducity.

2. To this perishableness fetters me the bad according to the law, the deceitful who is wounded by the Holy, he does not hold upright perfect wisdom for this world, he does not ask, O Mazda, with good mind.

.:. Here, in this region where the unbelievers rule [in this land of Añra Mainyus], I am constrained to tarry, for the sake of these Aryans who, being of the true faith, are yet aiders of the infidels; of the disloyal whom Çpënta-Mainyûs visits with calamity; those who do not boldly take that truly wise course for the benefit of their people, nor are inspired in their prayings by Vohû-Manô.

Meaning, that though they have not apostatized, yet they strengthen the infidel power by non-resistance and by payment of tribute and levies, and hesitate to unite with Zarathustra to expel the Toorkhs from the country.

3. To this belief, O Mazda, is added purity, as profit for those true to the law, as wounding for the Drukhs, therefore will I resign myself to the protection of Vohû-Manô. To all Daevas I make known friendship. (?)

.:. To this inducement, O Mazda, is added that of extending the true religion as profitable for those true to the divine law, and as detrimental to the Drukhs. Therefore I commit myself trustfully to the protection of Vohû-Manô, and proclaim to all the Daevas my devotion to you.

4. They who with evil mind increase Aëshma, the wrathful (or Aëshma and Rama, the latter being taken as a noun, meaning the Demon of Envy), with their tongues,—inactive among the active, they desire not after good deeds, but after evil, they give themselves to the wicked Daevas through their law.

One cannot but wonder that the same word should, if an adjective, mean “wrathful;” and if a noun, “envy.” It indicates, I think, great vagueness of ideas as to words and their significations.

(H.) Those poor (wretches) who, instigated by their base minds, cause mischief and ruin to the wealthy (settlers), through the spells uttered by their tongues, who are devoid of all good works, and find delight in evil doings only, such men, produce the devils, by means of their pernicious thoughts.

.:. They who, inspired by Ako-Manô, with their talking cause pillaging and slaughter [or, who being priests of the evil spirit, by their teachings encourage these acts], idle among those who labour [which indicates, perhaps, that not the infidels, but disloyal Aryans are spoken of], they do not desire the teachings of the true faith, but those of the false, and by accepting the religion of the Daevas become their slaves.

5. May he, O Mazda, possess sweetness and fatness, who possesses the law through good-mindedness. Every one is wise through the purity of Ârmaiti, all that (is) in Thy Kingdom, Ahura.

(H.) Mazda Himself, and the prayers, and every one who is a truly noble son of Ârmaiti (the earth), as well as all that are in Thy dominions, O Living, will protect this faith, by means of the good (inborn) mind.

“Good-mindedness” here means, I judge, the Divine Wisdom dwelling in the human mind; i. e., the inspiration of Vohû-Manô. It may be that this is always the meaning of the word so translated. I judge it to be so here, from Dr. Haug’s rendering, “the good (inborn) mind.” Without knowing the original words rendered “good-mindedness,” “best mindedness,” and others, it is impossible to determine accurately the meaning.

.:. May he, O Mazda, who is in possession of the True Faith, by the Divine Wisdom dwelling in him, enjoy peace and abundance; every one who is devout with the worship for which Ârmaiti provides [manifests his devotion by sacrifices]; all who are of thy kingdom [obedient to Thee], O Ahura.

6. I pray from you, Mazda and Asha, let it be said, what through the spirit which comes from your understanding, shall be rightly determined, that we may announce it, the law, yours, O Ahura.

.:. Mazda and Asha, O pray that what shall be firmly determined, may be communicated to me, from you, through the inspiration that flows from your wisdom, that we may proclaim it,—the true law, yours, O Ahura.

7. May Mazda hear this, together with Vohû-Manô; hear it Asha! Hear it Thou, Ahura? Who is the obedient, who the kinsman, among the created? Who may place the good blessing in effectiveness?

∴ May Mazda hear this, in the person of Vohû-Manô! Hear it Thou, Ahura. Who are the well-affected, who are our allies, among the Aryans? Who among them will make serviceable (to the good cause) the blessings bestowed upon him?

8. To Frashaôstra Thou hast given the friendship of Asha, I desire from Thee Him as a Master, O Mazda Ahura, and for me (that) whereby one (comes) in goodness to Thy Kingdom. May we evermore be beloved (by Thee)!

∴ Thou hast given to Frashaôstra the assistance of Asha [made him powerful]. I pray Thee to give him unto me as a leader, and to be for me that whereby Thy Kingdom shall be benefited; and may we evermore enjoy Thy favour! [It is impossible to say with any confidence what part of this verse means.]

9. May the active, created for profit, hear the precepts! Mayest Thou not give the true words as dominion to the wicked! For with the law is bound the best reward, with purity the warlike Jâmâçpa bound.

∴ May the labouring men of the Aryans, created by Thee to make plenty in the land, heed the teachings of Thy law. Let not the words of Thy truth be perverted to give rule to the unbelievers! For with observance of the law, good fortune should be inseparably conjoined; and the true faith should crown with success the efforts of the warlike Jamâçpa.

10. That, O Mazda, will I protect in Thy creation, the good mind, the souls of the pure. Praise be to the good things of wisdom; let the wicked riches be extinguished through their badness!

∴ That (true faith), O Mazda, I will foster in the land where Thou request (or, among Thy people); the teachings of Vohû-Manô, and the lives of the faithful. Praise to Thee for the blessings that flow from wisdom! Let the unfaith of the infidels consume their riches!

11. Thither come to the wicked rulers, the evil-doing, evil-speaking, possessing wicked laws, the evil-minded bad, the souls to meet with evil food. They remain manifest members in the dwelling of the Drujas.

(H.) The Spirits * (of the deceased) are fighting against the wicked ill-minded, ill-speaking, evil-doing, evil-thinking disbelievers. Such men will go to hell.

Dr. Haug gives the declension of *Urva*, "the Soul," at p. 95. Its nominative plural is *urvânô*. He gives us, also *urvara*, "a tree;" *urvâtem*, "a revealed saying;" *urvaêça*, "end." The verb *urv*, in Sanskrit, means "to kill or wound." The Zend participle present would be *urvat*, "killing, wounding," and, as a noun, "the killer, wounder." He tells us (57) that "in the Gâthâ dialect, we often find *ȝ* at the end of words, instead of *t*, e. g., *ȝtavaç* instead of *ctavat*, "praising." If *urvaçno* is the Gothic plural, nominative, of *urvat* or *urvaç*, it means "the slayers." The *Urva* is not the *Fravashi* of a man, nor the *spirit*, *πνευμα*; but only *ψυχη* the vital principle or animal soul.

*In the original, *urvaçnô*, i. e., souls. In the other books, the common name of the spirits of the deceased pious Zoroastrains, who are fighting against the attacks made by the hellish empire upon the kingdom of light and goodness, is *Fravashis*, i. e., protectors; which name is, however, never to be met with in the Gâthâs. (Haug: Note).

.:. The disloyal unbelievers (of the native tribes) go to the land where the chiefs of the invaders govern;—the oppressors and blasphemers,—to provide the slayers with food harmful to us; and remain there openly as residents, in the land where the Drukhs abide.

12. What reward grantest Thou, Asha, to the praying Zarathustra, what through Vohû-Manô? I who worship you with praises, Mazda Ahura, desiring that which is wished for by you as the best.

It is often evident, where the word “desire” occurs, that it comes short of expressing the sense of the original word, which would be more accurately represented, as the context shows, by “labouring for,” “endeavouring to accomplish;” i. e., it is the *desire*, expressed in action to effect it.

.:. What reward wilt Thou grant, O Asha, unto thy worshipper with prayers, Zarathustra? What, through Vohû-Manô [i. e., in the form of skill as a military leader], to me, Ahura Mazda, who adore you with hymns of praise, striving to accomplish that, the most excellent result, which is desired by Thee?

GÂTHÂ III.

HÂ IV, YAÇNA XLIX.

How and whose protection shall my soul desire? Who is for the cattle, what man is acknowledged as my protector? Besides Asha and Thee, Mazda Ahura, the Desired, the Invoked, by the best Spirit?

.:. Whose protection shall my mind seek after, and by what means? Who will defend our cattle, and what divinity ['man' means 'individual being,' divine or human] shall be manifested as my protector, besides Asha, and Thee, Mazda Ahura, the one desired, the one prayed for, sent by the beneficent mind?

2. How shall he, Mazda, desire the helpful cow, who wishes her active (or, that she may be provided with fodder), for this world, to live well during many years? Give me, in the world, manifest dwellings as a gift. [The last two lines, Spiegel says, are translated conjecturally.]

.:. How, O Mazda, shall those succeed in obtaining serviceable cattle, who need their work in the Aryan land? Give unto us, in this land, permanent homes, that we may live peacefully therein many years.

3. There is to the man, Mazda, purity as a portion, which Khshathra together with Vohû-Manô, imparted to him, who through the power of holiness, seeks to increase this nearest world, in which the wicked takes a share.

.:. The true faith is the possession, Mazda, imparted to him by Khshathra conjunctly with Vohû-Manô, of every man, who by the power of religious worship, endeavours to better the condition of this nearest [most eastern] portion of the Aryan land, in which the unbelievers exact tribute [or, seize, in part, the crops and herds, by pillage].

4. So will I praise you with land, Mazda Ahura, together with Asha and Vohû-Manô and Khshathra, that he may stand on the way of the desiring, I give open offerings in Garô-Nemâna.

.:. Therefore, I will worship you with praises, as conjoined with Asha and Vohû-Manô and Khshathra, that he may assist the enterprise of those who thus endeavour, on the Mountain of Adoration, I sacrifice.

5. Perfectly may you, Mazda Ahura, Asha, your announcers, kindly instruct with open protection, with mighty, which brings us to brightness.

.:. Be graciously pleased, Mazda Ahura, Asha, beneficently to make strong those who promulgate your teachings, with open and mighty assistance, that will give unto us victory.

6. Whoso, O Mazda, spreads abroad the word of the Mañthra, the friend of Zarathustra, with pure prayer, let him make his tongue to the way of understanding, may he teach me the secrets through Vohû-Manô.

(H.) Zarathustra is the prophet, who, through his wisdom and truth, utters in words the sacred thoughts. Through his tongue, he makes known to the world the laws given by my intellect, the mysteries hidden in my mind.

Here, Haug translates Mazda, "wisdom," and says, "Which word is, now and then, used in the appellative sense, *Wisdom*." And in another,

he propounds the strange theory, that “the speaker in this verse, as well as in the whole fiftieth chapter, is the *gēus urvâ*.”

∴ Whatsoever divinity, O Mazda, utters the words of the Mañthra, with prayers of the true faith inspiring Zarathustra, let him speak in words suited to the understanding, and may he teach me the hidden things that are disclosed through Vohû-Manô (or, that come from Thee, through Vohû-Manô).

It is evidently impossible to be certain as to the grammar of this verse, or its exact meaning. But, as I believe that Zarathustra speaks throughout the whole hymn, I think that neither Spiegel's nor Haug's translation can be correct. One thing is certain, that one or the other of them *never* translates correctly.

7. I unite myself to you, the friendliest companion, to reach to the bridges of your praise;* to the strong; Mazda, Asha, together with Vohû-Manô, that you may be guides for my protection.

∴ I adhere to you, as your ardent votary, that I may march to the bridges (or passes) where you are worshipped; to the Mighty Mazda, Asha, together with Vohû-Manô, that you as leaders may assist me to reach them.

8. With hymns which are spoken on account of fullness, come I to you, O Mazda, with uplifted hands, to you, with the pure prayer of the offering, to you, with the virtues of Vohû-Manô.

Spiegel explains “on account of fullness,” as, perhaps, “on account of the fullness of good things which I have obtained;” the “pure prayer of the offering,” as, probably, “with prayers accompanied with sacrifices and offerings;” and “with the deeds of Vohû-Manô,” as, “with or through goodness.”

∴ With hymns that are recited for the sake of abundance, I come unto you, Mazda, with uplifted hands, to you with the pious prayers of the sacrifice; to you, with the devout thoughts, inspired in the mind by Vohû-Manô.

9. With these Yaçnas, I offer you praise, Mazda, Asha, with the deeds of Vohû-Manô. When I, by reason of my purity, rule according to wish, then will I willingly lay hold on the Wise.

Spiegel says: “What ‘*lay hold on*’ means, is doubtful. It is, possibly, equivalent to *to protect or support*. ” I do not know whether the original word is single or plural.

∴ With these Yaçnas, I offer you adoration, Mazda, Asha—with the uttered thoughts of Vohû-Manô. When, by reason of my devotion to the true

*The Huzvaresh translation is ‘To the bridges, on account of your praise.’ (*Spiegel.*)

faith, I shall have supreme power, then will I, with all my heart, maintain allegiance to the wise divinities.

10. I do that which others have done before, what appears worthy in the eyes through Vohû-Manô, by the light, by the sun, the day of the morning to your praise, Asha, Mazda Ahura.

Very difficult [Spiegel says], and translated for the most part conjecturally.

(H.) All the luminaries with their bright appearances, all that is endowed with a radiant eye by the good mind, stars and the sun, the day's foreteller, wander (*in their spheres*) to Thy praise, Thou living, true, wise Spirit.

Truly, what judges style "a distressing conflict of authority"! Nothing like "luminaries" and "wander" is found in Spiegel's conjectural translation. Surely, it is greatly to be hoped that some scholar will be able, by and by, to give the world a critical edition of the Zend-Avesta—a literal translation, with a discussion of the widely different meanings imputed to words, and also a complete dictionary and grammar.

. . . I will do that which has been done by others before me [sacrifice to Thee], that which appears worthy in Thy sight, inspired thereunto by Vohû-Manô; by the light of day, at sunrise, at the dawning of the day, in adoration of Thee, O Mazda Ahura.

11. Thy praise will I announce, O Mazda, with the mouth, so long as I, O Asha, can and am able, let the creator of the world bestow through Vohû-Manô, what is best for the wish of those working openly.

. . . I will proclaim Thy praise, O Mazda, in words, so long as I, O Asha, have power and skill to do so. And may the creator of the Aryan land grant through Vohû-Manô, that which shall conduce to the triumph of those now openly engaged in hostile operations.

This ends the Third Gâthâ. The preparation for the struggle, it seems, was now complete. After arousing, by his exhortations, the people and leaders of that part of the country, in which, although harassed by marauding expeditions of Drukhs and of the Turanian tribes that had sided with them, was still under Aryan rule and of the Ahurian faith, Zarathustra had gone into that which the invaders held and governed, to arouse the Aryans there, and had concerted with Frashaöstra, Viçtâspa, Jâmâçpa and other chiefs, a combined uprising and attack. His objective point, it seems, was the Bridge or Pass Chinvat, at which, I think it elsewhere appears, there was an Aryan district, ruled by Jâmâçpa, who was both priest and soldier.

I think we shall find that the writings of a subsequent date sustain the interpretation that has forced itself on me, of the nature and general purpose and spirit of the Gâthâs.

The Aryans, it appears, settling in Bactria, had conquered it and subjugated, as well as in part converted, the indigenous tribes. It does not appear from the Gâthâs how long a time had elapsed after the first entrance into the country, before it was invaded by a strong force or successive bands of a warlike and barbarous race of men from the country north of the Oxus. Yima, according to the Second Fargard of the Vendîdâd, led the first emigration, and at last came to be considered as the first man, though the name of his father, Vivañhâo, is given.

These Bactro-Aryans were at first herdsmen of the Steppes, and in Bactria, while part of them became cultivators of the soil, a large part also continued to be herdsmen. One chief hardship of which Zarathustra spoke, was that these herdsmen were prevented by the Toorkhish horsemen from driving their cattle to a distance to graze, the pastures within their reach being exhausted.

These Toorkhs, it seems, held the fertile alluvial land in the vicinity of the present Balkh, and the purpose of Zarathustra was to expel them from it, and drive them across the Oxus, and with them, the native tribes that had joined them. "Both worlds" are often mentioned, meaning two countries occupied by Aryans, but whether these were two parts of Bactria, the "world" of the Seven Kareshvares, or Bactria and a colonized region, south of the Hindu Kush, we can only judge from the fact that the whole Seven Kareshvares are styled "the world."

Many of the Aryan petty chiefs, in the country held by the Drukhs, it seems, paid tribute to them, and the labouring class, it is stated, were greatly oppressed by them, being reduced to a condition of serfdom, and having no homes of their own; whence the reiterated prayers for "manifest dwellings."

As the human mind and intellect were deemed, by Ahura, to be portions of the Vohû-Manô, immanent in each body, so those of the Drukhs were deemed to be "creations" or the issue and progeny of Aîra Mainyûs, through Akô-Manô, unreason. Nowhere, therefore, is the practice of mercy towards them inculcated. As the Canaanites were to the Israelites "children," and "men," "of Belial," so the unbelievers were to the Aryans, "Sons of Perdition." They were always to be "smitten" and "destroyed," with the sword, but it is fair to say that the reason for it is given. They were the "oppressors" and, therefore, to be "oppressed."

'Every good gift and every perfect gift' [said the Apostle James], 'is from above and cometh down from the Father of lights . . . Of His own will He begat us with the word of truth.' 'Holy men of God spake' [said Peter], 'moved by the Holy Spirit.'

And in the creed of Zarathustra it was taught that all prayers, hymns and true words, were "deeds of Vohû-Manô," and that these would bring triumph to the Aryan arms and royalty of Zarathustra.

Asha was invoked to "instruct with open protection the announcers of the true faith," i. e., to *provide* [the literal meaning of *instruo*] them with open allies. Having prayed to Vohû-Manô for military skill, Zarathustra now, on the eve of advancing, prays Khshathra to be with them on the march and direct their movements. He propitiates Ahura with sacrifices at and before the sunrise, and assures his people that their piety will give them the victory.

This brings us to the next Gâthâ, that of Rule or Dominion.

GÂTHÂ IV.—VOHU KHSHATHRA.

HÂ I, YAÇNA L.

This Gâthâ was composed and recited after the war of liberation had resulted in success. It is a song of rejoicing and triumph.

1. The best kingdom, the unbounded, the portion which must be given to the distributor of gifts, he distributes with righteousness, the best through deeds, that (give) us now to cultivate.
2. That which belonged to you first, Mazda Ahura and Asha, and to Thee, Ârmaiti, give me as the kingdom of wish, give profit to your praise through Vohû-Manô.
3. To you, come listening, they who rule through your deeds, Ahura and Asha, with the prayers of Vohû-Manô, which Thou, Mazda, hast first taught.

I place these verses together, because they explain each other, and show that the struggle had ended in success, and the country, previously held by the Drukhs, was now under Aryan rule.

∴ Give us now to cultivate the country that is most productive, the most fertile domain, the undivided, that portion which he who is to make partition, is to divide equitably, as donatives; that which was aforetime yours (was Aryan land), Mazda Ahura and Asha and Ârmaiti. Give me that to reign over; let your worship, through Vohû-Manô, produce its fruit of advantage (to the people and soldiery). Those who rule by means of your aid, Ahura and Asha, with that of the prayers of Vohû-Manô, which Thou, Mazda Ahura, first taught, now come to you for counsel.

4. Where is the lord of fullness, where is pardon found? Where does one attain to Asha? Where is Çpënta Ârmaiti? Where is Vohû-Manô? Where are Thy realms, O Mazda?

As questions, these are simple enough—but it is impossible to see why they were asked, nor how they *could* be asked, by Zarathustra. If questions, they are put in here, unconnected in sense or purpose with what precedes or follows them. Now, it is plain enough that there is everywhere in the Gâthâs great uncertainty as to grammatical construction, tenses, modes and numbers. There was in the Zend no mark of interrogation, and I take it, that, generally, it is from the sense alone that it can be determined whether a phrase or sentence is or is not a question. Here, I think, Spiegel took the whole verse to be interrogative, because the next begins with the phrase, “after all this asks, etc.” I do not think that “where” is interrogative.

That land where the possession of abundance resides, and where is clemency for the erring; where one becomes vigorous and strong; and where the divine productiveness is; that where Vohû-Manô is, and Thy realms are, O Mazda. [But the word rendered by ‘pardon’ probably means ‘favour.’]

5. After all this asks, to support the cow, from Asha, the active, the pure, with deeds, the wise with prayers, who is mighty and holy, and announces to the created, the right guides.

6. Who gives better than the good, who grants to him according to wish, to Ahura Mazda, the kingdom, but him who from the bad as holy, does not requite (until) the final dissolution of the world.

The last of these verses is thus translated by Haug:

(H.) The Living Wise bestows, through His power, the best of all, upon him who brings offerings to please Him; but the worst of all will fall to the lot of him who does not worship God in the last time of the world.

Spiegel's translation of this verse is nonsense, pure and simple. Haug's makes sense, but the wrong sense, and a worthless sense. As usual, he makes of Zarathustra, a mere garrulous preacher of eternal repetitions of poor common-places.

.: For all this, the Aryan labourer of the true faith, with products for the sacrifice, and the priest with prayers, petition Asha (who is mighty and beneficent, and gives to the Aryan people instruction for their guidance), that they may keep and feed their cattle.

Asha—who gives him a better region than the good one possessed before, and grants to the petitioner that for which he asks, and dominion to Ahura Mazda, but will assign nothing by way of requital to those, who, among the unbelievers, come professing the true faith, until the final division of the country.

Spiegel understands the last line to mean, "The wicked will not be fully punished until the day of judgment." I have seldom noticed his notelets, for they are of singularly little value, and seldom help us to understand a phrase or solve a difficulty. Occasionally, he tells us that a verse is "obscure," or "unintelligible," or gives an absurd "gloss," but very seldom gives the original word or words, where the sense is doubtful.

7. Give me, Thou who hast created the cow, and the water, and the trees, immortality and fullness, Holiest, Heavenly Mazda, power and strength, instruction through the Best Spirit.

(H.) Thou who hast created earth, water and trees, give me immortality (Amérētāt) and prosperity (Haurvatāt), Holiest Spirit! Those Everlasting Powers, I will praise with a good mind.

.: O Thou who hast produced the cattle, the waters and the trees, grant me long life and abundance, Most Beneficent Divine Mazda; and authority and power, with knowledge through the Divine Mind [or Intellect, Čpēnta Mainyû].

8. Thy sayings, O Mazda, may the man announce for knowledge, as something hurtful for the wicked, for health (to him) who maintains purity; for he rejoices the Mañthra, who utters it for knowledge.

.: May men, O Mazda [or, may the priests], speak publicly Thy sayings, that they may become known, as things that work harm to the unbelievers, and safety to those who uphold the true faith; for he makes glad the Mañthra, who recites it that it may be learned.

9. The wisdom which Thou givest to the warriors, through Thy red fire, through the metal, that give as a token in both worlds, to wound the wicked, to profit the pure. [The word rendered 'wisdom' means 'power.']}

∴ The puissance which Thou givest to warriors, by means of Thy red fire and the arms forged by it, that give as a mark of distinction in both Aryan countries, whereby the unbelievers may be vanquished, and victory be with the true believers.

Here, at least, there is no reference to a spiritual "world" or another life, for in either there are no wars nor warriors, nor forging of metal, nor weapons of steel or bronze.

10. Whoso slays me, except that, O Mazda, he is a companion of the creation of the Drujas, evil who are there, for me I pray for purity, may Thy purity come in good.

Spiegel says, of "except that," "except in case I belong to the wicked." I can see no reason for supposing that, and if it were substituted, it would not help the verse. The first line must be abandoned. The meaning of the second can only be conjectured. The third is plain enough, but seems to have been torn from some other context, and stuck in where it is. Somebody, who does something "except that," is pronounced to be an associate of the evil creation of the Drukhs, i. e., of the Drukhs, the creation of the evil mind, who are present where the something is done. It may be that this judgment is given against the slayers of any persons except Drukhs. To kill them was as meritorious as it once was for Christians to slaughter Saracens.

11, 12. What man is a friend of the holy Zarathustra, O Mazda, who your pure disciple, what is the holy wisdom? What pure one has announced you, to the glorification of Vohû-Manô? These two did not satisfy him, the Vaepayas and the Kevînas, at the Bridge of the Earth, the holy Zarathustra, when (his) body grew up there, when to him . . . [the rest, Spiegel says, 'is unintelligible'].

The first portion of this requires no commentary. Spiegel says, "The Vaepayas and Kevînas are probably two kinds of demons." If so, it is not at all strange that they did not "satisfy Zarathustra." Instead of the Bridge of the Earth (Chinvat), the tradition has "The Bridge of Winter." "The whole verse," he says, "seems to contain allusions to legends respecting Zarathustra, with which we are not acquainted."

Zarathustra, it seems to me, after speaking of and petitioning for various benefits to be bestowed on his soldiery and those who had been on his side among the people, and then asking for military skill and power to enable him to continue to overthrow and destroy the Drukhs, proceeds now to inquire who were unfriendly to him and to threaten punishment.

He asks who were his friends, and who assisted in propagating the true faith, and answers the questions by saying who were not such.

Two tribes of the indigenous people displeased him (or disappointed his expectations), at the bridge (or pass, as from the words "of the earth," I believe it to have been), when his forces rendezvoused and were organized into a body there, and he took command. Probably they failed to appear. Other terms would have been used, if they had joined the Drukhs.

13. The law thinks openly of the wicked as well as the good, whose soul trembles on the Bridge Chinvaṭ, the notorious, wishing to attain, through their deeds and tongue, the path of purity.

Spiegel thinks that this means, "The law remembers the deeds of men in this world, when they arrive at the Bridge Chinvaṭ, and endeavour to reach Paradise." Every conjecture ought, at least, to be plausible, and have "a reason for being." "The Path of Purity" is not Paradise, and "to think openly of" is not "to remember." The "law" is always "the Mazda-yaçnian law," i. e., the precepts of the Zarathustrian religion. Therefore, I conjecture the meaning to be:

∴ The precepts of the true faith are addressed to, and are for the benefit of, the unbelievers (of the native tribes) as for the Aryans, when the former, with souls anxious and disquieted, at the celebrated Pass Chinvat, earnestly endeavour to attain, by offerings and prayers, to the possession of the true faith ('to walk in the right way').

We shall see, in other places in the Zend-Avesta, that there were Turanian chiefs, whose Fravashis were invoked and lauded, as those of "the pure."

14. The Karapas are not friendly to beings, on account of their activity. Grant Thou also to the cow fullness through Thy deeds and precepts; but he who (follows) their precepts comes at last to the dwelling of the Drujas.

∴ The Karapas are harmful to the Aryan people, molesting them in their peaceful pursuits, but do Thou give to our cattle, by means of Thy observances and precepts, abundant pasturage; and let those who follow the precepts of the Drukhs be hereafter driven away, to the land which they inhabit.

15. The reward which Zarathustra before imparted to the believer, that he should first come to the shining abode of Ahura Mazda, this profit will also be bestowed on you, through Vohû-Manô and Asha.

(H.) Zarathustra assigned, in times of yore, as a reward to the Magavas,* the Paradise, where first of all Mazda Himself was gone. 'Can (*immortal Saints!*) have in your hands, through your good and true mind, those two powers'◊ (*to obtain everlasting life*).

*This word is the original form of "Magî", which name was given in later times to all the Persian priests. Its form in the cuneiform inscriptions, is *magush*. According to this verse it seems to have denoted the earliest followers of Zarathustra. (Haug: 160, note.)

◊These are Ameretâṭ and Haurvatâṭ, the two last of the seven archangels in the Parseeism of later periods. (Haug: 160, note.)

Ma-v-ha, in Sanskrit, is “a warrior.” (*Rigv.* 1, 64, 11.) Also, “sacrifice, oblation.” *Magha*, is “power, wealth,” and *maghavant*, “wealthy, or sacrificer.” *Maghavan* is a name of Indra, and must mean “warrior,” and not “sacrificer.” No doubt *Magavas* has, in the Gâthâs, the Vedic and not the later meaning. And I prefer the “assigned” of Haug, to the “imparted,” of Bleeck. I think the verse is addressed to the Turanian allies.

∴ The recompense which Zarathustra has already ordained for his warriors, that they should be the first to have lands assigned them in the goodly land wherein Ahura abides, this remuneration shall also be bestowed on you, through Vohû-Manô and Asha [i. e., as the fruit of your prayers and sacrifices].

16. Wisdom has Kavâ-Vîstâcpa acquired as a mighty kingdom, which, with the words of Vohû-Manô, with purity, formed the Holy Ahura Mazda, may we learn them.

(H.) Kavâ Vîstâspa obtained, through the possession of the spiritual power (*Maga*), and through the verses which the good mind had revealed, that knowledge which the Living Wise Himself, as the cause of truth, has invented.

Spiegel says, of the latter part of this verse:

The meaning is: Ahura Mazda has clothed the Heavenly Wisdom in human language—Vîstâcpa accepted it—may we also accept it.

Kav or *Kab*, Sanskrit, is “to praise,” and *Kavi*, “wise,” and “a wise man,” in the Veda. Later, “a poet.” Considering the differing constructions of Haug and Spiegel, I think I may read thus:

∴ Kavâ-Vîstâcpa (Vîstâcpa, the wise) had acquired (or won) for himself a powerful kingdom, by his might in war, which the Holy Ahura Mazda endowed him with, by means of the words of Vohû-Manô, with the true faith. May we learn those words.

17. May Frashaôstra-Hvô-Gvâ show me the beloved bodies, for the law may he goodness give his beloved (daughter). Mighty is Ahura Mazda, lay hold on Him to desire after purity.

(H.) Frashaôstra, the noble, wished to see my Highland (*Berekhdha Ârmaiti*, i. e., Bactria), to propagate there the good religion. Ahura Mazda may bless this undertaking! Cry aloud that they must aspire after truth!

Spiegel (*note*: Gloss): “Give me thy daughter to wife.” His translation of this verse is unintelligible. Haug’s may not be correct, but it at least means *something*. The subject of this part of the hymn is the division of the conquered country among the principal leaders and their followers, and this verse must, I think, speak of the portion selected for Frashaôstra.

Bérékh is “high, elevated,” from the Sanskrit *bakh* or *vakh*, to be pre-eminent. Locative pronominal adverbs are formed in Zend by the suffix *dha* (*Bopp*, *ii. §420*); and, according to its origin, this suffix means

"here, there." *Berekhda Ârmaiti*, I think, is a particular elevated region of country, and I conjecture the meaning of the verse to be:

∴ May Frashaōstra, owner of cattle, conquer and possess for me that elevated productive region there; may he loyally cause his highlands to submit to the Ahurian faith, Ahura is mighty; seek His assistance in endeavouring to propagate His religion.

18. This wisdom, Déjâmaçpa-Hvô-Gvâ, the brightness of the wish, they desire with purity, who know this kingdom of Vohû-Manô. Give me, Ahura, that which conduces to Thy joy.

(H.) The wise Jâmâspas, the noble, illustrious, who have the good mind with truth, prefer the settled life, saying: Let me have it, because I cling to Thee, Mazda.

Vistâçpa, it is said in verse 16, acquired might as powerful rulership. At that day, and in the condition of things then existing, ability and military skill and capacity, and might from Vohû-Manô, were the only means of rising to power, the only patents of chieftainship; and he who held them had *absolute* power ("ruled according to wish," i. e., his will was law). The chiefs of the American Indian tribes have always governed by the same right. The warriors select, in some way, the ablest; or, at least there is, in some way, general consent and acquiescence. As, in such a case, the wisdom and ability of the ruler are his titles of power, it is natural to think that his power consists in them. In other words, according to the Aryan idea, genius, wisdom, ability are power and rule and dominion. Vistâçpa acquired wisdom as a mighty kingdom, i. e., displayed in the right and power to rule. And Khratu meant "power," and not "wisdom."

Accordingly, I read verse 18, thus:

∴ Those, O Jâmâçpa, who are obedient to the direction of Vohû-Manô, seek by means of the true faith to obtain this might, which is the glory of supreme rule. Give me, Ahura, that whereby Thou mayest have satisfaction.

19. To this man, Maidyomâoñhâ, the holy, is to be given for the law which he taught the world with desire, to the creatures of Mazda has, through his works, announced the best of life.

Maidhyomâoñhâ, [Spiegel says], (the Madiomah of later tradition), is the uncle of Zarathustra, and his first disciple. The oral traditions are ascribed to him.

∴ To Maidyomâoñhâ, the noble, lands are to be given, for the doctrine which, with zeal, he taught the Aryan people; to him, who has by his hymns, proclaimed to the children of Mazda, the best things of life.

20. This profit must ye grant us, all ye compliant; purity, the prayer of Vohû-Manô, in which wisdom lays. (Ye) to whom it is offered with prayer, ye who desire the joy of Mazda.

∴ This blessing, we beseech you to grant us, all ye gracious deities—true faith, the prayers of Vohû-Manô, in which might is contained; ye, to whom sacrifices are offered, with prayer; ye, who strive to give satisfaction to Mazda.

21. He is the holy man of wisdom, according to knowledge, words and deeds (to whom), according to the law, holy purity through Vohû-Manô, the kingdom Ahura Mazda has given, to this, pray we, for His good blessing.

.: He is the excellent wise man, in knowledge, in teachings and in leadership, to whom Ahura Mazda has given the royal power, as the consequence of obedience to the precepts of religion, and of the true faith through Vohû-Manô. Unto Ahura, we pray, for His gracious blessing.

22. Through whose offering to me from purity the best, that knows Mazda Ahura (as well as) those who were and are, to these I offer, according to their names, and approach them with friendship.

.: Ahura Mazda knows through whose aid offered to me, prompted by their piety, is our well-being; those who were and still are (loyal); these, I thank, each by his name, and offer to them friendship.

I think that this is not far from the meaning. It has occurred to me, that the Amêsha-Çpêntas were meant, and that the reading might be:

.: By means of offerings to whom, expressions of religious faith, good fortune is to me, that Mazda Ahura knows—those that existed of old and still exist. To these, I now sacrifice, to each by his name (as a divine person), and come near unto them with gratitude.

The reader must judge.

Yaçna *li.*, in fourteen verses, is neither written in verse, nor in the same dialect as the Gâthâs, and appears to be later addition. (*Spiegel.*)

Ashis (Vanuhi) is named and praised in it, and the only thing worthy of note in it, is that the “good men and women of the whole world of purity” are praised in it, and “the advancement of this dwelling,” and that “of the whole world of purity” is its object, the phrase “whole world of purity” beyond question, meaning the Aryan country.

GÂTHÂ V.—VAHISTOISTI.

YAÇNA LII.

1. The best wish will be uttered of Zarathustra, the holy, if to him, perhaps, favour might grant, out of purity, Ahura Mazda, the welfare of the soul forever, and those who deceive him, as disciples of the good law, with words and works.

(H.) It is reported that Zarathustra Çpitama possessed the best good; for Ahura Mazda granted him all that may be obtained by means of a sincere worship, forever; all that promotes the good life; and he is giving the same to all these who keep the words and perform the actions enjoined by the good religion.

The word “deceive” in Bleeck’s translation is certainly erroneous, for it is applied, as the next verse shows, to the distinguished adherents of Zarathustra. There is nothing like it in Haug’s translation. The original word may mean “surprise” him, or “exceed his expectations.” I think, also, that the last line belongs to the next verse, and place it there in my interpretation.

.:. The most earnest wish of the most noble Zarathustra will be fulfilled, if Ahura Mazda should haply concede to him this favour, flowing out of the performance of the duties of religion; to-wit, the long continuance of a happy life.

2. May they learn from him, with thoughts, words and works, wisdom for Mazda, prayer for believing offerings, Kavâ-Vistâçpa, the Zarathustrian, and the noble Frashaöstra, they knew the right paths, the law which Ahura gave to the profitable.

.:. And those who exceed his expectations, as disciples of the good law, with teachings and achievements, may they learn from him, with thoughts, words and works, hymns for Mazda, and prayers for the offerings of religion; Kavâ-Vistâçpa, of the blood of Zarathustra, and the noble Frashaöstra. They know the ways of truth, the law which Ahura gave to those by whom the land profits.

3. These mayest thou, too, Paouruchiçta, descendant of Haêchat-Açpa, holy, worthy of adoration among the daughters of Zarathustra (whom) with agreement of Vohû-Manô and Asha, Mazda has given thee for a lord, to ask after thy understanding, holiest, wise, female-worker* of wisdom.

.:. Mayest thou too, know these, Paouruchiçta, descendant of Haêchat-Açpa, noble and worthy of admiration among the daughters of Zarathustra, unto thee, Vohû-Manô and Asha co-operating, Mazda has given one for a husband (or instructor), to have the care of thy education, thou, most noble, wise, and composer of hymns.

The next verse, Spiegel says, seems rather to be the answer of Paouruchiçta, than to belong to the speaker of the preceding verses. It does not seem to me that there is any foundation for this notion.

*Paouruchiçta is the daughter of Zarathustra, according to a gloss. She would appear to have married Jâmâçpa, but this is doubtful. Haêchat-Açpa is one of the remote ancestors of Zarathustra. (*Spiegel*.)

4. Thus for him, yours, will I be zealous, and choose that he may give the fathers as relationship for the active, as pure ancestors for the pure. May I possess the shining perfect understanding of Vohû-Manô (which), Mazda created for the good law forever.

.:. Thus for him, your father; I will be zealous, and I hope that he may give his fathers to be relatives of the workers, as pious ancestors of the devout. May I possess [be inspired by, have within me], the clear and perfect understanding of Vohû-Manô, created by Mazda, to teach the good law always.

I very much doubt whether Bleeck's translation expresses the literal sense of several of the words in this verse. If it does, one can only make a hazardous conjecture as to the meaning. And it is very uncertain whether it is the bride or the bridegroom that speaks. Either he or she might express, one a desire, the other willingness, that Zarathustra should, by consenting to the marriage, create a relationship between his own ancestors and the kinsmen (or clansmen) of the bridegroom, and his ancestors be ancestors of the children to be born of the marriage.

5. - To you, the maiden to be married, I, the bridegroom, speak these words. This makes me hopeful. Be conversant hereafter with the places where Vohû-Manô teaches, according to the good law. 'May one of you clothe the other with the true faith, whereat Vohû-Manô will greatly rejoice.' [This clause seems to be spoken by Zarathustra.]

6. So are both these manifest, ye men and ye women, the way away from the Drukhs; whoso is thankful to me for a benefit, I demand from the Drukhs; be far away from the body. To those who cleave the air, may the brightness of the evil kingdom reach. May the wicked be completely overcome, that they may no more be able to slay the spiritual world.

"This verse," Spiegel says, "is translated conjecturally." I take that to mean that the words are translated, each in some one of its senses, as literally as possible. The *meaning* could not have been conjectured of the verse as a whole, for it is incoherent, and in part unintelligible. What can be understood, seems to be that the people, men and women, are told that two things are beyond doubt. One is, that there is a way by which the Aryans residing among the Drukhs may come away. "Whosoever among them," he says, "will be thankful to me as for a benefit, I will demand him from the Drukhs." "Be far away from the body, etc.," may mean, "I will say to the Drukhs, do him no bodily harm. May the power of the Kingdom of the Evil One, seize upon those who cut short his breath." And the last line is plain enough: "May the unbelievers be completely conquered, so as never again to be able to take the lives of Aryans." "The spiritual world" is the Aryan people, as taught and inspired by Vohû-Manô.

7. That will be your reward for the great deed that Azhu*, who lies in the heart, from the possessed inward parts, stealing himself away, arrives thither

**Azhu* is, perhaps, = *Azhi*, the demon of lust.

where the soul of the bad. Strive after this greatness, it will be friendly with you, even to the last word.*

Agha, in Sanskrit, means "sin," "impurity." Like *aṁhas*, it is from a lost verb, *angh*; and *aṁhas*, also, means "pain, sin." In the Veda, *aṁhu*. *Angh*, is the equivalent of the Greek verb $\alpha\gamma\chi\omega$; and from it are the Latin, *angustus*, *angere*, *anxius*, and our words, *anguish* and *anxious*. $\alpha\gamma\chi\omega$ and *Ango* mean "strangle, choke," etc., and the earliest derivative meaning was that of "pain."

The Sanskrit *g*, *gh*, become in the Zend, *z* and *zh*. And taking the earlier meaning of the word, as that by far most likely to have been its sense when the Gâthâs were composed, as it is also the Vedic sense of the original, I think, that the meaning of *Azhu*, here, is "pain" or "anguish." And I read the verse thus:

∴ This shall be your reward for that great work [the expulsion of the Drukhs], that the anguish, which makes the heart its abiding place, stealing away from the inmost recesses, whereof it has had possession, will go thither to where the souls of the unbelievers are. Strive to attain this great good fortune, and it shall be with you like a friend until your last breath.

8. Away may be the deceivers, away to the evil-doers; may all be benumbed who are to be smitten! The good rule, and the pleasure of good and evil men may, to the kindred clans, give the greatest above death, may he throw the deceivers through their own bonds! Soon may it happen!

∴ Let those who have been faithless, flee away, flee away to the unbelieving marauders! May all whom we are to fight be enfeebled! May He, who is the Supreme over death, give unto our kindred clans of Aryans, good government, and peace and quiet to all, whether Aryans or Turanians! May He cause the mouthful (or treacherous) to fall by their own snares, and may all this speedily come to pass.

9. Through evil belief are brought hurts, wounds to Thy teachers (who desire that the sinners may be completely overthrown. Where is the pure Ahura, who may drive them away from life and free going about? May Thy Kingdom come, O Ahura, wherewith Thou makest good for the right living poor!

∴ Through false religion [i. e., by those whose religion is a false one, the Drukhs, because the religion itself, in them, was supposed to be the efficient cause of their misdeeds, the very doer of them, as the true faith was the efficient cause of all good actions, all prosperity and abundance, and success and victory, among the Aryans] have come calamities upon our people, and injuries to those who are the apostles of Thy faith, who are resolved completely to conquer their unbelieving oppressors. Where is the Very Self of Ahura, who will drive them away from their abodes and from their predatory raids? May Thy rule come, O Ahura, wherewith Thou wilt give security and comfort to the poor who live right wisely.

This ends the Fifth Gâthâ. I return now to the Yaçna Haptanhâiti, which Spiegel places next to the Gâthâ Ahuna Vaiti, and counts as the Second Gâthâ. It means the Yaçna of Seven Hâs, or Sections.

*Purely conjectural. (*Spiegel.*)

YAÇNA HAPTAÑHÂITI.

HÂ I, YAÇNA XXXV.

Haug speaks thus of this composition:

Though written in the Gâthâ dialect, it is to be distinguished from the Gâthâs. It is undoubtedly very old, but there is no sufficient evidence to trace it to Zarathustra himself. Its contents are simple prayers, in prose, which are to be offered to Ahura Mazda, the Amësha-Çpëntas, Fravashis, to the fire, as the symbol of Ahura Mazda, who appears in its blazing flame, to the earth and other female genii, as the angel presiding over food, etc. Compared with the Gâthâs, they represent the Zoroastrian religion, not in its original unaltered, but in a somewhat developed and altered state. The high philosophical ideas which are laid down in Zarathustra's own songs, are partially abandoned, and partially personified, and the philosophical, theological and moral doctrines have given way to the custom, which has remained up to this time, of addressing prayers to all beings of the good nature, irrespective of their being mere abstract nouns, as *Asha*, i. e., 'truth, growth;' *Vohû-Manô*, 'good mind;' or real objects, as waters, trees, fire.

It might as well be said that the Holy Ghost, or Holy Spirit, the Comforter, of Saint John and the Christian world, the Creative Logos of Philo, was "a mere abstract noun." The different Amësha-Çpëntas are as clearly persons or hypostases in the Gâthâs, as they are in the later writings.

The formula [Dr. Haug continues], by which here and in the younger Yaçna, to which the Yaçna Haptanhâiti has undoubtedly furnished the model, the prayers begin, viz.: *Yazamaidê*, 'we worship,' is entirely strange to the Gâthâs, as well as the invocation of waters, female genii, etc., even the names 'Amësha Çpënta' (except in the heading of 28. 1), as the general term for the higher angels, and 'Fravashi,' which is so extremely frequent in the later Zend literature, are never to be met with in these metrical pieces.

Although they are younger than the Gâthâs, still they have just claims to be considered as more ancient and original than the pieces of the younger Yaçna. A very striking proof, besides the difference of dialect, is that the objects of worship are much fewer than in the younger prayers, that, for instance, the six seasons, the five divisions of the day, the five Gâthâs, Zoroaster, the sacred branches (Barsom), the sacred drink (Homa), etc., never are mentioned in 'Yaçna of Seven Chapters.' It formed originally a separate book, was very likely composed by one of the earliest successors of Zoroaster, and stands in the middle, between the Gâthâs and the younger Yaçna.

The proof is clear enough that it is older than the latter. That it is younger than the Gâthâs, is not made so clear. They were not religious hymns, i. e., hymns of worship. The Seven Yaçnas are:

1. (*Raçpi*). Ahura Mazda the Pure, Lord of Purity, praise we. The Amësha-Çpëntas, the good rulers, the wise, praise we. The whole world of purity, praise we, the heavenly as the earthly, with desire after the good purity, with desire after the good Mazdayaçnian law.

These verses, 1-3, Spiegel says,

do not belong properly to the text, but are a later interpolation; written, however, in the same dialect as the rest of the chapter.

(H.) We worship Ahura Mazda the Pure, the Master of Purity. We worship the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the possessors of good, the givers of good. We worship the whole creation of the true spirit, both the spiritual and terrestrial, all that supports (raises) the welfare of the good creation, and the spread of the good Mazdayasna religion.

The whole world of purity, the heavenly as the earthly, is the whole Aryan creation, intellectual and corporeal.

2. (*Zaōta*). Of the good thoughts, words and works, which here and elsewhere have been done or will yet be done, the praises and propagators are we, that we may belong to the good.

(H.) ∴ We praise all good thoughts, all good words, all good deeds, which are and will be (which are being done and have been done*), and we, likewise, keep clean and pure, all that is good.

∴ We praise and spread abroad all hymns containing the thoughts, inspired in words by the Divine Wisdom, that have been composed here or elsewhere, or may hereafter be composed, that we may be conjoined with the Supreme Good.

3. That we believe, Ahura Mazda, Pure, Fair, that will we think, say and do, which is best among the works of men for both worlds.

(H.) ∴ O, Ahura Mazda, Thou true, happy Being! We strive to think, to speak and to do only what of all actions might be best fitted to promote the two lives (that of the body and of the soul).

Spiegel says, "The phrase 'both worlds' or 'the two worlds' applies in Parsee writings only to this world and the next, and has no reference to a subdivision of the future state." As far as I can judge, there was no Zend word that had the meaning of the word "world," as used by us in the phrase "the next world;" neither was there any expression in that language, equivalent to "this world and the next," or "the two worlds," as meaning this and the next.

The meaning of the verse clearly is, as shown by the next one,

that which is our religion, we will think, express in words, and perpetuate in compositions, as being of the greatest benefit, among all the works of men, for both Aryan countries!

4. Through these best deeds [with these most beneficent compositions], we now pray that for the cattle, peacefulness and food may be bestowed everywhere [pleasantness and fodder may be distributed, *Spiegel*], to the learned as to the unlearned, to the mighty as to the weak.

(H.) ∴ We beseech the Spirit of Earth, by means of these best works (agriculture), to grant us beautiful and fertile fields, to the believer as well as to the unbeliever, to him who has riches, as well as to him who has no possession.

*The words *Verezyamnan aṁcha vaverezyamnan aṁcha* are evidently only an explanatory note of the rare words *yadacha* (yet) now, and *anyadacha*, not now; i. e., either in the future or in the past. (Haug.)

5. The kingdom to the best ruler; wherefore we commit, bestow and offer it to him, to Ahura Mazda, to Asha Vahista.

6. What now both, man or woman, manifestly know [i. e., that which, arranged as a hymn or other composition they can repeat], that let them, if it is anything inspired, speak out, act thereby, and also publish it far abroad, for those who act, even so, as this is [for those who act in accordance with it].

7. Your praise, Ahura Mazda's, and His best worship, we meditate, and the best fodder [pasturage] for the cattle. Yours, we do, we spread abroad, what we desire from you.

8. In the dominion of purity, in the wish for purity, for every living the best in both worlds, these spoken words, Ahura Mazda, utter we well, thinking purity.

9. Thee we make their hearer and teacher. On account of Thy purity, good-mindedness, good dominion, is Thy land higher than all land, Thine hymns higher than all hymns, Thy praise higher than all praise.

In the last three of these verses, it seems to be the ruler (Zarathustra) who is addressed in the second person. Those who recite the hymn declare to him that they repeat the praises of Ahura Mazda, composed by him, devoting themselves to that worship of Ahura, whence all good comes, and to those labours whereby the cattle have abundant food. It is those prayers and Mañthras that they will recite and promulgate, those which they have, by asking, obtained from Zarathustra, in the realm of the true faith, with zeal for the true faith, which is most fruitful of blessings for every living soul in both Aryan countries.

These spoken words, O, Ahura Mazda, we repeat correctly, expressions of the emotions of our souls. We accept and acknowledge thee, Zarathustra, as hearing them, uttered by Vohû-Manô, and as teacher of them to us. On account of thy faith, thy loyal zeal, and thy benign rule, thy glory is greater than that of all others, thy hymns are more excellent than all others, and thy adoration of Ahura is of more worth than all other adoration.

HÂ II, YAÇNA XXXVI.

1. We approach ourselves first to Thee, Mazda Ahura, through the service of the fire. To Thee, Holiest Spirit [Most Beneficent Mind], who the torment requitest upon him who decrees it [who visitest with calamity and despoilment those by whose orders these have been inflicted on the Aryans].

2. Happy is the man to whom Thou comest mightily, Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, more friendly than the most friendly, more worthy of adoration than the most worthy of honour. Mayest Thou come helpfully to us at the greatest business.

By this last phrase, the gloss says, the Resurrection is meant. These "interpretations" of the gloss are as absurd as Philo's interpretations of the "allegories" which he finds in the plainest passages of the Old Testament.

'We approach, draw nigh unto, or worship Thee, Ahura, by the sacrifice with fire' [the worshipper declares in this second hymn. Then he lauds the fire itself, as the out-flowing of Ahura, His] 'Son.' Those are fortunate [he says], to whom Thou comest in Thy power; Thou, Most Beneficent, most worthy of adoration. 'Come now unto us, enabling us to worship, helping us in this great work.'

3. Fire, Thou art acquainted with Ahura Mazda, acquainted with the Heavenly, Thou art the Holiest of the Same, that bears the name Vâzista.

The Fire *Vâzista* is praised, among others, in Yaçna xvii., and is said by Spiegel to be in the clouds, i. e., lightning. I find in the Sanskrit *vâci*, "fire," from *Vâç* to "roar, cry, howl;" and *Vâçi*, "roar, prayer." *Vâsa* is also "dwelling, living, resting, dwelling-place, habitation." *Vâzista* may mean the domestic and sacrificial fire, and be appropriately termed the most beneficent of all. It is possible that the sacred fire for the sacrifices was originally that of wood set on fire by the lightning, and when once so obtained, not permitted to expire; and that this was deemed the holiest of all fire. It is, at any rate, the fire of the sacrifice that is addressed here, and said to be "acquainted," i. e., to be immanent in, Ahura Mazda, and in the luminaries of the sky.

4. O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, we draw near to Thee with good mind, with good purity, with deeds and words of good wisdom, we draw near to Thee [i. e., with zealous devoutness and ardent faith, with the ceremonial observances and the prayers and hymns that are the effluences of Vohû-Manô].

5. We praise Thee, we acknowledge ourselves as Thy debtors, Mazda Ahura. With all good thoughts, with all good words, with all good works, we draw nigh unto Thee.

6. This, Thy body, the fairest of all bodies, we invite, Mazda Ahura, the greatest among the great lights, that which they call the Sun.

We learn, from these verses, that the sacrificial fires were lighted and the sacrifices prepared for, if not performed, and the invocations uttered, at the dawn of the day and before the rising of the sun, which is here invoked to rise. Fire, the highest Deity of the Indo-Aryans, was still, for the Zarathustrians, the son, issue, progeny or outflowing of Ahura Mazda, who was Himself the light—substance of which all visible light is the manifestation; and the great orb which men call the sun, was the material embodiment of this Light-Essence.

So the Emperor Julian says:

'The Sun, the greatest God, He has caused to appear out of Himself, in all things like Himself.' According to Him, the Highest Deity, the Supreme Goodness, has brought forth out of itself, the Intelligible Sun, of which the visible Sun is only an image, and which, in the Chaldæan doctrine, is the Intelligible-Light (*Φῶς νοητὸν*) and Spiritual Life-Principle *Iao*, like to Himself, the original Being, in all respects. (*Movers*, 205. *Dunlap*, 182.)

In the Egyptian dialogue between Pimander and Thoth, the former says:

'I am Pimander, the *Thought of the Divine Power* He changed form, and suddenly revealed to me *All* all was converted into Light. Shortly after a terrible cloud was agitated with a dreadful crash. A snake escaped from it with noise. From this noise went out a Voice; it seemed to me, the Voice of the Light; and the Word proceeded out of the Voice of the Light This Light is in me. I am the Intelligence. I am thy God I am the germ of the Thought, the resplendent Word, the Son of God. Think that what thus sees and perceives in you is the Word of the Master, it is the Thought, which is God, the Father. They are not at all separated, and their Union is Life The Intelligence is God, possessing the double fecundity of the two sexes, which is the Life and the Light of His Intelligence. He created with His Word another operative Intelligence; He is also God the Fire and God the Spirit.' And 'The operative Intelligence and the Word enclosing in them the (Seven) Circles, and turning with a great velocity, this machine moves from its commencement to its end, without having either beginning or end.'

'Pythagoras taught that God is the Universal Mind, diffused through all things, the source of all life, the proper and intrinsic cause of all motion, *in substance similar to light, in nature like truth*, the first principle of the universe, incapable of pain, invisible, incorruptible, and only to be comprehended by the Mind.' (*Dunlap*, 178.)

Τὴν δὲ ζωὴν ἐτ πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι.
But the Life is through Fire and Spirit.
Plato: *Timaeus*.
He will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and Fire.
John The Baptist.

Apollo, being asked who he was, gave this oracle:

Elios, Deus, Osiris, Anax, Dionusos, Apollōn.
King of the flaming stars, and Immortal Fire.

And Yahoh spake the Ten Commandments to Moses:

'Out of the midst of the fire.' He 'covereth Himself with light, as with a garment.' 'His glory' [says Ezekiel], 'came from the way of the East and the earth shined with His glory.' 'His glory' [says Habakkuk], 'covered the Heavens And His brightness was as the light.' 'And the light' [it is said in Daniel], 'dwelleth with Him.'

The light [says Mr. Dunlap, in his *Spirit-History of Man*], was to the reflecting minds of antiquity, something higher, subtler, purer, nobler, than the orbs or beings whose essence it was. It was regarded as the first light, the first cause of all light, of which the sun was a secondary cause, an inferior agent receiving his powers from the Supreme Light of all light.

But the idea that there is a light, or essence or substance of light, that is not light, and not perceptible by the eyes, but only to be conceived of by the intellect, is of later origin than the creed of Zarathustra. The sun, in that creed, was the *body* of Ahura Mazda; and light and fire were

His effluence or outflowing, Himself *as* light and fire, as Vohû-Manô was Himself, *as* the divine wisdom. And Mr. Dunlap immediately and correctly says:

The doctrine of the emanation of all creation out of the Godhead, is one of the oldest theories of religion. It is found in all ancient religions in which Sabaism was prominent. Hence, all these religions were light-religions; for the human mind could only picture the Deity to itself as the purest light. Not merely the corporeal world, but the world of spirits were considered emanations of the Godhead.

We find its origin in the Veda. It was older than these writings, and older than Zarathustra.

HÂ III, YAÇNA XXXVII.

1. Here praise I now, Ahura Mazda, who has created the cattle, who has created purity, the water, and the good trees, who created the splendours of light, the earth, and all good.

(H.) ∴ Thus we worship Ahura Mazda, who created and furthered the Spirit of Earth, and who created the good waters, and trees, and the luminaries, and the earth and all good things.

The word rendered by "created" has not, it is evident, the sense of made, or caused to begin to exist, out of nothing; for it is applied here to the true faith or religion, and to the splendour of the light, as well as to the cattle, water, and the vegetable creation. It rather means "produced" or "caused to issue from Himself."

2. To Him belongs the Kingdom, the Might, the Power. We praise Him first among the adorable Beings, which dwell together with the cattle.

(H.) ∴ Him, we worship by the first prayers which were made by the Spirit of Earth, because of His power and greatness and good works.

'For Thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory, forever and ever.'

The word rendered "power" by Spiegel, and "good works" by Haug, must have a different meaning from that rendered "might" by the former, and probably meant victory, overowering, the glory of success, the Sephirah Hûd of the Kabalah. The identity of formula in this hymn and the Lord's Prayer is remarkable.

The adorable Beings that dwell among the cattle [are, Spiegel says], the genii who protect the cattle, and who would naturally be held in great veneration by an agricultural people.

But no such "genii" are known to the Zend-Avesta, and if they were, it would hardly have been proposed to worship Ahura as the first among them.

Nor, on the other hand, would it have been said of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, that they dwelt among the cattle.

Haug renders by "prayers made," what Spiegel translates by "adorable beings." But prayers are nowhere else said to be made by the "Spirit of Earth," a phrase which is itself an error.

I venture to think that "among the adorable beings" should read "together with all pious men, or worshippers," and that it is these who "dwell among the cattle," or have their homes in the Aryan pasture lands.

3. Him, praise we, with Ahurian name, Mazda, with our own bodies and life, praise we Him, the Fravashis of the pure, men and women, we praise.

(H.) ∴ We worship Him, in calling Him by the Ahurian names, which were chosen by Mazda Himself and which are the Most Sacred. We worship Him with our bodies and souls. We worship Him as *being united with* the Spirits (Fravashis) of the pure men and women.

'With our own bodies and life, we praise Him,' means, probably, 'We devote our bodies and life to His service,' [willing to serve the true faith, in arms, and to lose our lives for it, if need be. Of the Fravashis, we speak elsewhere.]

4. The best purity (Asha-Vahista), we praise, what is fairest, what pure, what immortal, what brilliant, all that is good.

(H.) ∴ We worship the promotion of all good (Ashem Vahistem), all that is very beautiful, shining, immortal, bright, every thing that is good.

5. The good spirit we honour, the good kingdom we honour, and the good law, and the good rule, and the good wisdom.

I suppose, but am not sure, that the name Ashem Vahistem (the accusative) is used in the original and is translated by Spiegel, "the best purity." If so, it is clearly the Amēsha-Çpēnta that is praised; and the name, as we have seen, does not mean "best purity." The words, "fairest," "pure," "immortal," "brilliant," "good," themselves need interpretation, but without knowing what the original words are, that interpretation is impossible. They may all be epithets of Asha-Vahista.

The good spirit and good kingdom I suppose to be Vohū-Manō and Khshathra-Vairyā. The good law is the Mazdayaçnian doctrine and precepts. The good rule is probably that of Zarathustra, and by the good wisdom is meant skilful leadership of armies.

HÂ IV, YAÇNA XXXVIII.

Spiegel divides all these Hâs into short stanzas. I have followed Haug, in grouping them, generally by threes, into a smaller number. In this Hâ are fifteen short stanzas.

1. This earth, together with the women, we praise.
2. Which bears us, which are Thy women, Ahura Mazda.
3. Whose wishes arise from purity, these we praise.
4. Fullness, readiness, questioning, wisdom.
5. The good holiness through them, the good wish.

Of 'fullness, readiness, questioning, wisdom' [Spiegel says], Perhaps, these abstract nouns are the powers which are called in verse 2, 'the women of Ahura Mazda.' 'Questioning' is the asking those questions in response to which Ahura Mazda is represented as communicating His teachings to Zarathustra and others, and 'wisdom' is whatsoever is so or otherwise taught by Ahura, directly or through Vohû-Manô. By 'fullness' is ordinarily meant abundance, prosperous condition, but the meaning of 'readiness' is altogether uncertain. The 'women' are not powers, I think, but women in the ordinary sense of the word.

I think the meaning of the first three lines is:

We praise this land, together with its women; this land which bears us, these women that are Thy women [i. e., that are Aryan women], whose desires are the promptings of the true religion.

6. The good fullness, the good blessing, the good Pârendi, we praise.

Thus, the good holiness and the good wish, in verse 5, are connected with the good fullness and the good blessing, in verse 6, and I think that the two former mean the divine beneficence and grace, and the two latter, abundance and good fortune.

7, 8, 9. The waters, praise we, the dropping (rain), flowing (?), forward running [the two epithets meaning, perhaps, the running streams, and the water flowing through canals]; the arising from Ahura, the well-working, having good fords, the well-flowing, well-washing, desirable for both worlds.

As we had in verse 3, wishes arising from purity, we have here, waters arising from Ahura, i. e., owing their origin to him. By "well-working" is probably meant, flowing regularly, and not subject to drought, nor working harm by over-flow and inundation. The well-washing, desirable for both worlds, are those of irrigation, needed by both portions of the country. The true meaning of the word translated "worlds" is definitely settled here. No waters could be desirable for both worlds, in our sense of that phrase, and by it is meant, either the mother country and a colony, or two parts of Bactria, divided perhaps by a river, one of them originally occupied, and the other subsequently conquered by the Aryans.

10, 11, 12. Which names Ahura Mazda has given to you, the good, He, the Giver of good, whatever He may have given, with these, we praise you, with these, we invoke you, with these, we pray to you, with these, we confess ourselves your debtors.

13, 14, 15. You, the waters Azi, Mâtaras, Agenayô, Dregudâya, the lords over all, will we invoke, the best, fairest, you, ye good, on account of offering [who with long arms lead (the body of the world), without creating, without speaking, the Mâtarâ-jîtayô (milk)].

[Spiegel says], The name *Azi* and its translations are alike unintelligible. *Mâtara* ('the mother') betokens the seed of men, *Agenayô*, the blood, and *Dregudâya*, the 'juice of fruit.' [And of v. 15, he says], This difficult passage is

merely translated according to the tradition. It is not possible to translate it more intelligibly.

It seems to me that the text plainly enough says that the worshippers praise, invoke, etc., certain streams, by the names given them by Ahura Mazda Himself, i. e., by which they have been known from time immemorial. And this is of interest, as proving that the occupation of Bactria by the Aryans was even then an occurrence of very ancient date. Four of these names are given, of rivers that are "Lords over all," i. e., the chief and largest of all, the best and most beautiful.

How these rivers, with their long arms or branches, lead "the body of the world," it would be difficult to explain. Omitting these words, conjecturally interpolated, we have "with long arms lead, without creating, without speaking, the Mâtarô-Jîtayô."

Jîtayô must be from the Sanskrit root *ji*, akin to *jya*, meaning "to overpower, conquer, be victorious, to win, restrain, excel;" whence *ajita*, "unsubdued," *avajitaya*, "forcibly," and *jit* in composition, "victorious, conquering." *Mâtarô-jîtayô* must, therefore, mean, I think, the surpassingly great, deep or swift mother-stream, to which, the meaning may be, "the other streams, with their long arms," i. e., being long branches of it, "lead." "Without creating, without speaking," I cannot interpret.

HÂ V, YAÇNA XXXIX.

1. Here, praise we now the soul and body of the bull, then our souls, and the souls of the cattle, which desire to maintain us in life, for whom those, who are for those.

Of this last line, Spiegel says:

The Huzveresh translation has, 'Those who are warriors, who are husbandmen, has he created.'

I can find no trace of this in the text, and consider that the words in verse 3 refer to the men and animals named in verse 2.

[In Yaçna *i. 6*], 'The body of the cow, the soul of the cow' [are] 'invited and announced to.' [In Fargard *xxi. 1*], 'the holy bull and well-created cow' [are praised], 'thou who multipliest, thou who makest to increase, gift of the Creator.' [In a note to the former passage, Spiegel says], 'In the old Persian mythology, a primeval bull (or cow) was the first and sole inhabitant of the earth, and being slain by Añra Mainyûs, all kinds of profitable corn and grain were produced from his body, while his soul went to Heaven, where it complained that the world was now without protection, and would be destroyed by Añra Mainyûs. Hereupon, the Fravashi (soul) of Zarathustra was shown to the disconsolate animal, who forthwith became pacified.'

The origin of this fable cannot be mistaken. It is found in the Gâthâ Ahuna-Vaiti, in the destruction of the Aryan herds by the creatures of Anra-Mainyûs, the marauding Drukhs, and the imaginary petition of *Geus-Urva*, "the soul of the bull," for a military leader and ruler.

I greatly doubt whether *urva* means "soul." I find *urvan* given as having the meaning of *mind*, *soul*; and *Urvara*, a *tree*. In Fargard ii. 143, *Urvatañ-Narô* is said to be the master and overseer of those living in the circle of Yima; and elsewhere, Spiegel renders *Kraðjdat-urva* by "hardness of heart." How difficult it is to ascertain the exact meaning of many a Zend word has already been seen by comparing the translations of Spiegel and Haug, and is plain from many conflicting conjectures by Spiegel himself. Thus, for example, he renders *Frâdat-vîra*, "the preserver of mankind," and *Frâdañ-vîçpanm hujyâitis*, "worldly prosperity."

In the Mâh-Nyâyis, Kh. Avesta ix., we find, "To the morn which contains the seed of the bull, to the only-born bull, to the bull of many kinds." "The bull" is simply the collective name of all male cattle, as "The cow" is of all female. *Geus* or *Gaus*, it seems, may mean either "bull" or "cow." *Gaus azi* is understood by Spiegel to mean "going, walking or driven cow." Westergaard and Brockhaus have, instead, the reading *Géus verezenê*, and yet *Geus-urva* is said to mean "the soul of the bull."

I find the following words in Benfey:

Uras, probably for *Varas*, i. e. *vri+as* and akin to *uru*, n. "the breast."

Uru, i. e., *vri+u*, adj. i. f. *urvi*, "large." ii. f. *urvî*, "the earth."

Urvaçî, the name of an Apsaras.

Urviyâ, adv. (probably for *úrvyâ*, instr. sing. fem. of *uru*), "far and wide."

Urvî-bhri+t, "a mountain."

Urabhra, i. e., *vri+a* (akin to *Urñâ*) *bhri+a*, "a ram."

Urû, "the thigh."

Urva, the name of a Saint from whose thighs proceeded the submarine fire.

Vri, also in Sanskrit, means, among other things, "to cover, conceal," and *vrish*, "to engender," and its causative, "to be possessed of generative power." And *vrish+a* means "a bull," and *vrishana*, "the testicles, scrotum." So *vrishan* is "a bull" and "a horse."

May not *geus-urva* mean, simply "a bull not castrated?"

The word rendered, in the last cited verses, by "soul," and subsequently repeated in the same Hâ, can not mean what we now understand by that word, but, probably, the Life-Principle, or, perhaps, that which in man and animal thinks, determines and remembers, and has passions and emotions. This proceeds from Ahura Mazda, and as such could properly be praised. I think it means "virility," as the Life-Principle or Cause.

And it is also to be remarked that the word rendered “praise” can not have had the meaning of “worship” or “adore;” for in this same hymn, waters, fords, and meetings of roads are “praised,” as well as mountains and springs, winds, the earth, the Sea Vôru Kasha, etc. The sense of the word is undoubtedly, “being grateful or thankful for, extolling as gifts and blessings.”

2. The souls of those going a-foot, and of the riders, we praise. Then we praise the souls of the pure, who have ever been born, men and women, whose good laws, one honours, will honour and has honoured.

These “good laws” are the rules by which their conduct was governed, the rules by which they governed themselves.

3. Then we invoke the good men and women, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the ever-living, ever-profiting, who dwell together with Vohû-Manô and the female also.

The “men and women” here means the male and female. We find the word “man” elsewhere used in the translation, when the reference is to a male Deity. For “ever-profiting” read “ever beneficent.” And the meaning of the last line is, “who are immanent, even those that are female, in Vohû-Manô, the Divine Wisdom;” as, in the Kabalah all the other Sephiroth are contained in and issue from Kether, the Crown.

4. As Thou, Ahura Mazda, hast thought, spoken, done and created what (is) good, so we give to Thee, offer to Thee, praise Thee, pray to Thee, acknowledge ourselves as Thy debtors, Ahura Mazda.

5. By means of the individuality of the good self, the good holiness, come we to Thee of the good rule over the cattle of the good wisdom.

Without the original text, it is not possible to do more than guess at the meaning of this verse, so meaningless is the translation. How do men “come to” the Deity, “by means of” “the individuality of the good Self,” and by “the good rule over the cattle?” “The individuality of the good Self” may represent that, which in the original, means “through the person of Çpēnta-Mainyûs, thy hypostasis, addressing ourselves to it, we attain with our prayers unto Thy Very Self;” and the good rule over the cattle may be Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, and the good wisdom, Vohû-Manô, or the prayers and teachings that are his utterances. And unless this is the meaning, I take it, that the sense of the verse is beyond the reach of discovery.

HÂ VI, YAÇNA XL.

1. From place to place, Mazda Ahura, will I bring forth wisdom and fullness, as gifts for Thee, Lord of the Understanding, on account of that which is above.

"That is," Spiegel says, "according to the gloss, the law." I read the verse thus:

From place to place, Mazda Ahura, I will promulgate the Mazdayaçnian doctrine, and by colonization (or by encouraging agriculture, and maintaining peace), will create abundance, to be for Thy service, Master of the Understanding, on account of Thy supremacy.

2. What reward Thou hast given to those of the same law [governed by the same creed] as myself, Mazda-Ahura, that give Thou also unto us, for this world and that beyond [for the original Aryan country and that once beyond its limits].

3. May we thus attain to that which is so, to union with Thy purity to all eternity.

Spiegel refers here to Yaçna *vii. 61-64*, which is:

What reward Thou hast given to such as are of the same law as myself, O Ahura, that give also to me, for earth as well as for Heaven; may we, also, come under Thine authority and that of Asha, for all eternity?

Thus, in the later hymn, what was originally, "for this region and that beyond," becomes "for earth as well as for Heaven;" and we find in it, also, Asha, instead of Thy purity. "May we thus attain to that which is so" is mere nonsense, and here, probably, the later composition more correctly repeats the original, in "May we come under Thy authority and that of Asha."

I should like to know the original phrase, translated "to all eternity." I am quite sure that nothing was prayed for, in the early days of Zarathusrianism, beyond the life of this world. In that, Moses and Zarathustra were alike. Neither postponed the chastisement of evil-doers to a future beyond this life, nor offered rewards equally as remote for well-doing here.

4. Let the pure men [Aryans of the true faith], who desire after purity [who labour to advance the cause of the true faith, that is, of Aryan supremacy], warriors as well as husbandmen, be long mighty, long rejoiced, for us to our joy.

For not the soldier, in camp and field, alone, but also the husbandman whose labour furnished the troops with subsistence, contributed to the success of the cause, of their God, faith and country. Wherefore, it is prayed that both may for many years be strong and prosperous by success, and by their exertions, good fortune come to all the people. *Laborare est orare.*

5. So may relationship, worship and friendship be, that we may lift ourselves up and be yours, Ahura Mazda, as pure and truthful, with sacrifice and offering.

HÂ VII, YAÇNA XLI.

1. Hymns, reverential adoration, to Ahura Mazda and Asha-Vahista we give, we spread abroad, and we make known [we utter, promulgate and teach to others]. May we attain Thy good Kingdom, Mazda Ahura, forever.

The "good kingdom," rule, or dominion of Ahura Mazda, is the supremacy of the Zarathustrian doctrine and of the Irano-Aryan people.

2. Thou art our ruler, possessed of the good Kingdom, for men as well as for women, the wisest among beings in both worlds. The good increase, we bestow on Thee [offer to Thee], the Worthy of Adoration, the Friend of Purity.

The "beings in both worlds" are unquestionably the Aryans. Of course, Ahura is not praised as the wisest among *them*, in the literal meaning of the phrase. But, all human wisdom, skill, cunning, generalship, state-craft, comes of Ahura Mazda, by Vohû-Manô, and it is among the true believers, the Aryans, in both their countries, that this wisdom is given in greatest measure, and Ahura is most amply manifested as wisdom, or, is wisest.

The "good increase" is the fruits of the ground and of the cattle. Ahura is the "friend" of purity, the latter word being either used collectively, for the whole body of the true believers, or the word rendered by "friend" meaning the supporter and champion or "Defender of the Faith."

3. Mayest Thou be to us life and body, Thou, the wisest among the creatures in both worlds.

4. May we show ourselves worthy, may we live, Ahura Mazda, in joy in Thee, a long life, may we desire after Thee and be mighty. Rejoice us long and well, O Wisest among beings.

5. As Thy praisers and psalmists, O Ahura Mazda, we come, we desire and we obey.

6. What reward Thou hast given to my equal, according to the law [to him whose equal I am in piety], that give to me also, for earth as well as for heaven. May we thus come under Thy rule, Pure [Asha], for all Eternity.

7. We praise, Amêsha-Çpêntas, your portion of the Yaçna Haptanhâiti. [Or, Spiegel says, 'We praise you, Amêsha-Çpêntas, who have composed the Yaçna Haptanhâiti.'] The abode of the water praise we, the fords of the water praise we. The separating of the ways, the meeting of the ways, we praise.

8. The mountains, which make the water to flow, the Varas* which give water we praise. The youths on horses^o, we praise, the protectors, the unconstrained, we praise.

*The later mythology regarded Vara as a fountain, forming an oasis. (*Spiegel.*) *Vâr* and *Vâri*, Sansk., 'water'. *Vâra*, 'a vessel for holding spirituous liquor'; *vârî*, 'a watering pot.' Probably *Vâra*, in Zend, meant 'a spring, from which water flowed.'

^oThis translation is doubtful. The tradition has 'the full kinds of corn,' which is possible, provided a slight correction is made in the text. The idea that *Açpin* (= 'possessing horses') has anything to do with the Açvinas of the Indians, is quite groundless. (*Spiegel.*)

We read in Hâ 5, "the souls of those going a-foot, and of the riders, we praise." I think that by this the Aryan soldiery, infantry and cavalry, were meant, and so, here, that the armed horsemen were meant; for the youths on horses are designated as "protectors," and as "unconstrained," i. e., unconquered, indomitable.

I give the remaining verses, as numbered by Spiegel.

23. Mazda and Zarathustra, we praise; the earth and the heavens, we praise.
24. The strong wind, created by Ahura Mazda, we praise; the Taêra* of the Hara-Bérëzaiti, we praise.

I shall speak of Hara-Bérëzaiti elsewhere. The sun rose over it. It was, therefore, on the east of the Aryan country, and was, no doubt, the mountain-range in which the streams rose that formed the Oxus. Taêra was a peak of that range.

25. The earth and all good things, we praise.
26. Vohû-Manô and the souls of the pure, we praise.
27. The dwelling-place Pancheadvara[◊], we praise.
28. We praise the pure ass, which stands in the midst of the Sea Vôru-Kasha. [I shall notice this 'ass' elsewhere.]
29. We praise the Sea Vôru-Kasha.
30. We praise the Haõma, the golden, great.
31. Haõma, the giver of increase, the furtherer of the world, we praise.

Aphrodisiac virtues may have been supposed to belong to this species of Asclepias; and it may, for that reason, have been styled "giver of increase;" and "furtherer," i. e., increaser of the population, of the country. Or, "increase" may mean good fortune, increase of wealth, and the Haõma have been deemed to give it, by being used in the sacrifices, from which prosperity flowed. "Furtherer of the world," in that case, means, "Who makes the country to prosper."

32. Haõma, who is far from death, we praise. [i. e., who causes death to remain at a distance, and thus prolongs life.]
33. The flowing of the water we praise, the flight of birds we praise.
34. The coming of the Âthravas[¶] we praise.
35. Who come hither from afar, desiring purity for the reigns [labouring to propagate the true faith in the different portions of the country].
36. All the Amêsha-Çpêntas we praise.

*Taêra is the mountain opposite *Alborj* on which the sun finishes his course. (*Spiegel.*)

[◊]That is, having fifty fountains, a mythical land mentioned in the *Bundehesh*. (*Spiegel.*) It was, no doubt, a region abounding with springs, in eastern Bactria, near the mountains.

[¶]Âthravan, a priest, from *atar*, fire. (*Benfey.*)

In Hâ iv. 6, “the good *Pârëndî*” is named. In Vispered viii. 13, it is said:

The friendly Pârëndî we praise, who is rich in friendly thoughts, words and deeds; who makes the bodies light. [And in Yaçna xiv. 2]: The Lord of women, I invoke, the Mazdayaçnian law, Ashis Vañuhi, the Pârëndî. [And in note to the former passage, Spiegel says], According to a remark in Neriosengh, the Pârëndî is the goddess who presides over hidden treasures. According to the Yashts, she must be a star (in new Persian, ‘The Sun’ and the Pleiades). According to Anquetil’s MSS. note, she is the Protectress of Mankind.

The Yaçna Haptañhâiti was regarded in later times, as appears by various passages, with peculiar veneration. To mutilate it by omission of the least word, in repeating it, was deemed sacrilege. It was styled “great, strong, victorious, without adversary, before all victorious prayers;” “the high Yaçna Haptañhâiti, the Pure Lord of Purity;” and named among the Gâthâs, immediately after the Gâthâ Ahuna-Vaiti.

Written in the Gâthâ dialect, I see no reason to doubt that it is of little later date; and that it contains what was taught by Zarathustra. It is a devotional hymn, containing no appeals to the people like those of the Gâthâs.

There is no star-worship in the Yaçna Haptañhâiti. Pârëndî, as I shall endeavour to show elsewhere, is growth, and not a star—growth, as a potency of Ahura-Mazda, exerted through Çpênta-Armaiti.

It is quite clear that this Yaçna was not a composition of Zarathustra himself. But, I am inclined to believe, that verses 2 and 3 of this last Hâ are addressed to him, as the ruler of the land, and the wisest (or mightiest) among the Aryans; and that the last clause of verse 4 is also addressed to him, and means “gladden us long and greatly (by ruling wisely over us), O wisest of men.” If this be so, this Yaçna was composed in his reign.

YAÇNA XII OF HAUG.

XIII OF SPIEGEL.

Of this Yaçna, Dr. Haug says:

This chapter, written in the Gâthâ dialect, contains a formula, by which the ancient Iranians who were weary of worshipping the Devas (Brahmanic Gods) and the nomadic life, were received into the religious community, established by Zarathustra Çpitama.

He gives a translation of the whole of it.

Spiegel does not mention that it is written in the Gâthâ dialect. He only says:

The commencement of this chapter constitutes another favourite formula. According to Anquetil, Chapters *xiii.* and *xiv.* bear the name *fraoreti* (=‘confession of faith’).

It is divided by Spiegel into twenty-nine verses. Haug divides it into nine stanzas. I subjoin the two translations, stanza by stanza.

1. I drive away the Daevas, I profess myself a Zarathustrian, an expeller of the Daevas, a follower of the teachings of Ahura, a hymn-singer of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, a praiser of the Amēsha-Çpēntas. To Ahura Mazda the good, endued with good wisdom, I offer all good, to the pure, rich, majestic; whatever are the best goods to Him, to whom the cow, to whom purity belongs, from whom arises the light, the brightness which is inseparable from the lights.

(H.) ∴ I cease to be a Deva *worshipper*. I profess to be a Zoroastrian Mazdayasna, an enemy of the Devas, and a devotee to Ahura, a praiser of the Immortal Saints, a worshipper of the Immortal Saints. I ascribe all good things to Ahura Mazda, who is good and has good, who is true, lucid, shining, who is the originator of all the best things, of the spirit of nature (*gāus*), of the growth in nature, of the luminaries, and the self-shining brightness which is in the luminaries.

To sustain his notion that this chapter begins with a renunciation of the Brahmanic Deva-worship, Dr. Haug deliberately changes the meaning of the text, by interpolating the word “worshipper.” That the chapter is a profession of faith, there is no doubt.

I take the meaning of the opening lines to be:

I war against the Daevas, to expel them from the land. I am a soldier of Zarathustra, fighting to expel the Daevas, and a follower of the teaching of Ahura.

I prefer “ascribe,” in Dr. Haug’s version, to “offer” in Spiegel’s. With the latter, the reading is, “I offer (i. e., sacrifice), all good all the goods that are best.” For the “pure, rich, majestic” Ahura of Spiegel, Haug has “true, lucid, shining.” Rich, lucid and shining do not agree with Zarathustra’s ideas of Ahura.

Cattle and the true faith “belong” to him, i. e., have from Him their origin and existence; and light, and the radiance of the orbs flow from Him.

2. Çpēnta-Ârmaiti the good, I choose. May she belong to me. By my praise [religious worship], I will save the cattle from theft and robbery; hurt and affliction from the Mazdayaçnian clans. [Spiegel interpolates, before ‘hurt,’ ‘to keep far off.’]

(H.) ∴ I choose (follow, profess) the Holy Armaiti, the Good; may she be mine! I abominate all fraud and injury committed on the spirit of earth, and all damage and destruction of the quarters of the Mazdayasnas.

3. I promise to the Heavenly free course, dwelling according to their desire, that they may dwell on this earth with the cattle. With prayer to Asha, with uplifted, pray I as follows: May I not hereafter bring harm and affliction on the Mazdayaçnian clans, not on account of love for the body, not for the love of life.

(H.) ∴ I allow the good spirits who reside in this earth in the good animals, to go and roam about free, according to their pleasure. I praise, besides, all that is offered with prayer to promote the growth of life. I shall cause neither damage nor destruction to the quarters of the Mazdayasnas, neither with my body nor my soul.

'The good spirits that reside on this earth in the animals' are a new feature in the creed of Zarathustra; and it was kind in the neophyte renouncing Deva-worship, to 'allow them to go and roam about free, according to their pleasure.'

The word "heavenly" often occurs in Spiegel's translation. Whether it always represents the same Zend word, we have not the means of knowing; but it is quite certain that generally, as is the case here, it does not mean what the original meant.

The Aryans were deemed to be the creatures of Ahura. They are the "good creation." The mind or intellect of each was deemed to be a portion of the Divine Mind; and they were therefore fitly called "Heavenly," i. e., children of the Father in Heaven, the celestial region, in which Ahura was deemed to reside. It may be, also, that it meant that they were the children of the divine light, which of course flows from the Heavens upon the earth.

To the Aryans, therefore, by this profession of faith and practice also, the party promised to secure, so far as it might lie in his power, safe journeyings with their herds, driving them to far pastures, and undisturbed habitations wherever they might select them, that they might peaceably abide in the Aryan land with their cattle. To which end he prays with uplifted hands to Asha that misfortune and calamity might never fall upon the Aryan bands or tribes, through his regard for personal safety, or his love of life.

4. I deny rule to the bad, wicked, wandering in error, evil-witting Daevas, the most lying of beings, the most wicked* of beings, the most reprobate of beings. I deny to the Daevas, to those possessed with Daevas, to the Sorcerers, the possessed by Sorcerers, to all evil beings; I deny with thoughts, words, works and tokens, rule to those that are bad and fearful.

(H.) ∴ I forsake the Devas, the wicked, bad, false, untrue, the originators of mischief, who are most baneful, destructive, the basest of all beings. I forsake the Devas and those who are Devas-like, the witches and their like, and any being whatever of such a kind. I forsake them with thoughts, words and deeds; I forsake them hereby publicly, and declare that all lie and falsehood are to be done away with.

This does not mean that the professant now for the first time renounces Deva-worship; but that he declares himself unalterably their enemy,

*The word here rendered 'most wicked,' appears to mean literally 'stinking.' (*Spiegel.*) And if the Daevas were Tatars and not evil spirits, it was perhaps an appropriate epithet.

opposed to their rule, and will maintain his hostility, in thoughts, words and deeds, with intellect, tongue and arms, and by open evidence and overt acts thereof.

5, 6. Thus has Ahura Mazda commanded Zarathustra [so *did* he command him], in all questionings, in all meetings, in which Ahura Mazda and Zarathustra conversed with one another. So, also, has Zarathustra renounced the rule of the Daevas, in all questions, in all meetings, in which Ahura Mazda and Zarathustra conversed with one another. Thus I also as a Mazdayaçnian, a follower of Zarathustra, renounce the rule of the Daevas, as the pure Zarathustra has renounced them.

(H.) ∴ In the same way as Zarathustra, at the time when Ahura Mazda was holding conversations and meetings with him, and both were conversing with each other, forsook the Devas, so do I forsake the Devas, as the Holy Zarathustra did.

7. As the water, as the trees, as the well-created cow, as Ahura Mazda who created the cow, who the pure man [the men of the Aryan race]. Like Zarathustra like Kavâ-Vistâçpa, like Frashaöctra and Jâmâçpa, like any one of the profitable [public benefactors], open-working, pure [pronounced and active partizans of the true faith]; of such belief I also am.

(H.) ∴ To what party the waters belong, to what party the trees, and the animating spirit of nature, to what party Ahura-Mazda belongs, who has created this spirit and the pure man; to what party Zarathustra and Kavâ-Vistâspa and Frashaöstra and Jâmâspa were, of what party all the ancient Fire Priests (Soshyâñtô) were, the pious, who were spreading the truth; of the same party and creed *am I*.

In note to Vispered *ii.* 19, Spiegel says, “by the *Profitable* (*Caōshyantô*) is meant a kind of prophets, or persons who have devoted themselves particularly to the Zarathustrian doctrine.”

A Mazdayaçnian. As a Mazdayaçnian, a follower of Zarathustra, I will confess myself [avow myself], as a praiser, as a follower. I praise the well-thought sentiment, the well-spoken speech, the well-performed action.

(H.) ∴ I am a Mazdayasna, a Zoroastrian Mazdayasna. I profess this religion by praising and preferring it to others. I praise the thought which is good, I praise the word which is good, I praise the work which is good.

9. I praise the good Mazdayaçnian law, the free from doubt, removing strife. Marriage between relations, the pure of the (women) who are and are about to be, the best, greatest, fairest, the Ahurian, Zarathustrian. To Ahura-Mazda I offer every good. Let this be the land of the Mazdayaçnian Law.

(H.) ∴ I praise the Mazdayasna religion, and the pure brotherhood, which it establishes, and defends against enemies, the Zoroastrian Ahura religion, which is the greatest, best and most prosperous of all that are and that will be. I ascribe all good to Ahura Mazda. This shall be the praise (profession) of the Mazdayasna religion.

Spiegel says that marriage amongst relations was esteemed highly meritorious by the old Iranians. But I take the meaning of the word translated “relations” to be, those of the Aryan race.

Dr. Haug in verse 7, makes the waters, trees, animating spirit of nature, and Ahura Himself, belong to a party. The meaning probably is that all those have rejected the rule of the Daevas. Ahura Mazda has done it, as creator of cattle and Aryans, because it is He that acts through the Aryan intellects, and even through the cattle; and that they have renounced or deny the rule of the Daevas, means merely that they are relieved of that of the unbelievers, through whom the Daevas act, and who are therefore *called* Daevas.

I take what follows, from Dr. Haug (*Essays*, 250):

In the Gâthâs we find Zarathustra alluding to old revelations (*Yaç. xlvi. 6*), and praising the wisdom of the *Soshyantôs*, i. e., Fire-Priests (*xlvi. 3*; *xlviii. 11*). He exhorts his party to respect and revere the *Angra* (*xlvi. 15*), i. e., the *Angiras* of the Vedic Songs, who formed one of the most ancient and celebrated priestly families of the ancient Aryans, and who seem to be more closely connected with the ante-Zoroastrian form of the Parsee religion than any other of the Brahmanic families. These *Angiras* are often mentioned together with the *Atharvans* or fire-priests, which word (in the form *âthrava*) is the general name given to the priest-caste in the Zend-Avesta Although a closer connection between the ante-Zoroastrian, and the Atharvana and Angirasa religion is hardly to be doubted, yet this relationship refers only to the Magical part, which was believed by the ancient Greeks to be the very substance and nature of the Zoroastrian religion.

In all likelihood, as the names Atharvana and Angirasa, i. e., fire-priests, indicate, the fire-worship was a characteristic feature of this ancient religion.

The *Soshyantôs* or fire-priests, who seem to be identical with the Atharvans, are to be regarded as the real predecessors of Zarathustra Spitama, who paved the way for the grand religious reform, carried out by the latter. It is distinctly said (*Yaç. liii. 2*), that the good Ahura religion was revealed to them, and that they professed it in opposition to the Deva religion, like Zarathustra Himself and his disciples. (*Yaç. xii. 7*.) These ancient Sages, therefore, we must regard as the founders of the Ahura religion, who first introduced agriculture and made it a religious duty, and commenced war against the Deva religion.

The struggle might have been lasting even for several centuries, before Zarathustra Spitama, ordered by a divine command, to strike a deathblow on idolatry and banish it forever from his native soil, appeared in Iran. But the decisive step of separating the contending parties completely from one another, and establishing a new community, governed by new laws, was made by Zarathustra Spitama. He, therefore, has at least claims to be regarded as the Founder of the proper Mazdayasna or Parsee religion, which absorbed the old Ahura religion of the ancient fire-priests. He himself was one of the *Soshyantôs* or fire-priests, because we find him, when standing before the sacred fire, deliver his speeches and receiving answers from Ahura Mazda out of the sacred flames.

Benfey (*Sansk. Lex.*) gives, ‘*Athravan* (borrowed from the Zend, *âthra-van*, derived from *atar*, fire), m. i. a priest;’ and ‘*Angiras*, the name of a Rishi or Saint.’ Also, ‘*Ângara* (vb. *anj*. compare *agni*), charcoal.’ One of the meanings of *anj* is to shine, and another to make clear. *Agni*, fire, he says, is probably from the verb.

And the *Angiras*, as well as the *Athar-vas*, were so called, not because they *worshipped* the fire, but because they officiated at the sacrifices, made by means of fire.

As to *Soshyantôs* we find *Çaoshyanç* as the name of the coming liberator, who afterwards became the expected Redeemer or Saviour. Haug says (267):

For awakening the dead bodies, restoring all life destroyed by death, and holding the last judgment, the great prophet *Sosiosh* (*Soskyans* in Zend), will appear by the order of Ahura Mazda. This idea is already to be found in the Zend texts, only with this difference, that sometimes several, sometimes only one *Sosiosh* is mentioned. In the later Parsee legend [he says], the third and greatest prophet who will appear, is *Soskyans*. He is believed to be a Son of Zarathustra Spitama begotten in a supernatural way. This means, that likewise as Zarathustra Spitama was the greatest prophet and priest in ancient times, *Sosiosh* will be the greatest of those to come.

I do not find in Gâthâ *xlvi*. 6, any allusion to "old revelations." There is the expression, "So long as the first law endures." During all that time, it is said, he will be an enemy of the Faith, who gives aid and comfort to its enemies; and he be of the True Faith who gives aid to the Faithful.

In *xlvi*. 3, the *Çaôshyantos* spoken of (rendered by "*Profitable*" by Spiegel), are:

The *heroes*, who, with '*performed precepts*' [i. e., with warlike service required by their religion, win for the people freedom and safety]; 'the souls of the profitable, to whom profit comes through Vohû-Manô.'

And in *xlviii*. 12,

'The Profitable of the regions' are the chiefs commanding in the different districts of the country, 'who will command peace to the rude wicked.'

In Spiegel's translation of Yaçna *xlivi*. 15, I find no exhortation to respect and revere the *Angra*. "It is", Spiegel says, "a doubtful and obscure verse." The word *Angra* is there translated, I suppose, by "a perfect man," and I see no reason to suppose that by *Angra*, whatever its meaning is, the *Angiras* of the Veda are referred to.

It is not said in Hâ 1 of the Gâthâ Vahistoisti [Yaç. *lii*. or *liii*. 2] that the Ahura religion was revealed to the Sôshyantos, before the time of Zarathustra. Vistaçpa and Frashaöstra, it is said, know the right paths, the law which Ahura gave the profitable. And these persons were not "Fire-Priests," but chiefs of districts and military leaders. The meaning is that they know the proper measures to be adopted, the rules of military conduct dictated by Ahura for those who were to assist in liberating the country.

And in Yaçna xii. 7, it is simply said:

I am of the same faith as Zarathustra, Vîstaçpa, Frashaôstra, Jâmâçpa, and any other one of the Profitable, etc.

Dr. Haug's notion of a prior revelation to the fire-priests, seems therefore, to me, to have no bottom. And, moreover, *Çaōshyanto* and *Çaōshyanç* are not compounds of any word that means "fire." It is said that the latter is the future participle of *çu*, to profit. It may be from the Sanskrit *Su*, to possess power or supremacy.

The Sanskrit word *deva* originally meant the heavenly luminaries, the sun, stars, etc., and afterwards a God, Deity, King, from *dev*, "to shine." *Div*, the base of many cases, is *dyu*, of the nom. and voc. sing. *dyo*, and meant heaven, day, splendour; whence *diva*, "heaven," and *divâ*, originally the instrumental of *div*, "by day," and *divya*, "celestial, skyey."

I doubt whether *Daeva*, in the Zend, is the same word as *deva*, in the Sanskrit. I find in Benfey the verb *dâ*, to destroy, and *dah*, originally *dagh*, to consume by fire, to destroy, to give pain. Benfey gives *dâ*, *do*, *dya*, to cut, and *dâ*, *dya*, to bind (Vedic). I do not see why *diva*, *deva* or *dya* should have changed into *daeva*, if the root of *daeva* was *div* or *dev*; and it seems to me much more probable that the Daevas were originally a people, known to the Aryans only as *destroyers*, and supposed to be inspired by destroying spirits, to which in time the same name was given.

Agni is not named in the Zend-Avesta. Neither are *Varuna*, *Aryaman*, *Vishnu*, *Pushan*, and many other Vedic deities. The names *Surya* and *Savitri*, are not found in the Zend books. *Aindra* occurs once, as an evil being, and is assumed to be the same as the Vedic *Indra*. If he had become an evil being, why had not *Agni* also? If an ancient deity was to be made execrable and detestable, his name would hardly be altered. We do not find the Hebrews changing the letters of the names of their neighbors' gods. And, moreover, if *Indra* had become an evil deity, he was of importance enough to be named more than once, like *Tuphôn* and *Baal*.

Aindra, in the Sanskrit, means, "belonging to Indra, Indra-like," but it is only found in the later books, not in the Veda. But *aindriya*, i. e., *indriya+a*, means "sensual;" *Indra* meant "chief or king, first" (of men or animals), from *ind*, "to have supreme power;" and *indriya* was "power, the semen virile, an organ of sense." *Indh* was "to kindle, to strive."

And I find in Sanskrit, *dava*, "a fire in the woods", from *du*, "to burn, to afflict;" whence Greek δαῦω, δαῖω.

I think that *daeva*, is from this verb, and meant "tormentor, harasser."

THE LATER YAÇNA.

Of the later or “younger” Yaçna, Dr. Haug (*Essays*, 165), says:

This part of the Yaçna, which is written in the common Zend language, is, as to the history of the Zoroastrian religion, of much less importance than the older Yaçna. Its contents are, however, of a various nature, and form evidently either parts of other books, or existed independently.

YAÇNA I.

This hymn, like Vispered i., commences, in Spiegel’s translation, with the phrase:

‘I invite and announce to,’ The Lords of the Heavenly, etc., [this phrase being repeated in each of the thirty-one verses]. The original is *Nivaēdhayēmi* (or, *nivēdhyēmi*), *hañkārayēmi* (or, *hañkāryēmi*). The first of these words [says Mr. Bleeck], has been variously translated, ‘I invite,’ and ‘I invoke.’ The second is rendered by Professor Spiegel, *Ich thue es Kund*, *Ich verkündige es*, and *Ich verkünde es*, which are almost synonymous phrases, signifying ‘I make known to,’ ‘I announce it,’ ‘I proclaim it,’ etc. Neriosengh has, ‘I accomplish,’ or ‘I make perfect.’ The sense [Mr. Bleeck says], appears to be; ‘I invite the spiritual presence of Ahura Mazda, etc., and I announce to them that I am about to perform the proper religious rites.’

Vid, Sanskrit, ‘to see, perceive, learn, know’ with *ni*, causative, *ni-vid*, ‘to make known, report, present, offer as sacrifice.’ Thence *nivedya*, ‘an oblation,’ and *nivedana*, ‘announcing, making known, announcement, offering.’

The derivatives of the second verb I cannot find.

Those “invited and announced to,” first, are Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the creator, Ahura Mazda, the brilliant, majestic, greatest, best, most beautiful, the strongest, most intellectual, of the best body (the sun is elsewhere styled this body), the highest through holiness (beneficence); who is very wise, who rejoices afar; who created us, who formed us, who keeps us, the holiest (most beneficent) among the Heavenly.

After Ahura Mazda, the Amēsha Çpēntas are invoked, each by name, and then, “the body of the cow, the soul of the cow; the fire of Ahura Mazda” (son, issue or emanation of or from Him), “the most helpful of the Amēsha-Çpēntas;” the “day-times” or sacred festivals; and, among others, Mithra, “who possesses wide pastures, has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, possesses a renowned name, is worthy of adoration;” Çraošha, the holy, sublime, victorious, who advances the world; Vērēthrag-na (victory), created by Ahura-Mazda, and the Vanainti (blow), which descends from above; Berejya and Nmânya; Rashnu, the most just, and

Arstât, who promotes and extends the world (the Aryan land); the new and full moon, Višaptatha, the pure; the annual feasts; the years; all the lords who are lords of purity; the thirty-three nearest, who are round about Hâvani, of the best pure, whom Ahura-Mazda has taught, Zarathustra announced.

Then again are invoked, Ahura and Mithra, both great, imperishable, pure, and the stars, the creatures of Čpënta Mainyûs. Spiegel says that "here Ahura is the Planet Jupiter, who was called by the Armenians, Ahura Mazda." "Ahura Mazda," in verse 36, he says, "signifies the day Ormazd, the first of the month, and Mithra is probably the sun." Undoubtedly, Mithra became the sun, at length, long after the time of Zarathustra, but I doubt if he was so at first.

It is certainly singular that the Planet Jupiter should have borne the name of Ahura.

Then are invoked the Star Tistrya, shining, brilliant, and the moon, which contains the seed of earth, and the shining sun, with the swift horses, *the eye of Ahura Mazda and Mithra*, the Lord of the region. Mithra, therefore, was not the sun, but something that was manifested by or through the sun. What was that but light, the emanation from the Deity in every ancient creed; the light, with the ten thousand stars that are its eyes; and which possesses the pastures, because it is only while it is light, that the cattle graze.

Then are invoked, Ahura-Mazda, the shining, brilliant (epithets not apt for a day of the month); the Fravashis of the pure; Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda; the waters and trees created by Mazda; the Mañthra-Čpënta, the pure efficacious, the champion against the Daevas, the Zarathustrians, the long precept, the good Mazdayaçnian law; the mountain Ushi-darena, and all others, possessing brightness, and created by Mazda; the kingly majesty, and the indestructible majesty, created by Mazda; Ashis Vanuhi, the good wisdom, the good righteousness; the good Raçançtât, the brightness, the utility, both created by Mazda.

"These," Spiegel says, are "merely abstract personifications." But so also are the Amësha-Čpëntas. That they are invested with personality makes them none the less so. So undoubtedly were the Logos of Philo, the Sophia of the Gnostics, and the Sephiroth of the Kabalah. The Zarathustrian creed made everything of good in the universe to be either the creatures of, or the emanations of Ahura Mazda; and all deities and divinities, other than the Supreme Absolute, must be either personifications of His potencies and attributes, or merely imaginary beings like the gods of Greece and Rome and Scandinavia; or else the sun, moon, stars, planets or elements, invested with personal and intellectual qualities and attributes. All philosophy belongs to the first of these systems, i. e., all

religious philosophizing; and even in our religion, the attempt to make the Word and the Holy Ghost anything more and other than Vohû-Manô and Çpênta-Ârmaiti were, out-shinings of and emanations from the Deity, proves a signal failure.

We may, by and by, obtain a more definite idea of Ashis-Vanuhi, perhaps, of Raçançtât, but certainly not from a verse in which one is both wisdom and righteousness; and the other brightness and utility.

As to "all those who have good wisdom, the genii of heaven, and the word worthy of adoration, who are to be worshipped and praised on account of the best purity," Hâvani, Çavañhi, Rapithwina, Uzayêirina, Aiwiçruthrema Ailigaya, Viçya and Ushahina, the inquiry as to the real meaning of any except the last would be useless. Çavanhî, according to the gloss, is the assistant of Hâvani, who increases the cattle; and Viçya is the tutelary genius of the clan. And as to the "daytimes," the Bundehesh says:

When it is morning, then it is the Gâh Hâvan (Hâvani); Mid-day is the Gâh Rapitwin (Rapithwina); at twilight is the Gâh Uziren (Uzayêirina); when the stars appear, it is the Gâh Aibiçrutem (Aiwiçrûthrema); and from midnight until the stars disappear, is the Gâh Ushahina.

Râma-qâctrâ (Rameshne-qarom) is the genius through whom we have enjoyment in food.

Fradât-fshu is the genius who increases the cattle. Zantuma, "the head of an assembly."

Fradât-vîra is the genius who increases mankind. Dagyuma is "the head of a whole province." These also are invoked in this Yaçna.

Viçpañm-hujyaiti is "good health" personified; Berejya is "a genius who watches over the growth of corn;" and Nmânya is "the head of a house."

Ushi-darena is the mountain Hoshdâstâr of the later mythology, from which the fabulous kings descended.

Yaçna ii. invokes the same Deities, Genii, etc., as *Yaçna i.*, but more earnestly, with the aid of the Zaôthra or consecrated water, and the Barêçma or bundle of sacred twigs or sticks. After wishing for these, separately and together, the Priest (Zaota), wishes for the Deities. In one verse only, that whereby Ashis Vañuhi is invoked, does any difference appear. It reads:

'Here, with the Zaôthra and Barêçma, I wish hither with praise [I invoke with prayer and hymns of praise, to come to us here] Ashis-Vañuhi, *Kshôithni*, the great, strong, beautiful, enduring; the brightness created by Mazda, I wish hither with praise. The beneficence created by Mazda I wish hither with praise.' *Kshôithni* [Spiegel says, in note to *Yaçna vi.*] is 'shining' or 'dwelling,' according to the derivation of the word.'

The Fourth Sephirah of the Kabalah, also, is Gedulah or Khased, benignity or mercy; and it is noteworthy that the Sephiroth are part male and part female, like the Amēsha-Çpēntas. There is no doubt that all the Kabalistic notions had their origin among the Irano-Aryans, and were learned by the Hebrews from their conquerors of Babylon.

In *Yaçna iii.*, the worshipper, having the Zaōthra and Barēçma, desires at the time of Hâvani (morning), meat for the sacrifice. Myazda, Haurvaṭ, Amērētāṭ, and the cow, created by the Good Principle, for the satisfaction of Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Çpēntas, and Çraōsha; the Haōma and Para-haōma, to satisfy the Fravashi of the holy Zarathustra; the wood, with praise and incense, for the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda; the Haōmas, and Haōma juice, and flesh, and wood of the tree Hadhâ-naêpata, words, the singing of the Gâthâs, the well-composed Mañthras, for the contentment of the Yazatas, and the various Deities and Genii named in *Yaçna i.* The verse invoking Ashis-Vaṇuhi is:

'I wish hither with praise, for Ashis-Vaṇuhi, for the good wisdom, the good Erethê, the good Raçançtâṭ, for the brightness, the profit [munificence] created by Mazda.' [And the next verse is] 'for the pious good blessing, for the pious pure man, for the strong, steadfast Yazata, highest in wisdom.' Again, we find (v. 67), 'for all good-created Yazatas, the heavenly and the earthly, who are worthy of praise and worthy of adoration, on account of the best purity.' [And the confession of faith follows]: 'I confess myself a Mazdayaçnian, following Zarathustra, hostilely-minded to the Daevas, devoted to the faith in Ahura.'

'Hâurvâṭ and Amērētâṭ, named with the Myazda, stand' [Spiegel says] 'for the water and the trees, not the genii themselves.'

Yaçna iv. invokes the same deities and genii. But in the previous chapter, the various things requisite for the sacrifice were desired. In this, they are considered as present, and are solemnly proffered to Ahura Mazda and all the good genii. All are recited, and are made known, thoughts, words and works, Gâthâs and Mañthras included, too, among others, "the Amēsha-Çpēntas, possessed of good lordship [supremacy and dominion], wise, ever-living, ever-profitable [beneficent], which live together with Vohû-Manô, and to the females [of the Amēsha-Çpēntas] also."

"Which live together with Vohû-Manô." According to the Kabalah, He, the Cause of Causes, characterized Himself, in the ten Sephiroth, as follows: In Kether, as *will*; in Hakemah and Binah, as *Wisdom* and *understanding*; in Gedulah, as *great* and *benignant*; in Geburah or Austerity, as *strong*; in Tephareth, as *beautiful*; in Netsach, as a *hero conquering* in battle; in Glory (Hûd), as our *glorious author*; in Yesod, basis or foundation, as *just*; and in Malakoth, He applies to Himself the title of *king*. When Kether emanated, all the other numerations were potentially contained within it, and were produced from it in actuality. So, when

Hakemah emanated from Kether, it contained within itself all the remaining Sephiroth; and when from it, Binah emanated, she contained in herself all the other seven numerations.

And thus it was that all the other Amēsha-Çpēntas "lived together with Vohū-Manō."

In this Yaçna, Ahura Mazda is styled "the Creator, the Brilliant, the Majestic, the Heavenly Spirit," and a new name appears with that of Ashis Vañuhi, the verse that names her reading:

'Then we make them known, to Ashis Vañuhi, to the good Çisti, the good Erethē, the good Raçañtāt, etc.' [Again, also, we find] 'to the stars, to the moon, to the sun, to the eternal, self-created lights, to all the creatures of Çpēnta-Mainyûs.'

Yaçna v. is part of the Yaçna Haptāñhāiti.

Yaçna vi. contains praises to the same Deities and Genii, at the times Hâvani, Çavañhi and Viçya, and all great times.

Yaçna vii., pronounced while sacrificing, "with purity gave food, Myazda, water, trees, and the well-created cow, the Haõma and Para-haõma, wood, odours, etc.," for the satisfaction of Ahura Mazda, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the holy Çraõsha, the Fravashi of Zarathustra, Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, the Yazatas and Mithra, Ushahina, Rashnu, the most just, and Anstāt, who furthers and increases the world, and all the other genii and objects named in the preceding Yaçnas. After which, this follows:

As Thy adorers and singers, O Ahura Mazda, we come, we petition and we devote ourselves to Thee. That reward, O Ahura, which Thou hast given to such as obey the same law that I obey, that reward, O Ahura, give also unto me, for earth as well as for Heaven.

Then follow the ancient prayers. And here again, we are reminded of the prayer dictated by Jesus to His disciples, in its clause,

Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven.

Yaçna viii. is not one connected whole. It contains, first, that which was said when the worshippers ate the sacrifice, the invitation to them to do so being older than the rest of the chapter, and accompanied with an exhortation to adhere to the faith. This is followed by a prayer, wholly unconnected with it, purporting to be part of an invocation by Zarathustra himself, as I think it is. It reads thus:

10. According to desire and with happiness, mayest Thou rule over Thy creatures, Ahura Mazda. [Reign over us, who are of Thy creation, O Ahura Mazda, consenting to our prayer, and for our good fortune.]

11. Over the water, as Thou wilt over the trees, as Thou wilt over all good that has a pure origin. [Over all that is useful to man and given by Thee.]

12. Make that the pure [those of the true faith] may rule, that the impure [infidels] may not rule.

13. Let the pure rule unrestrained; let the godless not reign as they will.

14. May the foe [the infidels, Scyths or Tâtars in possession of the land] disappear [be expelled from it], driven away by the creatures of Ćpënta-Mainyûs, [the Aryan warriors], conquered, not ruling as he would.

I, who am Zarathustra, the chief of the families, clans, societies, regions, urge to think, speak and act according to this law, which emanates from Ahura and Zarathustra. The wide extent and brightness of the whole creation of purity, I bless; the narrowness and trouble of the whole evil creation, I bless [i. e., I invoke for the Aryan land, and people, extension, enlargement and prosperity, and for the infidel power and race, narrowness of limits and calamity].

Yaçna ix. The first forty-seven verses of this are legendary, and are noticed by me as such. They purport to be a conversation between Haöma and Zarathustra, and a recital by the former of the different preparations of it and the results. After which, prayer and praises to Haöma follow.

Zarathustra praises it as conducive to health, and good for food; its wisdom, powers, victory, healing power, furtherance, increase, etc., and asks of it, in return, that he may have the best place of the pure, the shining, adorned with all brightness, health and long life, and that he may go about on the earth joyous, strong and well fed, plaguing the tormentors, smiting the Drujas. Professor Spiegel thinks that "the best place of the pure, means Paradise." I think that the text itself gives us the means of determining the real sense of the original, and furnishes us the key to much more. Zarathustra lauds the Haöma, to the end, he says:

'That I may go about *in the world*, as *ruler*, paining the tormentors, smiting the Drujas; that I may torment all the torments, the tormenting Daevas and men.'

Then, in verse 67, he asks and prays,

'that I may go about upon the earth, joyous, strong, well-fed, plaguing the tormentors, smiting the Drujas;' [and, v. 68], 'that I may go about upon the earth victorious, plaguing the tormentors, smiting the Drujas' [but does not ask to be *ruler*].

He does not ask that at all, and the reasons for his praise, and his prayer accordingly do not agree, unless he prays to be ruler by asking for "the best place of the pure." I, therefore, interpret that phrase:

'The supremacy,' or 'the chief magistracy' [among the Aryans, and] 'the shining adorned with all brightness' [as applying to the place, and meaning, 'distinguished and most honourable'].

We find, often enough, that the word rendered "brightness" cannot mean that, but must mean something else.

We find, also, here, full proof that the pure were the Aryans, *all* of them. It is not to be supposed that they were all *pure*, in *our* sense of that word, but they were all of the pure blood, and of the pure faith.

Zarathustra desired to traverse the country as a military leader, punishing the oppressors and smiting with the sword the infidels, called by him Drujas, as being children of the evil one, and not of "the pure creation." The "torments" and tormentors were these unbelievers, by whose forays and plunderings his people were harassed and impoverished, suffered in the body as well, and were put to death.

With the fertility of epithet familiar to hate, he called them Yâtus, Pairikas, Çâthras, Kayas and Karafnas—if, indeed, these were not the real names of Tâtar or Turanian tribes. Spiegel says:

The beings named in this verse are a kind of *Kobolds*. The best known are the Yâtus, i. e., 'The Wandering,' who were sorcerers with human bodies and the souls of Daevas. [About as much so, I imagine, as the Shoshone Indians are real snakes]. The Pairikas were beautiful females who sought to entice and pervert the pure men. [Westergaard translates Çâthras, by 'hostile beings.']}

According to the tradition, the *Kayas* are the demons of blindness, and the *Karafnas* of deafness. The "tradition" read, as in the case of the Brahmanic legends, "guessings" by those who knew nothing about it.

He terms them, also "Serpents with two feet, the very deadly two-footed, the wolves with four feet." So we now often hear men called hogs and dogs, and the whole is explained by the phrase immediately following, "the armies with great masses, the running, rushing." It seems to me perfectly evident that it is only and simply the unbelieving invaders and oppressors, against whom all this hail of epithets is hurled; and that the prayer is for victory over them for the Aryan arms.

And the sixth favour asked is, "May we first mark the chief, the robber, the wolf"—the moss-troopers and predatory bands that pillage and plunder, and run like wolves from danger.

Then follow laudations of Haöma. It "gives to those who as mighty ones make teams to hasten, horses, might and strength;" i. e., to those who, being commanders of forces are swift riders. It gives children to women, to masters of houses who recite the Noçkas, holiness and greatness. It gives husbands to maidens. It has diminished the rule of Kereçâni, who had arisen, eager after rule, saying:

No Athrava, a teacher shall hereafter travel at his pleasure through the country which I govern.

Spiegel says that Kereçâni is the Indian Kriçânu.

In the Indian mythology, he is the protector of the Soma-juice, but here, he appears as a foe to Haöma.

He endeavoured, it seems, to obtain the chief power, and was defeated in the attempt, and his defeat is here credited to Haöma. He was evidently a chief, either of an Aryan clan, or of the natives of the country. At all events, he expelled the Aryan missionaries from his dominions; for, it is said, "he meant to slay and annihilate all *increase*;" i. e., to prevent the extension of the Aryan faith, a meaning which the word translated "increase" will be found to have elsewhere, also.

Haöma, through its own strength, is illimitable ruler. Its juice exhilarated and intoxicated, and those under its influence were no longer masters of themselves. Its own virtue made its unlimited power. It made men daring, rash and desperate, and their deeds were ascribed to it, as if done by itself. It had aphrodisiac virtue, also, it seems, increasing virility, and erotic ardour, and thus was credited with the begetting of children and with persuading men to marry.

Then follow these enigmatical sayings:

Thou who art acquainted with many pure-spoken speeches, who askest not for the pure-spoken speech.

To thee has Ahura Mazda first brought the girdle studded with stars, prepared in Heaven, according to the good Mazdayaçnian law. Begirt with this, thou tarriest on the heights of the mountains, to hold upright the commandments and precepts of the Mañthra.

I conceive the meaning of the Haöma being *acquainted* with many pure-spoken speeches, to be, that, as one of the means of sacrifice, it is, as it were, privy to the invocations, prayers and hymns, said and sung at the sacrifice. "Pure-spoken" means uttering purity, i. e., the Aryan faith and devotion. But for itself, it makes no demand of worship or adoration, as some of the Deities are elsewhere represented as doing. It grows upon the mountains, and it holds upright, i. e., sustains, supports and enforces, the precepts of the Mañthras or religious hymns, it being supposed, when drunken by the worshippers, to increase their zeal and devotion, and inspirit and animate them to the performance of the duties of obedience. But what is the girdle studded with stars, prepared in Heaven, according to the good Mazdayaçnian law, and with which Haöma is girded? May it not mean that Ahura, creating it first of all plants, caused the galaxy studded with stars to shine upon it, first of all, and to endow it with mysterious virtues? If not, it seems to be simple nonsense. We know that the stars have always been deemed to communicate

particular virtues and qualities to particular plants, and that the same efficacy has been ascribed to the moon.

The residue of *Yaçna ix.* invokes Haöma to do various things, such as relieving from the plague of the tormentors, punishing revengeful men of the house, clan, etc., giving the pure a means of protecting their bodies against the wicked, corrupt, tormenting and plaguing ones, a weapon to protect the body against the wicked, impure destroyer of the world, "who certainly has in remembrance the words of this law, but does not perform" [which seems to point to oppressive and unjust rulers among the Aryans themselves; a weapon to protect the body against the harlots who, endowed with magical power, excite to lust].

Yaçna x. is a continuation of *Yaçna ix.* "Then," it begins, "the male and female Daevas that are here shall hasten away." It then invokes the presence of Craösha and of Ashis Vanuhi, and then sings the praises of Haöma, at the dawn, calling it, The Intelligent, and praising the clouds and rain that make it grow, and the earth and mountains whereon it grows. Haöma increases, it says, when he is praised.

The smallest preparation, the smallest praise, the smallest enjoyment, O Haöma, serves for the slaughter of thousands of the Daevas.

All other sciences depend upon Aeshma, the cunning; the knowledge of the Haöma depends upon Asha, the rejoicer. Easy is the knowledge of the Haömas. Whoso receives the Haöma as a young son, to his body Haöma devotes himself for healing.

And this is said to be so, because, wherever one praises the healing Haöma, there are manifold remedies for health, for the clan and dwelling; wherefore these remedies are asked of him. Spiegel says:

Possibly, the 'knowledge of the Haöma' may be an allusion to its healing powers, and the connecting Asha with this may imply a supernatural art, but both allusions are obscure.

It seems to me that the meaning is simple enough:

Praise Haöma, and he will furnish healing remedies for the whole clan and household—*manifest* remedies—*manifest*, because to know its virtues, needs no study or medical knowledge; no prescription is required from a physician; but Asha, the rejoicer [who gives prosperity and that which rejoices the soul], Asha, the sacrificial fire, makes its virtues effectual, because, by the fire, the Haöma being consumed has the effect of sacrifice and worship, in giving health to all, by or for whom the sacrifice is made. It is easy to have the benefit of the Haöma. It will be the healer of every one who receives it in the proper spirit.

He is asked to give of his remedies and to give victory, because he who asks both

is the devout singer of praise, and Ahura Mazda has declared that a devout singer (psalmist) is a better being than Asha-Vahista himself;

for it is Vohû-Manô, the emanation next to Çpënta-Mainyûs, and above Asha, who utters the words by the mouth of the poet. It is the Divine Intellect in him, that sings.

What is further said of the Haöma, in this Yaçna, gives no additional information in regard to the Iranian ideas, except by the declaration, by the Haöma itself, that it belongs and always will belong, only to those who think, do, and speak good, obey and are devout.

Dr. Haug says:

Chapters 9 and 10, which compose the so-called *Homa-Yasht*, are, strictly speaking, no part of the Yaçna [but belong among the Yashts].

They are in verse; and at the end are even called *gâthâo*, songs. The measure is four times eight syllables, with the cæsura in the middle of every half-verse. Each half-verse, however, has from seven to nine syllables, the normal measure being limited to eight. He gives the commencement, in Zend and English, thus:

<i>Hâvanîm</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ratûm</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>Haomô</i>	<i>upâit</i>	<i>Zarathustrem</i>
morning prayer	at	time	at	Homa	came	to Zarathustra
<i>âtarempairi</i>	<i>yaozhdathentem</i>			<i>gâthâoçcha</i>	<i>çrâvayañtem.</i>	
(who was) fire	cleaning			and the songs	singing.	
<i>â dim</i>	<i>pereçat</i>	<i>Zarathustrô:</i>		<i>Ko</i>	<i>nare</i>	<i>ahi</i>
Him	asked	Zarathustra		Who	man	art thou
<i>Vîçpahê</i>	<i>añhêus</i>	<i>açtvatô</i>		<i>yim</i>	<i>azem</i>	
of the whole	life	endowed		<i>çraëstem</i>	<i>dâdareça</i>	<i>qahê</i>
		with bodies		the best	(I) have seen	of his own
<i>gayêhê</i>	<i>qanvatô</i>	<i>ameshahê?</i>		<i>âat</i>	<i>mê</i>	<i>aêm</i>
body	brilliant	immortal		then	to me	that (man)
<i>Haomô</i>	<i>ashava</i>	<i>dûraoshô</i>		<i>paiti-aokhta</i>		
Haoma	pure	evil-removing		<i>Azem</i>	<i>ahuri</i>	<i>Zarathustra</i>
<i>Haomô</i>	<i>ashava</i>	<i>dûraoshô;</i>		I	am	Zarathustra
Haoma	the pure	evil-removing		<i>â</i>	<i>mâm</i>	<i>yaçanuha</i>
				to	me	bring worship
						<i>Çpitama!</i>
<i>Frâ mañ</i>	<i>hunvañuha</i>	<i>qaretâê</i>		<i>Avi</i>	<i>mañ</i>	<i>çtaomaini</i>
me	squeeze out	to taste (me)		on	me	in praise
<i>Yatha</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>aþarachit</i>		<i>çtaividhi</i>		
as	me	the other all		<i>çaoşhyañtô</i>	<i>çtavañ.</i>	
				Fire-Priests	praised.	

Yaçna xi. continues the praise of the Haöma, but in singular manner. It declares that the cow curses her owner, who does not feed her, and yet expects her to work, wishing that he may have no posterity, and be always in ill repute; that the horse curses his owner who does not wish strength for him in the numerous assembly, in the circle of many men (i. e., who living in a city, does not take pains to keep him in strength by proper and sufficient food), wishing that he may never have swift horses to harness or ride; and that so Haöma curses the preparer of food, who, like a thief, the chief of sinners, keeps back from preparing him (i. e., withholds from him his share of the food sacrificed).

Haöma claims that he is entitled, by gift from Ahura, to have for his share the left eye and tongue, and declares that whoever withholds that from him, bestowing it on others, steals from him what Ahura has given him to eat. And he wishes that the person so defrauding him may have no children, and be always of ill fame. In his dwelling, he says, no Athrava, warrior or husbandman shall ever be born; but biting, destroying and hairy beings of many kinds. Give me, therefore, quickly, part of the flesh, that Haöma may not bind thee, as he bound the pernicious Frañraqyâna the Turanian, in the middle third of the earth, which is surrounded with iron.

Thus curiously said, this simple idea is expressed: the cow and the horse, that serve men are entitled to be fed. So is Haöma. Feed me, lest I do so and so unto you. Of course what is said of Frañraqyâna was enough to found a legend on. And in the Gosh-Yasht, Chapter *iv.*, we find Haöma thus praying to Drvâçpa:

Grant me this favour, that I may bind the murdering Turanian Frañraqyâna, that I may carry him away bound as a prisoner of King Huçrava. May Kava Huçrava slay him behind Vara Chaêchaṭa, the deep, with broad waters, the son of the daughter of Çyâvarshâna, the man slain by violence, and Agraêratha, the son of Naru. And Huçrava himself, the valiant uniter of the Aryan regions into one kingdom, living beyond the Sea Chaêchaṭa [a river], the deep, abounding in waters, made the same prayer, and it was granted.

In note to *Yaçna xi.*, Professor Spiegel says:

The expression, the middle third of the earth, is noteworthy, as showing that at the time of the composition of the Avesta, the division of the earth into seven Kareshvares was not known.

It does not seem to me to show that. "The Earth" is Bactria, the Aryan land. The middle third of it was the middle one of three divisions, each composed of two or more Kareshvares, each perhaps a separate kingdom. Huçrava, it seems, reigned beyond one of the rivers. What is meant by

this third being surrounded by iron, I cannot conjecture. It is no doubt a mis-translation.

Upon this, Zarathustra proceeds to praise Haōma.

Yaçna xii. is a short prayer, praising good thoughts, words and works, and abandoning all evil ones; and bringing praise and adoration to the Amēsha-Çpēntas. "It is," Spiegel says, "one of the favourite Mazdayaç-nian prayers."

Yaçna xiii. offers nothing of interest.

Yaçna xiv. seems to be a continuation of it.

The Hymn of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, invokes Ahura Mazda, the Lord of the Head of the House, of the Lord of the Clan, of the Chief of the Confederacy, of the Lord of the Regions.

The clan, I imagine, was, as the Scottish clans were, composed of the descendants of a common ancestor. The confederacy was the alliance of several clans in a district, valley or region; and the "regions" was the aggregate of the confederacies in the whole Aryan land.

[He invokes] 'those who suffer much trouble and perform business for the pure men [the believers]; the mistresses of the husbandmen; the swift strength of purity, the mistress of war; the greatest sciences of the Mazdayaç-nian law, the mistresses of the Athrava, and the teachers of the same.' [Spiegel says], 'The three Divinities here invoked as presiding over the three Mazdayaç-nian classes appear to be mere abstractions; at least, nothing is known of them.'

I may be excused for suggesting that it will be worth while to endeavour to find out what they are, and what other personified abstractions, attributes and qualities in the Avesta are; for it is these very abstractions that constitute the value of the book, and give to the Zarathustrian faith its peculiar characteristics, and its superiority to every other ancient religion. Its Deities are all creatures of the intellect.

I conjecture that those who suffer much trouble and undergo toil for the Aryan husbandmen, were the virtues and qualities to which they owed the success that attended their labours,—industry, sobriety, patience, perseverance and the like. These are the mistresses of the husbandmen, because the latter obey and are governed by them. The mistress of war, the swift strength of purity, is simply, I think, the Aryan courage and bravery. The mistresses of the Athrava, the greatest sciences of the Mazdayaç-nian law, the teachers of the same, may be knowledge, studiousness, wisdom, or faith and devotion.

The homage, praise and invocation that commence in this Yaçna continue through *xv.*, *xvi.*, *xvii.* and *xviii.*

xiv. 13. 'As Thou, O Ahura Mazda, hast thought, spoken, created, and made what is good.' 'So [it was said in verse 12], the heavenly thinks, speaks, acts.'

What more sublime idea of the creation has the religious philosophy of the world ever had, than this? The universe is the uttered Thought of God! He thought, and the thought was, in present idea all that was to become in the infinite succession of ages; it was the universe existing in the Divine Intellection. Uttered, this was the Divine Word, the Creative Logos containing in itself the universe, and expressing it in form and reality.

14. So we also give, offer and praise, to thee, drawing nigh. 15. So do we adore thee, so we pray to thee, O Ahura Mazda. 16. Through the existence of the good self, the good holiness, we come to thee. 17. Of the good rule over the cattle, the good wisdom.

Spiegel says, "The Lord of the cattle (Fçératu) is used for Haurvaṭ and Amérétât." The "rule over the cattle" is one of these, and "the good wisdom" is the other. This is the key to the rest. "The existence of the Good Self" is Vohû-Manô, the first Amësha-Çpënta. Vohû being, as in Sanskit, *Vasu*, "being, existence;" and the good holiness is probably Çpënta Ârmaiti. Thus the meaning is:

We sacrifice to Thee, we adore Thee, we praise Thee, we pray to Thee, Ahura, drawing nigh to Thee the inaccessible, through Vohû-Manô, Çpënta Ârmaiti, Haurvaṭ and Amérétât, who are emanations from Thee.

xv. 1 to 5. As Psalmists, Zaôta, Reciter, Praiser, Speaker and Glorifier, I do homage to you, for your praise and adoration, Amësha-Çpëntas; for our preparation, for holiness, for the profitable pure; to you, ye Amësha-Çpëntas, well-ruling, wise, I devote the vital power of my own body, all enjoyments. By means of the Zaôthra and Barëçma I wish hither all pure Yazatas with praise. All Lords of Purity I wish hither with praise.'

"The profitable pure," means, I think, the purity that entitles to reward, and is the cause and producer of benefits and blessings. Hâvani, Câvañhi and the other times and hours for worship, are, in the following verses, called Lords of Purity, the meaning apparently being that they control and regulate the Divine worship of the Aryans. We find in the next chapter, "I praise in desire after the good purity, after the good Mazdayaçnian law, which comes to me in offering, as the best from purity." The Mazdayaçnian law seems to be the Zarathustrian faith or creed, and the word rendered "purity" is synonymous with it, or the "law" is the utterance and teaching of the faith and belief (purity) that is in the mind —I do not believe that the Mazdayaçnian law is the *moral* code. Ahura Mazda is "Pure, Lord of Purity;" and so is Zarathustra, in Yaçna xvii. One is the source and the other the teacher, of the Ahurian faith.

xvi. 1, etc. According to precept, with friendship, with joy, I invoke the Amësha-Çpëntas, the good, with fair names. I praise in desire after the good purity, after the good Mazdayaçnian law, which comes to me in offering, as the

best from purity [i. e., from the original source of all that is good, Ahura-Mazda]; that knows Ahura Mazda, and those who were and those who are. [As, in Philo and St. John, the Son *knows* the Father, i. e., has immediate recognition of Him and communicates with Him.]

I praise these with their name, and come to them with friendship. To Vohu-Khshathra the Desirable, who brings good. May Craošha be here, for praise for Ahura Mazda, the Most Beneficent, Pure, Gracious to us, as at first, so at last.

xvii. This praises Ahura Mazda 'the pure Law of Purity, the Wise, Greatest Yazata, the Useful, Furtherer of the World, the Creator of the good creatures; and also Zarathustra and all pure earthly Yazatas; the Fravashi and the words of Zarathustra, his law and faith and practice.'

The pure wishing, the fore-created, pure creatures in both worlds, are praised.

The Creator Ahura Mazda, the Bright, the Majestic; Vohu-Mano, Asha-Vahista, Khshathra-Vairyā, Čpēnta-Ārmaiti, Haurvat, Amērētāt.

The Creator, Ahura-Mazda; the Fire, Son of Ahura-Mazda, the good waters created by Mazda, the sun with swift horses, the moon which contains the seed of the cattle, the star Tistrya, the shining, majestic, the soul of the well-created bull.

The Creator, Ahura-Mazda, Mithra who has wide pastures, the holy Craošha, Rashnu, the most just, the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the pure, the victory [Čaoshyanç] created by Ahura, Râma-qâctrâ, the holy wind, the well-created [the wind that brings health and comfort, creation of Ahura-Mazda, as contradistinguished from those that bring sickness, or are excessively hot or cold, which are ascribed to Añra-Mainyus].

The Creator Ahura-Mazda, the Good Mazdayaçnian Law, Ashi-Vañuhi, Arstat, the heavens, the earth, the well-created; the Mañthra-Čpēnta, the beginningless lights, the illimitable; the brilliant deeds of purity, at which the souls of the deceased rejoice, the Fravashis of the pure, the best place of the pure, the illumining, wholly brilliant; milk and fodder, the running water, the growing trees; for resistance against Azhi, created by the Daevas, against the Pairika, the withstanding [the power of resisting these]; for the destroying and expelling of the hostile plagues [the infidels], and of the Ashemaõgha, the impure [unbeliever], slaying, who is full of death; all waters, all trees, all good men, all good women, all heavenly Yazatas and all earthly, the well-created, the pure; thee, dwelling-place, Čpēnta-Ārmaiti; thee, Lord of the dwelling-place, Pure Ahura Mazda; the health of the cattle, of mankind, of that which arises from purity, through which the body (endures) the longest, may these remain in my dwelling, in summer as in winter.

The brilliant deeds of purity, at which the souls of the deceased rejoice, are the sacrifices with their brilliant fires, rejoicing the souls of the ancestors of the Aryans, who died, perhaps, and surely fought, to establish and extend the faith.

The best place of the Pure is the New Aryan land, fertile and having bright skies and a healthy climate.

The various kinds of fire are praised also. They are: the Fire *Berezicavô*; the Fire *Vohu-fryâna*; the Fire *Urvâzista*; the Fire *Vazista*, and the Fire *Čpêniasta*. The Fire is said here to be "master over all houses," for the comfort of all, and even the lives of all, the inmates, depend on the domestic fire, and everywhere, and of whatever kind, it is the outshining of Ahura Mazda.

It is said that *Berezi-cavō* means "which affords great profit;" *Vohū-fryāna*, "the well-goings;" *Urvāzista*, "the far-leading;" *Vazista*, "the swift;" *Çpēnista*, "the very holy." According to the Bundehesh, the first is that which is before Hormuzd and the kings; the second dwells in the bodies of men and animals; the third is in trees; the fourth is in the clouds, i. e., the lightning, and stays the demon Çpēnjaghra; and the fire Çpēnista is that which is employed in this world. I very much doubt whether these explanations are at all correct.

Vazista is probably the fire of the dwelling, or of the domestic hearth, from the Sanskrit *Vāsa*, "dwelling, habitation, house;" and *Çpēnista* is probably the sacrificial fire.

Uru, fem., *Urvī*, in Sanskrit is "large;" and in later writings the earth is called *Urvī*. *Ürdhva*, Sanskrit, means "erect, raised, upper;" and *hvri*, "to be crooked" (whence, probably, *ürmi*, i. e., *hvri+mi*, a wave). *Urvāzista*, therefore, may have been the lightning.

Vohū-fryāna is supposed to mean "well-going," no doubt, because in Sanskrit, *prayāna* means "going-forth, march." But what kind or variety of fire is a "well-going" one? *Prayas*, i. e., *pri+as*, in the Rig Veda, is "sacrifice." *Prāyana* is "death," as *prāya* is.

Cavas, Sanskrit, is "power, strength," in the RigVeda; and *Sava*, "sacrifice, offspring, the sun and the moon." As *berez* in Zend means "high," *berezi-cavō* may be the mighty volcanic fire.

I may add, that *pri*, in Sanskrit, means "to bring over, protect, fill, accomplish;" and *pri*, whence *priya*, "to be busy or active." From this root are, Greek *πέρνημι*, *πέρνω*, "overcome, sell," etc. Another verb *pri*, means, "to be pleased with, to be attached to;" and *pri* (*priṇā*, *priṇī*), whence a new verb *priṇ* and *pūr*, means "to fill, collect, satisfy;" whence *priya*, "beloved, dear, a husband, lover, mistress, love." It is possible that *Vohū-fryāna* means the vital heat, to which generation and production are owing; and the Bundehesh may be right in saying that it dwells in the bodies of men and animals. But the reader will see that it is not possible to pronounce positively as to the derivation and real meaning of these epithets. Etymological resemblances are very apt to mislead us in the search for the meaning of Zend words.

It is very evident from this chapter that "to praise" was not to adore or worship. If trees, waters, winds, sky and earth, the best place of the pure, milk and fodder, could have been worshipped, it is impossible to believe that men and women were, or the crossings of roads. It is evident that "praising" was only a mode of thanking and glorifying Ahura Mazda for creating these benefits and conveniences and comforts. They were his works.

Yaçna xviii. is made up of citations from other places.

Yaçna xix. is a conversation between Ahura Mazda and Zarathustra; perhaps part of what is termed "The Ahurian Question."

I to 8. Zarathustra asks Ahura:

Which was the speech that thou didst speak to me, as before the Heaven, before the water, before the earth, before the bull, before the trees, before the fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda, before the Daevas with perverted soul, before mankind, before the whole corporeal world, before all the good things created by Mazda, that have a pure origin?

The answer is: "This division of the Ahuna Vairyā"—the first of the great prayers, the "*Word*" Honover, by which, it was long supposed by scholars, Ahura Mazda was said to have created the world, and which, it is now known, was not a "Word" at all, but a prayer.

6 to 8. What is said of this prayer, in Chapter *xix.* is this:

This division of it, recited without omission or negligence, is worth a hundred other meritorious Gâthâs recited with omission and negligence; and recited *with* omission and negligence, it is worth ten other principal prayers. 'As it was recited principally in the night, injunctions against negligence, or going to sleep during its recital are easily intelligible.' *Spiegel.* [It is very doubtful whether it was recited principally in the night, when the Yaçnas were composed].

9. 10. 11. Whoever *utters* to Ahura Mazda this *Vagha* of the Ahuna-Vairyā, recites uttering, delivers reciting, praises delivering, Ahura Mazda brings his soul three times over the bridge to Paradise, to the best place, the best purity, the best lights. [It is difficult to find suitable equivalents for these three original phrases in this verse. The first word 'uttering,' refers to the simple recital, the second implies a peculiar kind of half-whispered prayer, and the third a kind of chanting, used expressly in praise of God. *Spiegel.*]

I have no idea that Zarathustra ever uttered such nonsense as this would make of it. It belongs to the age when the pith and marrow, the substance and soul and essence of a pure and profound faith has died out, and nothing is left but husk and shell,—the age of dry-rot, when form has become more essential than substance, and religion consists in garments of a particular cut and device, genuflexions, formulas, and trivial observances. It seems to me that the meaning substantially is:

Whoever utters [breathes], this *Vagha* to me, not merely mentally, but by recitation aloud, offering [or sacrificing] as he recites it, and glorifying me by hymns of praise as he sacrifices.

12 to 15. Whoever mutilates it in reciting it, omitting half, a third, a fourth, or even a fifth part of it, I take his soul away from the best place as far as the length and breadth of this earth, which is as broad as it is long.

"Thrice over the bridge to Paradise," puzzles Professor Spiegel. He says: "It is by no means clear why Ahura Mazda is said to bring the soul into

Paradise, *thrice*"—and he promises to discuss the question in his Commentary, which, unfortunately, we have not seen. It is certainly difficult to understand what particular benefit it would be to the soul, to take it three times to Paradise, as it must necessarily be brought back twice, to effect that. Truly it is "by no means clear."

"The best place, of the best purity, the best lights," the "Paradise," whatever it may have become in the later days, was originally the fertile and desirable country conquered from the Drukhs. The "Soul" of a man was simply an expression meaning his "Self;" and he who should mutilate the prayer was to be exiled from this land, and even from the whole Aryan country. To have taken either the living believer, or the soul of the deceased one, three times over the same bridge, into the same land or place, could have been no better for him, no greater favor or reward, than to take him or it there once for all, and to have left him or it there to enjoy at once the reward earned. There is something ludicrous in the idea of carrying the man or soul three times over the bridge, twice bringing him or it back across it, by way of idle ceremonial and pomp.

I think, therefore, that it was meant to be said, "His soul I convey across the three bridges, to the best place, the fertile land, where the true faith abides, and the skies are bright and clear;" and I suppose that three rivers had to be crossed, to reach the newly acquired region.

Spiegel says, of verses 2 and 3, that they,

may also imply that the prayer (Ahuna Vairya) was taught to the *Fravashi* of Zarathustra before the creation of the Heavens, etc.

I do not think so. It was taught to himself. It had existed before. The term "pure men," he says, "here means only Gayo-mard." There is no warrant for that conclusion. And the original of the phrase "with perverted Soul" is *Khrafçtra*. I will inquire hereafter as to the meaning of that word, as used in connection with the word "Daevas."

16 to 23. Mazda spoke this prayer:

Out of heavenly holiness, for the whole world of purity, the existing, already in being, and the future, as an example of the works in the world of Mazda.

"This word," Ahura says, "I have spoken, *that possessing Lord and Ruler*, before the creation of this Heaven, etc. [In the note the translation is, possessing a Lord and Master (*ahumat, ratumat*), because both the words *ahu* and *ratu* occur in the first line.] The meaning, no doubt is possessing lordship and mastery, i. e., being invested and endowed with potency to govern and control, to cause things to be as the worshipper asks. The "whole world of Purity" is the Aryan race, or at least that part of it that professed the true religion, purity. Of the phrase, "as an

example of the works in the world of Mazda," Spiegel says, "that is, as the works are prescribed in the Ahuna-vairyā, so must they be performed in the whole world." Unfortunately, this prayer does not prescribe any "works" to be performed in the world or anywhere else. The prayer itself is, as Spiegel and Bleeck translate it:

1. *As is the will of the Lord, so the Ruler out of Purity.*
2. *From Vohū-Manō gifts for the works in the world for Mazda.*
3. *And the kingdom to Ahura, when we afford succor to the poor [free the people from oppression].*

Spiegel and Bleeck make little effort to explain these enigmatical utterances. Yaçna xix. may help to explain them.

It is declared to be—

the praise-worthy prayers, of those which Ahura has spoken, does speak, and that are to be spoken; as praise-worthy as the whole corporeal world besides. Let the learner learn it; if he retains it, so he gains the victory over dying. It was taught for us, for every being, to learn and to meditate, 'on account of the best purity.'

He who utters this;

He who recognizes Him as Lord and Master, who teaches Him, Ahura Mazda, to the creatures, who are the first in understanding;

He who resigns himself to Him, the greatest of all, he teaches also his creatures to know Him as the greatest.

As he enjoyment in Mazda, whilst he utters the third paragraph, *Vañhēus dazda Manañhō*—thus he gives himself to the Spirit.

As he makes it a teacher for the soul with *Manañhō*, so he calls it for 'the deeds.'

Here in the world,

If he teaches it to the beings, O Mazda, thus he becomes as its beings.

He brings, the Kingdom of Ahura—it is Thy Kingdom, O Mazda, he prays consequently for the poor.

As friendship for Çpitama, according to the five-fold.

Spiegel says, the meaning of the words, 'on account of the best purity,' is not clear. Perhaps, they imply that the Ahuna Vairyā is derived from Ahura-Mazda, 'the most perfect purity.' [In v. 37 that is *expressly* said]; 'All the words that are uttered,' [i. e., every word of the prayer], 'every word springs from Ahura Mazda.' Of 'He who recognizes Him as Lord and Master, etc.,' Spiegel says, 'The meaning is that he who by reciting *Yathā ahū vairyō athā Ratus*, etc., acknowledges Ahura Mazda, thereby teaches others to follow his example.' According to the gloss, the sense of the verse, 'As he enjoyment in Mazda, etc.,' is that he who utters the words *Vañheus*, etc., 'confesses that all the good gifts of life have their origin in Ahura Mazda.' And, 'He gives the Kingdom to Ahura,' signifies, according to the gloss, that he makes Ahura Mazda the ruler over his body. The second part of the verse appears to mean, 'if he does this, then will he also give food to the poor.' Then he says, 'I have taken Çpitama as a proper name in this difficult verse. It is usually an epithet of Zarathustra, and may possibly refer to him here.'

Now it is said in subsequent verses, that the prayer contains five Lords, or Rulers,—the Lords of the House, Clan, Confederacy and Regions, and Zarathustra as the fifth. And,

'of the regions that are without the Zarathustrian realm, the Zarathustrian Ragha has four Lords. What are the Lords of these? The Lord of the Dwelling; the Lord of the Clan, the Lord of the Confederacy; Zarathustra as the fourth.' [And again], 'Ahura-Mazda has spoken: To whom has He spoken? To the pure in Heaven and in the world. In what *capacity* has He spoken the speech? As best king. To whom? To the best pure, not ruling at will.'

"The best king" is Khshathra-Vairyā or Vohu-Khshathra, the Amēsha-Çpēnta, the divine sovereignty and dominion (Malakoth). "The best pure, not ruling at will" is Zarathustra, not ruling despotically, an elective monarch, sovereign, pontiff as well as imperator, a kind of constitutional king. The divine sovereignty speaks the prayer to the human sovereignty. It was fitting that Ahura should speak to the sovereign in that capacity.

The speech contains three heads; to think, speak and do, well. It *contains*, or applies to, four professions, i. e., castes—priests, warriors, husbandmen and artizans. "All renown *unites itself with* the pure man (the believer) through true thinking, speaking and acting." It is by these he wins glory and honour. "As it is taught by the Lord (Zarathustra), according to the instruction (precepts) of the law (the religious creed)." "Through his deeds, the worlds increase in purity." By his exertions and actions, the several portions of the Aryan land become more unanimously devoted to the Maždayaçnian religion, and it spreads.

38 to 43. When the Ahuna Vairyā was spoken against the bad [the infidel oppressors, the Tâtar or Scythian masters of the Aryans], they went swiftly away [expelled by Zarathustra, the liberator, from the land]. On account of this utterance against them, may they [May this prayer, spoken against them, cause it to be that they shall not hereafter] adhere unto [control and, as it were, own] our souls, teachings [religious faith and creed], our understanding, belief, prayers, actions or laws.

'As friendship for Çpitama, according to the five-fold,' must be connected [it stands in the translation wholly isolated from what precedes and from that which follows it] with what follows—"all the words which are uttered, every word springs from Ahura Mazda.' The prayer emanates from him, as a measure of five-fold, i. e., of exceeding great grace and favour to Zarathustra.

I read Bagha 1 of the prayer, thus:

Even such as the will of the Divine Sovereignty is, so may the will of the ruler, Zarathustra, who rules in accordance with the true religion, or, by virtue of his office as the apostle of the true religion, and representative, as such, of Khshathra-Vairyā, the Divine Sovereignty.

Zarathustra [says the Yaçna] recognizes Him, Ahura-Mazda, as Lord and Master, and teaches Him to the intelligent thinkers of the Aryans, resigns himself to Him, the greatest of all, and teaches the people also to know Him as the greatest.

The second Bagha I read thus:

May he, Zarathustra, obtain from Vohû-Manô those intellectual gifts that will enable him to effect those results and do that work in the Aryan land, which will be to the honour and glory of Mazda, i. e., to propagate therein the true faith in the supremacy of Ahura Mazda as the Absolute Supreme Being.

And the third I read:

And to enable him to establish the religion of Ahura, the Divine Sovereignty, over all the Aryan land, when he relieves and liberates the poor people of the land from their vassalage under the yoke of the infidel invaders.

The prayer is called in the Yaçna as translated, "an *example* of the works in the world of Mazda." The allusion is evidently to the second Bagha; "Gifts from Vohû-Manô for the works in the world for Mazda." I conclude that the word rendered "example" must have a meaning nearer to that of "gifts." We recognize in the *Fravashis*, the Ideas of Plato, i. e., the souls of men, existing in or within the divine intellect, thereafter to be evolved from it into separate and actual being. The "works" of the world, in the sense in which the original is used in the Avesta, means not the *actions* of men, or of the deity, but that which the doing *produces*. The thought, uttered, *is* the Word; and the Word *becomes* the thing or the result produced. The Word, as it were, *turns itself into* the created actuality. Everything that exists, therefore, had its exemplar in the deity, before it commenced its actuality of being; and in this sense the prayer, expressive of the simple and sublime creed, "*Ahura is Lord of all, Creator of all, and the human Sovereignty of Zarathustra is as His Divine Sovereignty,*" could well be said to be the exemplar of the religious faith that was to become, as it were, part of the very being of the Aryan race,—*of its very being*; for Ahura Mazda is in every attribute and characteristic, with but a different name, the God of the whole Christian world.

To "gain the victory over dying" was to be secure against the weapons of the infidel.

"*On account* of the best purity," means, "as an expression of the true religious faith."

Spiegel remarks that "the passage respecting the four Lords is of the highest importance for the political conditions of the Zarathustrians at the time when this part of the Yaçna was composed." He reserves explanations for the Commentary.

Ragha, in the first Fargard, is the twelfth and best of regions and places created by Ahura Mazda,—“Ragha which consists of three tribes.” The Gujarat Translation has *Rey*. Spiegel says, “*Raghu*, the well known town in Media, is mentioned by Darius in the inscription of Behistun.” Isador Charas calls it, “The greatest of all the Median Cities, near Mount Caspius, from which the Caspian gates have their name.” *Aīra Mainyus* created, in opposition to it, the evil of unbelief in the Supreme, i. e., in Ahura. This, it is now plain; means that there the Irano-Aryans were plagued and harassed by the infidels, natives of the country, or Tātar or Scythian invaders. It is called *thrizantu*, having three races. In note to the sixteenth paragraph of this Fargard, Haug and Bunsen quote the passage as to Lords from *Yaçna xix*. We learn from this note that the word rendered “Lords,” there, is *Ratavô*; “family” (or dwelling), *nmâna*; “district” (or clan), *vis*; “race, tribe or confederacy,” *Zantu*. And it is added:

It is clear from this that the inhabitants of *Raghâ* did not recognize Zarathustra as their Supreme Lord, but that they considered him as inferior to the real lord of the soil, though superior to the heads of tribes. This is the reason why they are mentioned as possessing other than the Zarathustrian faith.

The recital of the *Yaçna*, that there are five rulers or chiefs, i. e., five grades of government; the chiefs of the family, clan or district, confederacy or tribe, region or province; and Zarathustra, means evidently, that he is the chief magistrate of the whole country. The “regions without the Zarathustrian realm” are evidently countries beyond the limits of Bactria, conquered and colonized by the Iranians. Of these, Ragha (which is almost certainly Media) has but four degrees of chieftainship. There is no chief or ruler of the whole province, under Zarathustra. The phrase that Spiegel translates “without the Zarathustrian realm,” Haug and Bunsen translate “religion different from that of Zarathustra.” I do not know what the word is, which one translates “realm,” and the other, “religion;” but as the words rendered “purity,” and “the Mazdayaçnian Law,” are the common terms for the Zarathustrian religion, I dare say that Spiegel’s translation is the correct one. And I do not at all understand the passage to mean that the people of Ragha did not acknowledge Zarathustra as supreme ruler, but as inferior to the real lords of the soil; but just the reverse, i. e., that there were chiefs or heads, of the families, clans and tribes, but no chief of the whole province, Zarathustra governing it, perhaps by a lieutenant or prefect.

Dr. Haug gives in his *Essays* (569) a translation of some of the verses of *Yaçna xix*.

The word which Spiegel renders by “heavenly,” he renders by “spirit.” “The Corporeal World,” is in his translation, “all the territories which

are endowed with bodies," and "the whole living creation endowed with bodies," and "this very world which is endowed with bodies." (At page 136, also, he explains "the three expressions used for the recital of the sacred texts," *mar*, "to repeat;" *drenj* or *framru*, "to recite with a low voice," and *grâvay*, *fraçrâvay*, "to recite with a loud voice, with observation of musical accents."

The word which Spiegel renders by "Paradise," in v. 10, and "the best place," in v. 14, is given by Haug. It is *Vahista*. And he renders v. 10, "His soul shall I, who am Ahura Mazda, carry all three times over the bridge to Paradise."

For "heaven," in v. 16, Haug has "day;" and for "that possessing Lord and Ruler," "which was life, and was a Master."

In v. 21, instead of, "I have spoken it, out of heavenly holiness," he has, "The white of my two spirits has continuously spoken it;" upon which he says that the two spirits, Çpêntô and Añgrô-Mainyus are united in Ahura Mazda. At least this shows the absurdity of using such phrases as "heavenly holiness" in the translation of an ancient language. No doubt the meaning is, that Ahura Mazda spoke the prayer of Ahuna Vairyá through Çpênta-Mainyus, the beneficent divine mind.

Finally, for "house, clan, confederacy, region," Haug has "family, village, town (or tribe), and country."

Yaçna xx. is an explanation of the prayer, or rather speech or liturgic formula, "*Ashem Vohu*." The three lines of the prayer, as the original is given here, and the translation of the same by Spiegel and Bleek, in the Khordah Avesta, are:

1—*Ashem vôhû vahistem actî*.

Purity is the best good.

Of which the Yaçna says:

'He gives to him thereby the best good (*Vôhû Vahistem*), namely, for himself, his own existence, if he fulfils the law which lies in *Vôhû Vahistem actî*.' [Spiegel says]: 'The words *for himself, his own existence*, etc., mean that he who utters this prayer, offers himself thereby to Ahura Mazda, provided also he acts in conformity to it.'

But if purity is the best good, surely Ahura gives this to the worshipper, and not the worshipper to him. Does it not mean that Ahura Mazda gives to the faithful and devout worshipper his own (Ahura's) existence (he being the Supreme Purity), if he fulfils the divine law?

2—*Ustâ açti ustâ ahmâi*:

Happiness, Happiness is to him:

'*Ustâ*' [Spiegel says, note to *Kh. Av. i.*] 'means happiness, prosperity, felicity or hail!'

Of this line, the Yaçna says:

He gives what is good, for every pure all purity, namely, all the purity which belongs to every single man, gives he to every pure one.

It appears from the Glosses [Spiegel says], that the utterance of this prayer makes every man a participator in the purity (pure deeds) performed by all pure men. In this we perceive the idea of a mystic bond, which, as it were, united all true believers as members of an invisible church.

The meaning seems to me to be, simply, that Ahura gives the true faith to all believers alike, the same to each one as to every other.

3—*Hyat ashâi vahistâi ashem.*

Namely (or, that is to say), to the best pure in purity. [Or, namely, purity to the best pure, i. e., the true faith to the best faithful.]

Of this line, the Yaçna says:

He gives the whole Mañthra to him who knows the Mañthra. He entrusts dominion to the pure. To the praying pure one, he gives purity. To you, the profitable, he gives purity: three maxims.

I think the sentences may be rendered thus:

1—*The true faith is the best wealth, or, the excellence of being.*

2—*It is happiness; happiness to him.*

3—*To-wit, the true faith, to the most zealous believer.*

And the Commentary is:

He gives superiority and rule to the true believers.

To the true believer who faithfully worships him, he gives the true faith.

To you who are the zealous doers of good works, he gives the true faith.

The whole is declared to be said by Ahura; to have been spoken to the faithful, in heaven and of earth. He "uttered the speech" as "the best ruling," i. e., as Khshathra Vairyā, the divine sovereignty, to the faithful monarch or chief not ruling despotically.

Yaçna xxi. is a Commentary on the third prayer, which commences with the words "*Yênhê hâtañm.*" One line only of the original is given here, nor have I succeeded in finding the whole prayer. That line is the first, "*Yênhê hâtañm ãat yêgnê paiti.*" The Commentary, as the translation reads, is:

Yênhê (to whom), with this brings he praise to Mazda, who, according to the laws of Ahura—*Hâtañm* (to the existing) he offers praise.

Namely, to those of the existing who desire to be friendly. To all pure (women) brilliant in understanding, he offers praise. Namely, for praise for the immortal. Here are three sentences in the whole praiseworthy speech.

"The women brilliant in understanding" are the female personifications of the divine attributes, Ashis-Vanuhi and others.

This prayer, it is said, was spoken by Zarathustra, and is addressed to the Amēsha-Çpēntas at every offering. Then the Yaçna recurs to the Ashem-Vôhû:

Thus spake Ahura Mazda; Hail to each, whoever it may be! May Ahura be made ruling according to will. What has He announced through this speech?

He has announced happiness, namely, happiness for every pure one, the existing, having been, and about to be. The best has announced the best, the best Mazda has announced the best purity to the best pure. . .

There is certainly very little in these prayers. Their antiquity alone could have invested them with sanctity, and made their recitation be deemed meritorious and efficacious.

Yaçna xxii. was chanted at the sacrifice, when the Haōma, Bareçma and Zaōthra were used, and flesh was offered, with prayer and recitation of the Mazdayaçnian law and the Gâthâs; for the satisfaction of Ahura Mazda, of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, Craōsha and the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, of Mithra also, and Rama-qac̄tra, of the Sun, the Immortal, brilliant, with swift horses,

'of the wind which works on high,' 'is higher than other creatures, namely, that of thee, O air, which springs from Çpēnta-Mainyûs; of the most righteous wisdom, created by Mazda, of the Mazdayaçnian law, of the Manthra-Çpēnta, the mountain Ushi-darena, adorned with pure brightness, of all Yazatas, the pure, heavenly and earthly; and of the Fravashis of the pure, the strong, attacking, of those of the Paoiryô-ṭkaeshas, the Nabanzdistas, of the Yazata with renowned name.'

Yaçna xxiii., xxiv. and xxvi. invoke the presence of, and praise the Fravashis. These chapters are valuable because they assist us to understand the Zarathustrian notions in regard to these Fravashis. I shall refer to them hereafter, in connection with passages in the Vispered and Yashts; only noting here that *Yaçna xxiii.* invokes the presence at the sacrifice, of the Fravashis of Ahura Mazda, of the Amēsha-Çpēntas and the heavenly Yazatas; also of those of Gayô-Marathan (the first man), of Zarathustra, of Kvi-Vistâçpa his principal captain, of Içat-vâçtra, Son of Zarathustra, and the *Fravashi of the worshipper's own soul.*

In *Yaçna xxiv.*, the Haōma, Barēçma, etc., are offered to:

'The Amēsha-Çpēntas, the good rulers, the wise, the ever beneficent, who dwell together with Vohû-Manô;' and in *Yaçna xxvi.*, praises are recited to 'the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the kings, *beholding at will*, the great, mighty, strong, proceeding [emanating] from Ahura, who are imperishable, the pure of the first faith, the first disciples.'

The words rendered "beholding at will" are *dôithranañm berezañm*. The latter word is an adjective, the genitive plural of *bérəzant*, to which Bopp uniformly ascribes the meaning of "shining, *splendens*." Spiegel says "*doithra*" signifies, I believe, "eye;" but the only words that I can find in Bopp, for eye, are *Ashi* and *Chashman*. I think it is much more likely that *doithra* means a *ray*. I shall return to this again.

Yaçna xxv. contains little not found elsewhere, and already noticed. The pure wind, the air which works on high, is here said to "belong" to *Çpenta-Mainyû;*" as in *Yaçna xxii. 27*, it is said to spring from it. It was deemed to flow from the divine mind or will.

"The most righteous wisdom, created by Ahura, pure, the good Mazdayaçnian law," is praised; for it contains and is the utterances of the Divine Wisdom. And the Mañthra-Çpënta is praised also, the very brilliant, the law against the Daevas, the Zarathustrian law, the long precept, the good Mazdayaçnian law, the spreading abroad, keeping in mind, and knowledge of the Mañthra Çpënta, the heavenly wisdom created by Mazda, the wisdom heard with the ears (composed and sung or read), created by Mazda.

Yaçna xxvii. is the last, before the Gâthâs. It is, condensed:

Now will we make Him, the greatest of all, as Lord and Master, to smite Añra-Mainyûs, the evil; the Aeshma, the bad; the Mazanian Daevas, all Daevas, those bringing rain, evil; to further Ahura, the Amësha Çpëntas, the star Tistrya, the pure man, and all pure creatures of Çpënta Mainyûs.

AIRYÂMÂ ISHYO

Immediately after the Gâthâs follows the prayer (*Yaçna liii.*) *Airyâmâ Ishyo*, which, Spiegel says, is one of the most effective prayers. It also is of three verses only:

1. May the desirable obedience [Çraôsha] come hither, for joy to the men and women of Zarathustra.
2. For joy to Vohû-Manô, may he grant the reward to be decreed according to the law.
3. I wish the good purity of the poor. Great is Ahura Mazda!

Yaçna liv. gives and makes known, to the Holy Gâthâs, the lords over the times, the pure:

The whole world, bodies together with bones, vital force and form, strength and consciousness, soul and Fravashi.

We found in the Veda, that prayer was deified, as Brahmanaspiti and Brihaspiti. And so here we find the Gâthâs, or religious hymns, invested with divinity. In this, Zarathustra was strictly logical and philosophical. His creed deified the various forces of nature or the universe. To him, in the language of a modern philosopher, "the forces of nature were the varied action of God." Prayers were the divine thoughts, expressed in words, by God Himself. They were the "creation" of Ahura—He "made" them. Benefit, happiness, good, were not given as rewards by Ahura, for the piety which prompted the utterance of the prayer, and of which piety it was the expression; but they all *flowed from* the prayer, as brightness does from a star, and were the "deeds" of Ahura, completing the Trinity of Thought, Word and Deed.

In short, prayer was a divine force, and being such, was deified as the divine wisdom and sovereignty were. So also was obedience, or piety, which also produced benefits and blessings, as thought produces the word, and as the word produces the deed.

But how is "the whole world," bodies, bones, vitality and form, strength and consciousness (or intellect), soul and pre-existent spirit or personality, *given and made known to* the Holy Gâthâs, by Zarathustra? To the Gâthâs afterwards styled

The most profitable, victorious, the furtherer of the world, for the protection of purity in the world, for ruling over purity in the world, for those who profit and will profit, and for the whole world of purity.

I have no doubt that the word rendered "world" meant simply the Aryan land, occupied by the adherents of Zarathustra; and that by this

Gâthâ he devotes and binds them to the service of the Ahurian religion, to the Gâthâs, which were its worship,—consecrating to that service their bodies, in war, their intellect and their whole being and energies.

These Gâthâs are "lords over the times," "ruling and protecting for us heavenly food," food and raiment for the soul; and they are prayed unto, to "bring reward for the next world, after the separation of the vital powers and consciousness;" and that they may be strength, victory, health, remedy, advancement, enlargement, help, defence; and as wise, very pure, offering:

May they for those who know come to light, the praise-worthy prayers, as Ahura Mazda created them.

Most of this evidently relates to the struggle in which the Zarathustrians were engaged, for independence and peaceful enjoyment of their own country.

Then Asha and Vohu are praised, and afterwards the Gâthâs again:

'The laudable prayers, the creations of the first world;' 'whilst we recite them from memory, act in accordance with them, learn them, teach them, keep them in memory, desire to remind ourselves of them.'

Yaçna iv., Spiegel says, seems to be an introduction to the Çrosh-Yasht, that follows it.

It is an invocation in eight verses, beginning, "May hearing here have place, for praise to Ahura Mazda;" and asking the same for the praise of the good waters, the Fravashis of the pure:

Of the good waters as the male and female Amêsha-Çpêntas, the good rulers, the wise, for praise to the good things of Ashis-Vañuhi, who is bound with purity, for our perfection and uplifting.

I think it likely that this is, as Spiegel thinks, an introduction to the Çrosh-Yasht, which must be much more modern than the Gâthâs, although it is appended to them.

It will have been noted that in the Gâthâs the only Deities mentioned are Ahura Mazda and the Amêsha-Çpêntas. No star is named in them, and the sun is but once mentioned, and there as the body of Ahura.

I pass by for the present Ashis-Vañuhi and the female Amêsha-Çpêntas.

Çraôsha is said by Mr. Bleek to be "obedience." I think that the word is badly selected. He is devotion, that religious sentiment which expressed itself in worship and adoration. The Çrosh-Yasht takes its name from him. In *Yaçna iv.* 50, it is said:

Çraôsha, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, who has a strong weapon, who originates from Ahura, as Khshnaôthra, for praise, for adoration, satisfaction and laud.

The Mañthra is the written or uttered prayer, or adoration, and it is the body, of which Ćraošha is the soul. He has a strong weapon, i. e., he is efficient to aid in battle, because victory and success, like prosperity and other goods, was deemed to flow from devotion and prayer, like light from the fire. *Khshnaōthra*, which Bleeck translates by “contentment” or “satisfaction,” was, he says, “the technical expression for a particular kind of prayers.”

The Crosh-Yasht, in 13 sections, is Yaçna *hvi*. It is announced to be:

Khshnaōthra for the praise, adoration, satisfaction and laud of the holy Ćraošha, the strong, whose body is the Mañthra, whose weapon is uplifted, the Ahurian.

It is very manifest that these expressions attributing bodily strength to Ćraošha, and arming him with a weapon (and which are very similar to those of which the Veda is full), was originally altogether figurative. It is certain that to Zarathustra, he and the Amēsha-Çpēntas were as perfectly immaterial, and as perfectly abstracted from all idea of form and substance, as the Sephiroth of the Kabalah. They were forces, divine attributes in exercises, rays of the Deity, hardly to be deemed to have a personality distinct enough to permit them to be called spirits. Of course, the figurative expressions were soon misunderstood, and Ćraošha became a warrior like Indra, invested with the form of man, and warring with the weapons of mortals. The figures of the Veda and Avesta became the fruitful source of mythologies, legends and nonsense, in after ages.

The Yasht opens by announcing that it is in praise of Ćraošha, the holy, beautiful, victorious, furtherer [benefactor] of the world, the pure, lord of purity. He, it is said:

First among the creatures of Ahura Mazda, with bâreçma bound together, offered sacrifice to Ahura, to the Amesha-Çpēntas, the Protector and the Maintainer, who created all creatures.

The words translated by “Protector” and Maintainer” are in the dual, and, Mr. Bleeck says:

According to the old Bactrian System, they may either refer to Ahura Mazda alone, as possessing different attributes, or to him and the Amēsha-Çpēntas.

I am more inclined to believe that they are Haurvât and Amérêtât, whose names are also found, each in the dual; and as the latter name means immortality or undyingness, i. e., continuance of life, the name “maintainer” is appropriate. I have already sufficiently considered, satisfactorily I hope, what these two personifications are:

'For his brightness [the hymn continues], his majesty, for his strength, his victoriousness, for his offering to the Yazatas, I will praise him with audible praise; Craošha the Holy, with Zaothras and Ashis-Vaňuhi, the great, and Nairyô-Čoňha, the beautiful.'

Craošha, it is said, first bound together the Barečma, three, five, seven, nine twigs. He first sang 'the five Gâthâs of the holy pure Zarathustra, as holy prayer, text, with Commentary and imprecations. He is a firm, well-chambered dwelling for the poor men and women, after the rising of the sun. He crushes Aeshma, striking him a hard blow.'

The figure is *outré*; and the propensity of the old Aryan mind to resort to far-fetched figures of this kind, is as plainly displayed here as in the Veda. The exuberant fancy in each runs riot, watches and sports with its vagaries, and delights in finding new conceits which yet shall by a slender thread be connected with and akin to the original idea. At first sight, nothing could appear to be more ludicrously inapt than to call devotion, first a warrior with uplifted weapon, smiting Aeshma with a knock-down blow, and then as a firm well chambered dwelling for the poor. But a strong block-house, with its rooms well arranged for defence, is a strong place of défence and safeguard to the settler on the frontier, against the moss-troopers and free-lances of the unbelieving Scythians; and so is devotion. Worship conquers and crushes the Spirit of evil within one, and gives the victory over him as author of all public as well as private mischief. It was natural to figure this Spirit of worship and devotion, to one's self, as a stout, strong warrior, or athlete, defeating Aeshma ever in a pugilistic contest.

If the reader would see most strikingly reproduced all this old Aryan symbolism and personification of powers, forces, mental and intellectual characteristics, he has only to read the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War* of John Bunyan. Mr. Great-heart, Mr. Facing-both-ways, Mr. Fearing, Mr. Self-will, Mistrust and Timorous, Giant Despair beating his prisoners with a grievous crab-tree cudgel,—these are conceptions and personifications of the same nature as these of Zarathustra; and the *Holy War*, if composed when the Avesta was, would have given later ages Deities enough for a whole Pantheon.

[Craošha] 'goes forth from all fights, victoriously smiting,' and is companion of the Amêsha-Çpëntas.

In Section 6 of Yaçna *vi.*, we read:

The strongest among the youths, the firmest among the youths, the most lusty among the youths, the swiftest among the youths accomplishes deeds. Desire, O Mazdayaçnians, for the offering of the Holy Craošha, far from this dwelling, far from this clan, far from this confederacy, far from this region, the bad, pernicious hindrances shall be driven away.

This seems to me to urge the enlisting of the young men in the war against the foreign aggressor, that his forces may be expelled from the Aryan land; from every house and tribe, from the lands of the Confederation, and from the whole country.

Çraõsha smites the *vicious* man and woman, and the Daevi-Drukhs, the very mighty and world-destroying. He is the supporter, the furtherer of all worldly advancement. Sleepless, he preserves and protects with watchfulness the creatures of Ahura Mazda, protects with upraised weapon the whole corporeal world, after the rising of the sun, no longer sleeping softly:

Since the two heavenly beings have created the world, Çpënta-Mainyu and Aîra, because he will protect the world of purity [the country of the faithful believers]; who wars, night and day, with the Mazanian Daevas, and they bow affrighted before him, and hasten into the darkness.

Haõma praised him, the healing, fair, kingly, having golden eyes, on the highest summit of the high mountain.

The Haõma plant grows on the mountains, and perhaps has golden or orange-colored flowers. If not, I do not venture to conjecture what "having golden eyes" means.

His victorious dwelling is formed with a thousand pillars, on the highest summit of the great mountain, shining inwardly with its own light, like a star outwardly. The prayers, Mañthras and Yaçnas are his weapons.

I do not know what is meant by this description of his dwelling. I fail to catch here the Aryan thought; but I am quite sure that the allusion is not a mere idle fancy, but that in his mind who used it, the connection of ideas was a natural one, by which a dwelling on a mountain was assigned to the personified spirit of worship. Or was there such a temple?

Through his strength, victory, stout blows and knowledge, the Amesha Çpëntas govern 'the earth, consisting of Seven Kareshvares.' He is the lawgiver, and as absolute ruler traverses the whole corporeal world. Through this law [i. e., in this his right as ruler], Ahura, the Amësha-Çpëntas, the Ahurian Question, the Ahurian Custom, are gracious to him, in both worlds, the corporeal and spiritual.

By which I understand that they graciously grant his requests for those gifts that benefit either the body or the soul of the devout worshipper. What the Ahurian Question and Custom are I do not attempt to explain.

He is asked to give strength for the horses, and health for the body, against death, Aeshma and the hosts.

'Rushing hither,' 'who uplift the terrible banners before the runners of Aeshma, whom the evil-knowing Aeshma lets run, together with Vidhôtus, created by the Daevas' [and he is implored to grant] 'perfect subjection of the tormentors, killing against the evil-souled, destruction for the foes, the hostile, hating.'

Evidently the "hosts rushing hither" are the infidel Scyths or Tatars of the Steppes; and the runners of Aeshma, before whom the terrible banner is uplifted, are the riders of those hosts. The "Vidhôtus, created by the Daevas" (Sons of Belial), "were probably some allied tribe of the enemy." The residue of the prayer explains itself.

The Aryan fancy never wearied. Four horses carry Craošha, spotless, bright-shining, beautiful, holy, wise, swift, obeying heavenly commands, having hoofs of lead, inwrought with gold. They are swifter than horses, wind, storms, clouds, strong-winged birds, or the well-aimed arrow. All these they overtake; and no one can overtake them. What is in the Eastern Indies he seizes, what is in the Western he smites.

For when Craošha was once conceived of as winner of battles, this devotion or worship became a hero and soldier, so winning victory in the field. Immediately the imagination invested him with all the characteristics of a soldier, armed him with human arms, and saw him, a chieftain, riding in a chariot, drawn by four horses. Then these horses in turn became real, and the imagination pictured them, even to their shoes. As the influence of devotion flashes, instantaneously, as it were, to any distance, they were unapproachable in speed. If we could follow the train of Aryan thought, we should learn the meaning of the shoes of lead, inwrought with gold. Perhaps it alluded to plates of that kind, on which the sacred prayers were inscribed: or perhaps the horses of the leaders were so shod.

Three times every day and night, he descends upon this Kareshvare Qaniratha, holding a weapon in the hand, the axe of a wood-cutter, which of itself strikes against the head of the Daevas, to smite Anra-Mainyûs, Aeshma, and all the Daevas.

There were, it seems, then, three daily sacrifices or religious services; and as wood fed the sacrificial fire, even the mechanical act of cutting it was an act of religion; which the spirit of worship itself did, by means of the axe and using the muscles of the wood-cutter.

Craošha has strong arms, strikes conquering blows, and enables the True Believer to do the same. 'Prayer', it has been said in our day, 'nerves the Spirit afresh'.

Why may it not be a force, as the will is? Who can have a right to deny that as God has so prearranged and foreseen all that becomes, as that the free will of every man shall concur in carrying forward the plans of this Omniscience, without being controlled by his Omnipotence, so prayer may be one of the forces of nature, "all of which are the varied action of God"?

The two spiritual beings, Čpenta and Anra-Mainyûs, "created the world" (§7); but Craošha smites Anra-Mainyûs, Aeshma and the Mazanyan Daevas.

The words translated "The Eastern Indies" and "The Western," are not properly translated, as I shall show hereafter.

Vidhuti, in Sanskrit, is 'shaking, trembling, trepidation'. Benfey gives its composition as *vi+dhu-ti*. *Vidhûra*, i. e., *vyadh+ura*, 'trembling, agitated, bewildered, adverse': *'vidhûti*, i. e., *vi+dhu-ti*, 'shaking, agitation'. *Vyadh*, *vidhya*, 'to pierce, hit, wound'. *Viddha*, 'beaten, whipped'. [Hence, no doubt, *Vidhôtus*.]

Dr. Haug gives a translation of portions of this Yasht. In these later compositions, the differences between his translations and Spiegel's are much less radical and numerous.

The 'furtherer of the world', of Spiegel, is 'who protects our territories', of Haug, the real meaning being 'who causes the land to prosper'.

[For] 'The protector and maintainer', to whom Ćraoša offered, he reads 'the two masters, the two creators' (*thwôrestâra*, *Çpêntô* and *Añgro Mainyûs*), 'who create all things'.

It is preposterous to suppose that Añra Mainyûs was considered ever to have been the object of the devout worship of the Aryan believers. Dr. Haug presses the passage into the support of a theory.

[Spiegel says]: The words 'protector' and 'maintainer' are in the dual, and, according to the old Bactrian Syntax, they may either refer to Ahura Mazda alone, as possessing different attributes, or to Ahura Mazda and the Amesha-Çpêntas.

"The old Bactrian Syntax," I take it, is, as to this peculiarity, merely imaginary. The names of the two emanations, Haurvât and Amérêtât, are always each in the dual; and so it is when twins are spoken of,— each is in the dual. The form was not syntactical, but the expression of the idea of correlation, each of the two persons being deemed to share the identity of the other.

This duality, of protector and maintainer, created all creatures. Nor do I think that either Haug or Spiegel translated correctly the two appellatives *pâtâra* and *thwôrestâra*. I do not see why the former should not be translated "Father:" and I find *thworeç* and *Thworeçta* rendered by Bopp by "Creator;" probably from the Sanskrit root *twaksh*, which in the Veda has the meaning "to produce," "to work," whence *twashti* or *twashtri*, "a carpenter, and the name of a deity, the artist of the gods." I think that the words in question should be rendered "father" and "producer" or "maker": and that by them are meant Ahura Mazda, the Absolute Deity, and Çpênta-Mainyûs, the Divine Mind.

We find the same peculiarity, of each name being in the dual, in *Frashaōstrâ-Jâmâçpâ*, "Frashaōstra and Jâmâçpa," indicating, perhaps, that they were brothers in arms, and animated and inspired by the same divine spirit: as, in Sanskrit, *Mitrâ-Varuna*, "Mitra and Varuna," the

morning and evening stars. So also, in Zend, *Zâmâtara-Qaçura*, the son-in-law and father-in-law, as connected by one woman, wife of one and daughter of the other. I quote elsewhere what Bopp says in regard to this form, in the case of *Haurvât* and *Amérêtât*.

Dr. Haug calls the "Mazanian Daevas" of Professor Spiegel, the "Devas of Mazenderan," the original word being *Mâzanya*.

[He says], These Mazanian Devas, several times alluded to in the Zend-Avesta, are evidently the Divs of Mazenderan, so well known to the readers of the *Shâhnâmah*.

I hardly think that *Mâzanya* is an epithet. It is more probable that it was the name of a particular tribe or race of unbelievers, at war with the Aryans. If an epithet, it can hardly be from the same root as *Mazda*, the Sanskrit verb *mah*, "to adore, to honour," or *Magh*, "to be great, powerful;" whence the adjective *Maha*, "great," and as a noun, "light;" and *Mahas*, "light, lustre, a sacrifice." It may be from *mash*, "to kill, hurt."

For "both worlds, the corporeal and spiritual," Dr. Haug reads "our two lives, that of the body and that of the soul." These "worlds" or "lives" I take to be the aggregate of bodies and intellects. I find elsewhere, "life" said to be invested with the body; where the word evidently means the mind, soul or intellectual part of man.

Yaçna lvii. contains 24 verses. The first nine glorify prayer—"the prayer which has a good seed," i. e., which is fruitful of good; which is "united with purity, united with wisdom;" i. e., which is one with religion and with its teachings; and whose seeds are good thoughts, words and works. This prayer is profit and victory.

'May this prayer', it is prayed, 'protect us against the vexings of Daevas and men. To this prayer we make known [offer sacrifice or adoration], to protect [that we may have protection of] property and person, to shelter, to rule, to oversee' [safety, and the powers of government and control]. For this, the 'worshipper submits himself to, and calls on, prayer;'—'prayer as for such as Thee (Ahura), is fruitful, pure, victorious, fruits we desire to inherit.'

With verse 10 an invocation to Çpênta-Mainyûs begins, much of which is exceedingly obscure. Spiegel translates as follows:

10. O father over the cattle and over those who belong to the Holy One; over the pure and those wishing purity in the world.

[Here I think the meaning is], 'O Protector of our cattle, and of the Aryan children of Çpenta-Mainyû, of the pious and those who strive to propagate the faith in the land.'

11. Thou open giver of good! Whose greatness, goodness and beauty amongst you we desire. May He, the rich in goods [abounding in benefits and blessings], control us with purity, with activity, with liberality, with knowledge, with gentleness, with the fire of Ahura Mazda!

The construction is, May he amongst you, whose greatness, etc., who is rich in goods, oversee us who are endowed with purity, activity, etc. (*Spiegel*.)

'*Thou* giver of good, whose greatness amongst *you* we desire, may *he* shelter us;' —[Who are the] 'you' [and the] 'he'? [From 'may he control us with purity,' how are we to extract] 'may he oversee us who are endowed with purity?'

And of whom is he one? The construction does not make the sentence more intelligible. It may be a prayer to Çpēnta-Mainyû, that one among the Amēsha-Çpēntas may protect the Aryans and lead them aright, in the way of the faith, and otherwise: and that one must be Vohû-Manô.

- 13. As you created us, O Amēsha-Çpēnta, so support us.
- 14. Support us; good men support us; good women support us, Amēsha-Çpēnta, good ruler, wise.
- 15. I know no one save ye, ye pure; therefore support us.
- 16. Thoughts, words and works, cattle and men, we commit to Çpēnta-Mainyû.

One looks in vain to Spiegel for any explanation of this confusion of numbers and persons. He does not even tell us in a note, that it is "obscure;" perhaps because he thought a note not necessary to give that information. "Good women support us Amēsha-Çpēnta" is not intelligible English. If "men" and "women" are in the accusative, the sentence would have *some* meaning. For it would read, "O Amēsha Çpēnta, support us who are good men and good women." But who are "ye pure"? Amēsha Çpēnta is singular, Çpēnta-Mainyû alone. If the translation is at all correct, this emanation, as containing in itself all the rest, must have been conceived of and addressed both as one and many.

- 18. All the creatures of the creator would we, together with the created lights of Ahura-Mazda, keep.

Here we are favoured by Professor Spiegel with this note:

That is, mankind are to unite their efforts to those of the stars, to maintain the world of purity. In that case, the passage would contain an allusion to the later star-worship; but the whole verse is most difficult.

The attempted explanation is itself nonsense:

Verses 19 and 20 praise the fire, and ask it to "come hither to the greatest of affairs," by which is meant, perhaps, the most important of sacrifices; and ask also the gift, "for great friendship, great delight," of Haurvât and Amérêtât.

The remaining verses praise the Çtaôta Yaçnya, and say:

With the highest prayer, Mazda Ahura, we inform thy body, the fairest among bodies, among these lights the highest of the uplifted, that which is called the sun.

What is meant by "informing" the sun, I cannot even conjecture.

The value and efficacy of prayer are strongly stated in the fragment, Khordah Avesta *xxxvii. 21*, thus:

Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: 'Wherein alone is thy word, which expresses all good, all that springs from purity?' [The answer is] 'The prayer *Ashem*'

Then he is told that whoever utters it with believing mind, and from memory, praises Ahura, the earth, etc., and all good things created by Mazda that have a pure origin:

In this orison, correctly recited, the prayer *Ahuna Vairya*, the spoken-aloud, are further strength and victoriousness for the pure soul and the law.

Professor Spiegel does not understand this verse, and by interpolation makes one prayer "reach to" the other: while he expresses uncertainty as to "furthers." I cannot see that the words which he supplies make any sense.

The prayer *Ashem Vohu* declares the Ahurian Faith to be the most excellent of all that is good; and that happiness and prosperity will be to the believers in proportion to their piety. It is a simple and comprehensive confession of faith, and a pledge of a life of devoutness and piety, and of obedience to the precepts of Zarathustra.

The prayer *Ahuna Vairya* confesses that the ruler out of purity (ruling in accordance with the divine law, or, perhaps, named to rule by the ministers of religion), rules by divine right, his will being like that of Ahura, or *being* that of Ahura: that *Vohû-Manô* inspires those who serve Mazda in the Aryan land (in arms); and that in relieving the people from foreign oppression, those who lead establish the dominion of Ahura.

And I think that the verse in question declares that the prayers *Ashem Vohu* and *Ahuna Vairya*, when the latter is recited after the former, of which it is the corollary, inculcating action and practice of the faith professed by it, give power and victory to the intellect of the faithful and supremacy or increase and extension to the Mazdayaçnian law.

I am persuaded that this is the correct explanation of the verse, and have thought that it would interest the reader to see how plain an apparently unintelligible passage may become, when we are familiarized with the processes and combinations of Aryan thought. It will tend to lead him to believe as I do, that all these ancient utterances were rational, sensible and philosophic; and that only *mis*-translation of them makes nonsense.

Verse 5 declares (Ahura speaking) that the mere prayer *Ashem*, as a *Khshnaôthra* of the faithful (as an orison merely), is worth

a hundred sleep-(prayers), a thousand flesh-meals, ten thousand head of small cattle, all that is come from bodies to incorporeality.

The Parsees are, no doubt, greatly edified and instructed by such "translations." If one of them should be curious enough to inquire (thinking it not the highest merit in religious teachings to be devoid of sense), what is meant in the English language by "all that is come from bodies to incorporeality," the English would have to be interpreted by the Zend. I doubt, also, whether the word "prayers" is properly suggested as an addition to the text. The very next question is, what prayer Ashem-Vohu is worth *ten* other prayers; and yet here a lower degree of that prayer is made to be worth a *hundred* sleep-prayers. I imagine that the meaning of the verse is, that the simple prayer, as an aspiration of the soul, is of greater value than a hundred nights' sleep, a thousand meals of flesh, ten thousand cattle, and all else whereby the body being refreshed and sustained, is enabled to maintain the intellectual part of man unimpaired and vigorous.

Then, to the question what prayer Ashem Vohû is worth as much as ten other prayers Ashem Vohû, Ahura answers:

'That which, when a man eats, he with true faith prays for Haurvâṭ and Amérât praising good thoughts, words and works, and repudiating all evil ones.'

That is worth a hundred other prayers Ashem Vohû, which a man prays with true faith after having eaten the Haōma, praising good thoughts, words and works, and repudiating the evil that worth a thousand which one, when he has lain down to sleep, repeats before sleeping, praising, etc., and repudiating the evil.

That is worth ten thousand, which one, waking and rising in the morning, prays with like praises and repudiation: that is, in greatness, goodness and beauty [i. e., in potency, effectiveness in benefiting, and excellence], worth as much as the whole Kareshvare Qanaritha, including its cattle, chariots and men, which one, at the latter end [towards the close] of his life, prays with true faith, praising and repudiating (as before).

And that is worth all that is between heaven and earth, the earth, the luminaries in the heavens, and all good things created by Ahura that have a pure origin, when one renounces [after one has entirely freed himself from] all evil thoughts, words and works.

In the Vedic hymns, Brahmanas-pati and Bṛihas-pati, silent and loudly-uttered prayer, were, as Deities, invested with like potencies as Agni; even the fuel which fed the fire, and thereby became part of it, and the flesh that, being burned, ascended as prayer to Heaven in the flame, were deified. And the ascription of potencies of every kind to the Soma and the Haōma grew out of the same idea. That the same convictions as to the potential efficacy of prayer existed among both branches of the Aryan family in Asia, although the Indo-Aryans had not risen to the conceptions of a God-creator above Agni the fire-spirit, seems to prove that the Vedic faith was fully developed before Zarathustra taught and preached, and that he received from it his ideas in regard to prayer, deifying wor-

ship or devotion as Čraošha, and teaching the same veneration for the Mañthras as the Veda inculcated for the Mañthras. Fire, also, is worshipped in the Avesta, but as the son of Ahura, or an effluence from him; and the sun as his body. Ushahina, the dawn, is worshipped also, as Ushas, the dawn, is in the Veda. And as the attributes and arms of a warrior are, in the Veda, assigned and ascribed to Indra, the light, so also they are in the Avesta, to Čraošha.

That the Sanskrit *makha* means both a "warrior" and "sacrifice, oblation" is also significant of the efficacy ascribed to prayer.

Yaçna lviii. contains *Yaçna xvii.* 56, and *vi.* 4 to 33, and proceeds thus:

2. All the good, holy, mighty Fravashis of the faithful we praise, from Gayô-Marathan to Čaoshyańç the Victorious.

3. The victory created by Ahura we praise; Caoshyańç the Victorious we praise.

[Afterwards are praised], 'the barêçma provided with Zaothra,' 'our own souls,' 'our own Fravashis,' 'all pure Yazatas,' 'all Lords of Purity;' [at the times Hâvani, Čavañhi and Viçya, and Viçpê-Mazista].

In the verses that are also found in *Yaçna xxvi.*, all Fravashis are praised, from that of Ahura-Mazda Himself, to those of all the faithful, belonging to the region and beyond the region, including those of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, and those of Gayô-Marathan and Zarathustra, of Vîstâçpa, Sçat-vâçtra, the Nabâzdistas and Aêthra-paitis.

Of the "Fravashis" I shall speak specially, hereafter, and also of Gayô-Marathan and Čaoshyańç. Sçat-vâçtra, Spiegel says:

Is the eldest son of Zarathustra, who died, according to the Bundeheş, a hundred years after the promulgation of the law; and is regarded as the head of the priests. Aêthrapaiti signifies properly [he says], the lord of the Precept; and the phrase is applied to one who has given proofs of his acquaintance with the truths of the Zarathustrian religion.

The note (3) of Spiegel, to verse 11 of *Yaçna xxvi.*, presents a curious specimen of inaccurate statement and of vague notions. The translation of the text mentions

'The consciousness, the souls, the *Fravashis*, of the pure men and women here.' The note to this says, 'In this verse we find a three-fold division of the soul. *Baödhô* is spiritual activity; *Urvan*, the soul, is the will, or the ability to choose between good and bad; *Fravashi*, which is usually applied to the power which holds body and soul together, seems here to be equivalent to the conscience.'

Are "consciousness" and "spiritual activity" synonymous? Is the "will" a subdivision of the soul? Does the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda hold his "soul and body" together, or is it his "conscience"?

Baôdhô is the same, I suppose, as the Sanskrit *Buddhi*, “understanding, reflection, intellect, mind, thought, knowledge, opinion, presence of mind;” from *budh*, “to understand, know, think, perceive,” etc. *Urvan* is not “the will,” nor is *Fravashi* “a division of the soul.”

In verse 13, of *Yaçna lviii.*, the Ahuna Vairya, Asha Vahista, the Fshûsha mañthra-hadhaokhta, and the whole composition of the Çtaôta-Yaçnya are praised; the latter being styled “the creations of the first world,” i. e., compositions made in the original Aryan land.

Yaçna lxi. was evidently composed soon after the foreign masters of the land had been expelled, when prosperity was not restored; it is a prayer for the restoration of social order.

Verse 1 prays that he may be most fortunate who teaches what will be most beneficial for the land, both for body and soul, from the visible existence to that where Ahura dwells.

‘May there now come to this dwelling [to the homes of the people], contentment, blessing, guilelessness, and wisdom of the pure. May there appear for this clan, purity, dominion [self-government], profit, majesty and brightness [good fortune, honour and peace]; the permanent reign of law, of the Ahurian, Zarathustrian law.’ ‘Quickly may cattle arise out of this clan, quickly purity, quickly the strength of the pure man, quickly the Ahurian custom;’

i. e., may the stock of cattle of the people soon be replenished; may uprightness and honesty soon become general, and good men soon have influence and power, and the good custom and habits of the ancient days soon return. And if we reflect, and remember how slavery or dependence degrades and debauches a people, we shall understand the full meaning of this energetic prayer.

May there come hither the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the pure, bound with the remedies of purity, according to the breadth of the earth, the length of a river, the height of the sun, with desire after good things, for withstanding against the foes, for increase for riches and brightness.

The Fravashis seem to be what the Scotch have called the *doubles* of men. As all living creatures, even the animals, were supposed to have them, and Ahura himself and the Amêsha-Çpêntas, and all the dead, the living, and the unborn of all the coming generations, they must have been supposed to be an innumerable multitude, filling all space; and they are invoked to come from distances as great as the breadth of the earth, the length of a river, and the height of the sun, with wishes for benefits for the people, to aid them in the struggle, not yet ended, against the infidels, and to give the people wealth and peace.

Then it is prayed that

Çraošha may smite disobedience [impiety or contempt for the deities], peace annihilate dissension; liberality, avarice; wisdom, slighting; truthful speech, the lie that hates purity. That here the Amēsha-Çpēntas may be able to wish from holy Çraošha [may have a right to expect from the spirit of dēvotion among the people], good offering and prayer, good and fortunate maintenance, and friendly help, and may long remain supported.

These are, of course, veneration and worship. There could be no other maintenance, help or support, for their divine persons or beings.

May the brilliant majesty never be extinguished for this dwelling, nor the brilliant riches, nor the bright heavenly descendants, by the long friendship of him who teaches to know brightness, and Ashis-Vaṇuhi.

Spiegel says:

The 'majesty' is probably that of the father of the household, which resembled the 'kingly majesty,' only less in degree.

But certainly fathers of households could not be expected never to die. So I doubt the soundness of the conjecture. The brilliant majesty, the brilliant riches or gifts and the bright heavenly descendants are, I think, all of one nature, or of like natures, whatever they are. And I doubt whether the "kingly majesty" had any reference to human kings. In a note to *Yaqna i.*, Professor Spiegel says:

'The kingly majesty refers to a peculiar ray, or divine light possessed by Yima, which was afterwards taken away from him on account of his bad deeds, and with it disappeared happiness and blessing.' [The verse thus annotated is], 'And the kingly majesty created by Mazda, and the indestructible majesty created by Mazda' and Spiegel says, in the same note, 'The imperishable majesty refers, according to the gloss, to the spiritual majesty of the Athravas and Herbads [*Aethra-Paitis*, chiefs of the Sacrifices], which is to be obtained through wisdom.'

The priests have never been slow, in any age or country, to appropriate to themselves whatever could be claimed by misinterpretation and perversion of ancient texts. As the symbol always tends to become the thing symbolized, until, for example, baptism, i. e., washing, originally a mere symbol and pledge of purification, became self-efficacious for salvation, of far greater virtue than a whole life of good deeds unbaptized; so the Athrava or Herbad at last assumes for himself infallibility in matter of dogma, and God's power to depose kings.

The "kingly majesty" had nothing to do with Athravas or Herbads. It is the rule, power, dominion, superiority and supremacy of the Aryan race—that of Ahura Himself, displayed through them, and indestructible;

as He is eternal. Has it ever ceased to be, since the days of Zarathustra? Has it not descended upon, in turn, the Medes, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Franks, Normans, and do not English, Germans, Slaves and the Franco-Gauls and Kelts still rule the world?

This "brilliant majesty" belonged, of course, in part, to every Aryan; for it was freedom, independence and supremacy, and not the mere power of king or chief. Wherefore the worshipper prays that it may never be extinguished for the particular dwelling (household, perhaps; and perhaps village), nor prosperous fortunes, nor fine intellectual posterity. This is asked of the graciousness of that Amēsha-Çpēnta "who teaches to know brightness" (who teaches how to secure success and prosperity), "and Ashis Vaiñuhi."

It is then prayed that Ahura may rule over his creatures (the Aryans), according to wish and with happiness (after his own pleasure, having satisfaction with his rule, with the conduct of those ruled, and by His rule causing prosperity and content):

That joyful may be our mind, happy our souls, endowed with brilliant bodies for Paradise. So, Ahura, let the best and fairest religion prevail here; may we see Thee [manifested in works and benefits]; and attain to Thee and to Thy perfect graciousness.

The "brilliant bodies" are healthy and vigorous ones. The word rendered "Paradise" is probably the same as elsewhere, *Vahista*, which Haug renders by "the best place."

In Yaçna lx., the Ahuna Vairya, the Asha Vahista (a prayer so called), the Yeñhe Hâtañm, and the pious pure blessing of the pious pure man are praised, "on earth and in Heaven," i. e., as existing in words and spoken, and as existing in the Divine Mind before they were uttered. These are praised, i. e., supplicated, or,

to gain therefrom the power, to strive against and drive away Aira Mainyus, who is provided with creation, with evil creation, who is full of death [i. e., who has in his service a race of men, of unbelievers, and by them slays the Aryans]; to withstand and drive away the wicked [this word, Spiegel says, 'is not found elsewhere, and is translated conjecturally.' If he had given the original word, we might at least have endeavoured to find out its meaning], male and female; the evil-doers, male and female, thieves, robbers, wizards and magicians, those who harm Mithra and lie to him; those who kill and harass the Aryans, the injurious and infidel spoilers, who destroy many lives, and every wicked one, who thinks, speaks and acts outrageously.

"How shall we", it is asked, 'O Holy Zarathustra, drive away the Drukhs from here; how, O Ye Profitable, drive them away and smite them with the sword, as strong men smite weak ones, away from and out of all the seven Kareshvares, notwithstanding and expelling the whole evil creation [i. e., the whole population of unbelievers]. To be enabled to do this, we praise Thee, O Wise [Zarathustra], and Ye (profitable) who exist.'

The meaning of *Profitable* I have already explained.

This, therefore, proves or at least purports to be a composition of the time of Zarathustra, and of that time of his life when the Drukhs yet held and occupied part of the Kareshvares of Bactria.

And there is, I think, no doubt, that parts and fragments of compositions of that age are found scattered through all the Zend works, modernized in language very often, and corrupted in their long passage from the remote past; but many of which, also, no doubt, were still repeated as composed, or as kept in the memory, without being properly understood by those who repeated them, and the more revered on that account.

Yaçna lxi. is a hymn to Fire. It vows to Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, offering, praise and nourishment. I quote a portion of the text:

Mayest thou be provided with offering and praise, in the dwellings of men.
Hail to the man who continually offers unto thee, holding fire-wood in the hand,
holding Bareçma in the hand, holding flesh in the hand, holding the mortar [in
which the Haöma was pounded], in the hand. Mayest thou continually be supplied
with good fire wood, good perfume, good nourishment, good increase. Mayest
thou be in complete aliment, in good aliment, O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda. Mayest
thou burn in this dwelling, etc. . . . throughout the long time, until the
perfect resurrection, the perfect good resurrection included.

In a note, Professor Spiegel says:

That is, the 12,000 years to which the duration of this world is limited. After
the destruction of the world, the fire will still continue to be mighty.

What the "perfect good resurrection *included*" means, he does not endeavour to inform us. As it is the *domestic* fire which is thus invoked to continue to burn, I doubt the correctness of the translation, and the soundness of the interpretation. I do not believe that there is one allusion to a future existence or another world in the Veda, and not one in the Avesta, where the commentators and translators find ten. That there are *some* in the latter, is certain; but here, I think, the fire is only exhorted to burn during the long winter night, until the sleepers awake in the morning. I think that the "resurrection" means simply the waking from sleep and rising in the morning.

Then prayers are addressed to the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda. It is invoked to:

Give swift brightness, swift nourishment, swift blessings of life [but not these common benefits of fire alone, but also], greatness in holiness, fluency of speech, sense and understanding, manly courage, activity, wakefulness, well-nourished, *heavenly* posterity [of course, the word '*heavenly*,' is a misrepresentation of the original], which makes a circle [i. e., numerous children, forming a group, or 'family circle'], collects itself together [is harmonious and united], grows up, is

enduring, not vicious, manly, and 'which can help me in the house, in the clan, in the confederacy, in the region, in the district.'

It is besought to give permanent instruction "concerning the best place of the pure, the shining, wholly brilliant," good reward, good renown, sanctification for the soul.

The first part of this I do not understand. I do not see by what legerdemain of the imagination fire could be imagined to give *instruction* in regard to any place. I can only guess that, light flowing from it, it is besought to continue to enable men to see the skies, the home of the pure, shining, brilliant stars and planets. As the organ of devotion, by means of sacrifices, of flesh and the Haōma consumed by it and becoming part of itself, it was invested with the potencies of worship or devotion, and was supposed to be able to give reward, renown and sanctification.

The fire speaks with "all, for whom he shines throughout the night and cooks food;" and this satisfies me that the "resurrection" meant what I have said; and that the "resurrection included" meant that the fire, not dying during the long night, should continue to burn on, even during the next morning. He "desires nourishment from all;" for nothing is so greedy; and no amount of fuel contents it. The more it has, the larger its desires become. The fire looks at the hands of all who come near it, and asks:

'What the friend brings to the friend; the one who comes hither, to the one who sits alone?'

If one brings it wood, it is content, amiable, satisfied, and blesses, saying:

'May there arise around thee [be born and reared] herds of cattle and abundance of men [male children]. May it go according to the desire of thy spirit and soul. Be glad, live thy life, the whole time that thou wilt live' [*dum vivis, vive*]. This is the fire's blessing for him who brings it wood, searched after [selected] for burning, purified in the wish after purity [sanctified by the purpose to devote it to sacrificial use].

Yaçnas lxii. and *lxiii.* contain nothing except portions of other *Yaçnas* already cited.

Yaçna lxiv. is in praise of water and "Ardvîçûra the pure." It is called full-flowing, healthful, hostile to the Daevas, devoted to the faith in Ahura (because used in the sacrificial observances):

The praiseworthy [because of use and value to it] for the corporeal world; the pure for those that further life, that further the cattle, the furtherers of the world [the Aryan land], of the kingdom [Aryan rule], of the region. It is said to purify the seed of all men, the body of all women for delivery; to grant to all women easy deliverances, and bring to all women fit and suitable milk.

What it says of Ardvîçûra is repeated in the Abân-Yasht of the Khordah Avesta, and I notice it elsewhere. Of the residue I notice only a portion here.

v. 23. May the Fravashis of the pure come hither who have led them [the waters] against the stream, from the nearest water hither. [Spiegel remarks that 'it is not known what circumstance is alluded to in this obscure verse.]

The allusion evidently is to those old Aryans who had long before, by means of canals for irrigation, conducted the waters of the Oxus, even in a direction contrary to the course of the stream.

It is then prayed that the water may not benefit unbelievers, evil men, injurers of the friends, companions, neighbours or relatives of the worshipper, and others, including "one who buries the dead."

V. 32. With destructive intent who is here, destructively may she come to him who is there. [Spiegel inserts 'may she come to him,' after 'intent,' and says, 'A difficult verse, the translation of which is doubtful.]

The verse preceding (31) had invoked plagues upon the evil man, hostilely-minded: and this verse may mean,

Whoso is in the Aryan land as foe of the people, to him, in his own home, may she come with intent to destroy him.

Verse 38 should have taught translators the real meanings of the words which they translate "corporeal world;" for it speaks of the prayers, invocations and offerings, "which Ahura Mazda taught to Zarathustra, and he to the corporeal world;" i. e., to the Aryan minds invested with bodies.

In verses 43 to 45 a striking sentiment is uttered. As translated by Spiegel, they read:

'I pray you for mighty posterity, as many wish it. No one wishes himself this for harm, not for trouble, death, revenge or destruction.' [That is], 'We pray for a numerous and powerful posterity, as many do, no one of them wishing it as a means of harm, nor to enable them to vex others, to slay, take revenge or devastate.' [For that, they pray the water, earth and trees, and then] 'the Amesha-Çpêntas, the good kings, the wise, the good men and women [i. e. the male and female of them], the givers of good.'

So in the Kabalah, the Sephiroth are male and female, and seven of them are called "Kings."

For that, also, they pray to Mithra, Çraôsha, Rashnu, the Fire, the navel of the waters, possessing swift horses, and the Yazatas.

Yaçna lxv. gives [the Zaôthra, provided with Haôma, flesh, etc.], to thee, O Ahurian, descended from Ahura,—to thee, Ahurian daughter of Ahura, for the satisfaction of Ahura Mazda, the Amêsha-Çpêntas, Çraôsha and the fire.' [Spiegel says, of this Ahurian; 'either the daughter or the wife of Ahura, probably the former.']}

It is pleasant to have this authentic information as to the family relations of Ahura Mazda. But, as Spiegel reads, "O Ahurian, *descended* from Ahura," how can he say that she is probably his wife? Or is the word "Ahura" perhaps a mistake for "Zarathustra"? I should think some female attendant of the sacrifices is meant, to whom the priest gave or handed the Zaōthra, that she might offer it to Ahura and the others. But it is also said "with purity I give to the day-times, to Hâvani, Câvâni and Viçya, and also to Mithra and Ramaqâçtra." To these two latter the Zaōthra could not be *handed*; and it seems hardly probable that a woman would be sacrificed unto. Perhaps, as Çpênta-Armaiti is elsewhere called the daughter of Ahura, it is she that is meant.

Yaçna lxvi. contains only what is found in other Yaçnas.

Yaçna lxvii., in 67 verses, is wholly addressed to the Ahurian daughter of Ahura (the word daughter not being, as it is in *Yaçna lxv.* in the original, but inserted in parenthesis by Spiegel). She is praised with the Zaōthras of devotion in thoughts, words and works; for the enlightenment of thoughts, words and works, purification for the souls, increase in power and population ("furthering") of the Aryan land, preparation for the very pure.

She is asked to give the worshippers the best place of the pure, the shining, wholly brilliant; i. e., to put them in possession or repossess them, of the finest and most fertile portion of the country of the Aryans; and also to give them male, "heavenly," posterity, who may increase for them, or make to prosper, the dwellings, clans, confederacies, regions and districts.

Then they "revere" the Ahurian, and the Sea Voûru Kasha, and all waters on the earth, praising their sweetness and fertilizing qualities, and the running water, the water of the growing trees (grain):

As an adversary against Azhi, created by the Daevas, against this Pairika; the withstanding, to withstand, destroy and drive away the hostile tormenting [the marauding bands of the enemy], and the Ashëmaögha, the infidels, smiting, who is full of death [i. e., fierce warriors, who deprive many Aryans of life]; to withstand the plague of the Daevas as of men.

The Ashëmaögha and Pairika were native Turanian tribes that seem to have been hostile from the days of Yima.

Then the Ahurian daughter of Ahura is asked to be pleased with and seat herself at the offering, and merit and good consequences of offering to her are magnified. It appears that "the good waters," and "Zaōthras poured out with prayer" were the chief offering to her.

Then the waters, so offered, are asked to give

To offering Mazdayaçnians, and the devotees ('friends') who prepare the offering, to the Aethra-paitis [those who keep the sacred fire, *atars*, the Herbads of the Parsees], teachers, men, women, etc., 'to every one who guards himself

[by armed resistance] against sin [wrong] torment [harassments by raids], the hindrances [interruptions of peaceful labours] of the hostile hosts, and the hostile tormentors,—give to these 'good, pleasant, permanent homes' ['dwelling'], which I ask for this clan from which spring these Zaōthras, and for all the Mazdayaçnian clans; good, healthful, helpful nourishing for the fire [food to be cooked by it].

Rama-Qaçtra is prayed to for the region; and health and healing remedies asked for for the faithful; for all who are good and pure, on earth and in Heaven. As souls in Heaven cannot need healing remedies, and are not sick, "Earth and Heaven" cannot be a faithful translation. The meaning probably is, "for body and mind"—the health and vigour of the mind and intellect depending on that of the body, according to the maxim *mens sana in corpore sano*.

"Riches and brightness" are prayed for. If the original Zend word had at a later day come to have the meaning of "brightness," or if such was the derivative meaning of its Sanskrit equivalent, it is very certain that brightness is not properly predicated of men or a people. The true meaning is prosperity, good future, success, or the glory of success.

Then Ahura Mazda is praised, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, Mithra possessing many pastures, the sun endowed with swift horses, the two eyes of Ahura Mazda, (perhaps, Spiegel says, the sun and moon), the Fravashi of the Bull, of Gayō and Zarathustra.

And the concluding verses are:

Praise to the whole world of purity [the whole land inhabited by the true believers], which is, has been or is to be. Increase [for it?] through Vohū-Manō and Khshathra, with fortunate body. Unto the luminaries, the most brilliant of those on high, where Çpēnta-Mainyū at the end will come to thee [to whom?].

"The whole world of purity," may, perhaps more probably be the whole Aryan *people*; and increase by children be prayed for these, through Vohū-Manō, from whom the mind and intellect came, and Khshathra Vairya, who supplies resolution and courage; with healthful and vigorous bodies. Before "the lights," or luminaries, "praise" must be understood; and the last line must mean that among these lights, the divine mind will make itself known to the spirits of the faithful.

Yaçna lxviii. is wholly composed of parts of two other Yaçnas.

Yaçna lxix.—

1, 2, 3. To these I offer; to him I draw near as a friend: to the Amēsha Çpēntas, the good kings, the wise. On this God I lay hold; this Lord we praise, Ahura Mazda, the creator, the rejoicer, the maker of all good things.

The use of the first person singular and plural, "I" and "we" in the same line is probably because the priest spoke for himself and also for the

whole people, or at least all the worshippers. And the mode in which "these" and "him," the Amēsha-Çpēntas and Ahura are mentioned may be because they are *contained* in Him, and are Him, and emanate *from* Him.

4, 5. This Lord [or ruler] we praise; the most noble Zarathustra. That created for us the pure [for us who are the faithful], we praise, I praise.

7 to 16. Namely, what was created [made, uttered, etc.], by Ahura Mazda and each Amēsha Çpēnta, [naming each], which appertain to the body and soul of the bull, to the fire, son of Ahura Mazda; that created by Çraōsha, Rashnu and Mithras, the pure mind, the good Mazdayaçnian law, the good pious blessing against Drukhs and Daevas; that we, as profitable to the regions, may employ faithful and profitable speech, be profitable and victorious, be favourites of Ahura Mazda, and have vigorous bodies, as men who think, speak and do good: that we may, through Vohû-Manô, obtain and rejoice in the possession of good things.

Then divers things and deities are praised, the sayings of Zarathrusta are all well-done actions.

Yaçna lxx. Frashaōstra asked Zarathustra, wherein consisted the recitation of the Ratus, wherein lay the conclusion of the Gâthâs. Zarathustra answered by praising Ahura Mazda, and all good beings and Fravashis, prayers, the law, all Yazatas, all creatures of Mazda, all Gâthâs and the whole Yaçna, etc., all words spoken by Mazda, which smite, mark and exterminate all wicked thoughts, sayings and actions, as fire burns up wood, trees, waters, earth, heaven, mountains, fire, the Ahurian question and custom, and the Yaçna Haptanhaiti.

Then, 60 to 63, this follows, as understood by Spiegel:

This pure Zarathustra—(him) let one wish for a friend (and) protector, thee call I pure as the pure, to distribute blessing, as a friend who is better than (every) friend, for that is the best. For he is a wicked one who is best for the wicked; but he is a pure one to whom the pure is dear.

Some one who has a faint regard for these ancient kinsmen of ours (not more faint of outline and indistinct to us after all these long ages, than we, perhaps, shall, after as many or more ages, be to our descendants or remote kinsmen), ought to endeavour to rescue their memories from the reproach of having uttered nonsense so execrable as they are made to have uttered by Dr. Haug and Professor Spiegel. If, as Müller says, it is much, in regard to a passage, to know what it *cannot possibly mean*, we have at least that consolation in regard to a very considerable portion of the Zend Avesta.

Haug and Spiegel have both proceeded upon the notion that every thing in the chants and recitations attributed to Zarathustra and his successors and followers, must necessarily have a moral and spiritual meaning; that they had an idea of another and never-ending life after this, and were

far more concerned to prepare for that, than to attend to pressing necessities of this, imposed upon a people of husbandmen and herdsmen, rapidly increasing, extending into new and still newer regions, and engaged in a continual hand to hand conflict with nature and bold and cruel enemies and infidel marauders.

One would believe from these translations, that the Zarathustrian teachings consisted in the inculcation upon these semi-nomads of a course of life fit to be led by reputable church-members, of the Established Church, in the City of Boston or New Haven. Of anything like philosophic ideas in regard to the Deity, the universe and himself, we would suppose Zarathustra to have been profoundly innocent; and the material concerns and earthly cares of his people to have had for him little interest. And moreover, the reader of these translations is expected to believe that the Aryan people to whom the originals were sung or recited were perfectly well acquainted with the ideas and notions (and of course possessed by painful acquisition of the requisite knowledge, without which they could not exist), that we attach to our words "Heaven, Heavenly, pure, purity, spirit, soul, two worlds, immortality" and others; when, in fact, there is no reason for believing that any such meanings were attached to the original words which these represent.

I think that verses 60 to 63 have this meaning:

Let the people ask for the devout Zarathustra to be their protector and defender. Thee, Zarathustra, as apostle of the true religion, we who are also of the true faith, do urge to distribute rewards, as a benefactor who is more than benefactor, because those rewards excel all others in excellence. For he who so acts as to be of assistance to the infidel enemy is himself an enemy; and he to whom the true believers are dear, is himself one of the faithful.

The phrase, "a friend who is better than a friend," seems a strange one to us; but it is not more so than the Hebrew "Kadosh Kadoshim" ("Holy of the Holies"), or than many of our own idiomatic phrases.

This seems to have been said by Frashaöstra; and after it, this follows:

Here, Ahura-Mazda has taught Zarathustra these words, the best. [More properly, 'did teach,' as the French *a donné* is properly rendered by the English imperfect, 'he gave.']}

Utter these, O Zarathustra, at the final dissolution of life: if thou, O Zarathustra, utterest these at the final dissolution of life, then I, who am Ahura Mazda, will convey thy soul as far away from the worst place, as the length and breadth of this earth, which are equal to each other.

If thou, O true believer, who art of the faithful in this Aryan land, desirest to have thy soul go over and beyond the bridge Chinvaṭ and arrive pure at the best place, repeat aloud the Gâthâ Ustavaiti, while thou wishest for good fortune [Usta] hither.

Usta, 'Hail!' or 'Happiness!' is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Shalōm*, 'health, prosperity,' etc., whence the Hebrew and Arabic salutation, *Shalom* or *Salaam Aleikūm*, 'health be unto thee!'

The residue of this chapter consists of praises to the Gâthâs, the Çtaöta-Yaçnya, the Yazatas and others, many times repeated in other chapters; all showing the very late date, comparatively, of this composition.

Yacna lxxi. is identical with *Yaçna lx.*, and concludes this part of the Zend-Avesta.

Dr. Haug says (*Essays 219*), of the later Yaçna:

The High-Priests seem to have tried to conciliate the men of the old party (called *poiryô-thkâshô*, i. e., 'of the old creed'), who were unwilling to leave the ancient polytheistic religion, and their time-hallowed rites and ceremonies. The old sacrifices were reformed, and adapted to the more civilized mode of life of the Iranians. The intoxicating Soma-beverage was replaced by a more wholesome and invigorating drink, prepared from another plant than the original Soma-plant, together with the branches of the pomegranate tree, and without any process of fermentation (simply water is poured over them): but the name in the Iranian form *Homa* remained, and some of the ceremonies also. The solemn sacrificial cakes of the Brahmans (*purô-daça*) were superseded by the sacred bread, called afterwards *daruṇ*: new invocations, addressed to those divine beings who were occupying the places of the ancient Devas or gods, branded by Zarathustra Spitama as the originator of all evil and sin, were composed and adapted for the reformed Soma-sacrifice (Homa-ceremony). These new prayers form the substance of the Younger Yaçna, which was to represent the formulas of the Brahmanic Yajur-Veda.

And, at page 242, he adds, 'Zarathustra himself never mentions this reformed Homa (Soma) ceremony in the Gâthâs.' It is doubtful, therefore, whether it existed at his time, or, if so, whether he approved of it. It is true, legends were afterwards circulated, that he himself had given his sanction to this ceremony.

I do not find any evidence that innovations were made after the time of Zarathustra, to satisfy the adherents of the Vedic faith. But there is evidence that part of the people still cherished fond recollections of that old worship of the stars and natural phenomena that preceded both the Vedic and Zarathustrian faiths; and that this, and the leanings of the nature element to the same worship of the stars and of nature, caused a revival of that older worship.

I cannot see that there was any "reform" of the old sacrifices, except that they were offered to Deities that embodied higher intellectual conceptions. The *mode* of sacrificing was different, in some respects, in the details; but remained in substance the same. The fire, for example, was not procured by friction of two pieces of wood; and the bâregma, a bundle of sacred twigs was not used at the Vedic sacrifices.

But as to the Soma, the reform supposed by Dr. Haug seems to me entirely imaginary. Professor Spiegel says (*Note 1 to Yaç. ix.*):

The identity of Haöma with the Indian Soma has been long since proved. See, especially, F. Windischman, *Ueber den Soma-cultus der Arier*. The Indian Soma plant is distinctly specified as the *Asclepias acida*; the Persian is not so specified; but as the plant in both cases is described as growing on the mountain heights, it must originally have been the same. Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*), mentions it by the name of ὅμωμον (homomi). The juice of the Haöma when pressed out, is called in the Avesta *Para-haöma*.

It is curious that the Mëskoki Indians of what is called "the Creek Nation" (a confederation), have used from time immemorial, at a feast called the "green corn dance," when they eat the first green maize-ears of the season, in May or June, a drink that is called the "black drink," which causes vomiting, before eating. It is now made of a plant some two feet in height that grows in the prairies, and the decoction is said to have a nauseous taste. Neither is the juice of it intoxicating, nor supposed to have aphrodisiac effects. They have no sacrifices, and the ceremony does not seem to be a religious one; but it is religiously observed. In Georgia and Alabama, a different plant or weed was used, which not being found on the prairies in their new country west of the Mississippi, was substituted by another plant. And if the Haöma plant was not the same as the Soma, it was perhaps for a similar reason.

The Indo-Aryans, spiritualized the stars into Deities. The Irano-Aryans may have degraded them into Deities, though, as I have said, I doubt if the words are the same. That the sacrificial cakes were "superceded" by other bread, seems to me to savour very slightly of "reform."

These "Younger Yaçnas" are themselves of different ages. Some of them praising the others as the "Ctaöta Yaçnya"—and most of them are older than the Vendîdâd; so much so that when that was composed, they had already become sanctified by age, and were deemed to be divine. And they contain also, I think, fragments of compositions of much greater antiquity, even of the time of Zarathustra.

THE VENDÎDÂD.

Dr. Haug explains the word *Vendîdâd* as being by contraction *vî-daêvô-dâtem*, what is given in order to expel Daevas, to remove them, to be guarded against their influences; *vî-daêvô* meaning “against, or for the removal of the Daevas.” It would be more briefly expressed by *anti-daêva*.

We take the following from his *Essays* (200):

The Vendîdâd, which is the code of the religious, civil and criminal laws of the ancient Iranians, consists, in its present state, of 22 chapters, commonly called *Fargards* (exactly corresponding to the word ‘*pericopē*’) [*περικοπη, circumcisura*], i. e., *Sections*. The style of its constituent parts is too different to admit of ascribing it to one author only. Some parts are evidently very old, and might be traced to the first centuries subsequent to the Prophet; but the large bulk of the work contains too minute a description of certain ceremonies and observances, to induce a modern critic to trace it to the prophet or even to one of his disciples. The Vendîdâd as a whole [some of its parts seem to be lost, chiefly those containing the original texts, or the Avesta of the old laws], is apparently the joint work of the Zarathustras or High Priests of the Ancient Iranians, during the period of several centuries. They started from old sayings and laws, which partially must have descended from the Prophet Himself, and interpreted them in various ways, often contradicting each other.

The first three Fargards he considers as only introductory, and as having probably formed part of a very ancient historical or legendary work, of a similar kind as the Shâhnâmah. Those from 4 to 17 he considers as the second part, “Forming the ground-work of the Vendîdâd,” and treating of laws, ceremonies and observances, “without keeping to a strict code.” The third part, 18 to 22, “is apparently an appendix, treating of various subjects.”

Dr. Haug thinks that we can actually discover the three different stages of Avesta, Zend and Pazend, in the present Vendidad; and in his translation has endeavoured to separate them as far as possible.

I have noticed elsewhere the first and second Fargards; and shall here commence with the third.

FARGARD III.

This Fargard consists of questions supposed to be put by Zarathustra and answered by Ahura Mazda, who is addressed as “Creator of the Corporeal World, Pure One!”

It is first asked,

What is in the first place most acceptable to this earth? [The answer is, in substance], worship by sacrifice.

[To], what is so in the second place? [the answer is], that a holy man should build himself a habitation, provided with fire, cattle, a wife, children and good flocks; with abundance of cattle, righteousness (?), provender, dogs, women, youths, fire,—all that is requisite for a comfortable life.

[To], what in the third? Cultivation of the land, and production of grain and growth of fruit-bearing trees, irrigation and drainage where needed.

[To], what in the fourth? Where most cattle and beasts of burden are born.

[To], what in the fifth? Where these leave their urine.

Then follow five questions, as to “What is most displeasing to the Aryan land ('this Earth')?” The answers are:

1. The conception of the Arēzūra [which Spiegel says are deep holes]; when the Daevas with the Drujas come together to it out of hell.
2. Where most dead dogs and dead men are buried in it.
3. Where most heaps of *Dakhmas* [funeral piles, from the Sanskrit, *dah*, originally *dagh*, 'to burn,' 'to consume by fire'], are made, where they lay upon them dead men.
4. Where most holes are, of the Created by Ahriman.
5. When the wife or son of a righteous man goes in the way of perversity, and laments, covered with earth and dust. [This passage, Spiegel says, 'is obscure; but it appears to contain an injunction against the Semitic mode of lamenting the dead. That such lamentation was forbidden to the Parsees, is clear from several passages in the later writings.']}

He quotes to show this, from the *Arda-Viraf-nameh*:

The river that you see before you is composed of the tears of mankind, tears shed (against the express command of the Almighty), for the departed; therefore, when you return again to the Earth, inculcate this to mankind,—that to grieve immoderately for the departed, is in the sight of God a most heinous sin, etc. [Also, from the *Sadder Port.*]: If any one departs out of this evil world, no one ought to weep for him, because all the water that flows from his eyes will be a bar to him before the gate Chinavar.

Then follow five questions “as to who rejoices the land with the greatest joy;” answered thus:

1. He who especially digs up where dead men and dogs are buried.
2. He who especially levels the *dakhmas*, where dead men are laid down.

Then, verses 44 to 71 are directions in regard to dead bodies:

That one carrying a dead body is defiled, by the Drukhs Naçus; that it must be carried to the most barren part of the land, the least frequented, thirty paces from the sacrificial fire, and there burned upon a heap [at least it is said that the Mazdayaçnians shall heap up a heap], and 'bring themselves,' with food and clothes in the worst, in the meanest; this food shall eat, these clothes shall wear; all even to the aged, who have no more seed; after that, whatever is aged, old, and has no more seed. Strong, swift and pure, Mazdayaçnians shall afterwards leave him upon the mountains, at the broad of his back they shall cut off his head, and give

the body to the devouring creatures of Çpēnta-Mainyus, the carnivorous birds and *Kahrkaças* [in Fargard *xviii*, *Kahrkataç*; a cock]. Thus let them say, 'This one repents of all evil in thoughts, etc., if he has committed other sinful deeds, the punishment is confessed; if he has not, they are repented of forevermore.'

Spiegel says that:

These verses are an evident interpolation, and almost all the passages are found in other places; and as to the last passages, that the contrast is between *fravarsta* and *nōit fravarsta*, committed and not committed,—the former implying those sins that are to be punished; the latter, mental sins, for which repentance alone is sufficient.

It would have been more gratifying, if Professor Spiegel had endeavoured to explain the meaning of the food and clothes, to be eaten and worn, certainly not by the dead; and whether the meaning is, that when one's parents become old, they were to be so fed and clad, in the worst and with the meanest, and, being carried to the mountains, to have their heads cut off, and be left for the birds to devour; which certainly the passage *seems* to mean, or, if it does not mean that, to be nonsense.

3. He rejoices the land, etc., who most levels (fills up) the holes of the creatures of Añra Mainyus.

I cannot conceive what the "holes" are, unless those circular ones, often of large size, that we often see on land in alluvial bottoms, scooped out by the swiftly-running streams of inundation. These, as injurious to small farms, may well have been deemed to be made by the evil agency of creatures of Añra-Mainyus. It may be that gullies are meant, which in such lands are often made by water, to the entire ruin of bodies of open land.

4. He who most cultivates the soil and so makes food, or who provides the means of irrigation.

From v. 79 to v. 115, inclusive, is translated also by Dr. Haug, in his *Essays* (206, *et seq.*).

79, etc. (Sp.) For the earth is not glad, which lies long uncultivated. If it can be cultivated; then it is good for a habitation for these, there the cattle increase, which long went childless, then it is good for the male beasts.

(H.) This earth is not a place which is to lie long uncultivated. She is to be ploughed by the ploughman, that she become for them a quarter [portion of country] of every good thing. Then becomes pregnant the beautiful woman (earth), who was not getting with child for a long time. Then all good things will be produced for them.

84-86. (Sp.) ∴ He who cultivates this earth with the left arm and the right, O Holy Zarathustra, to him it brings wealth, like as a friend to his beloved she brings to him issue or riches, whilst he lies down stretched out.

(H.) ∴ *Zend*: If one cultivates this earth, Zarathustra Spitama, with the left arm and the right, and with the right arm and the left, then she bears fruit, likewise as if a *woman* on a bed of cohabitation [*Pazend*: lying on a place*], sets forth a son [or fruit].

87–90. (Sp.) ∴ He who cultivates, etc., with the left arm, etc., then this earth speaks to him, man, thou who cultivatest me, etc., always will I come hither and bear, all food will I bear, together with the fruits of the field.

(H.) ∴ If one cultivates, etc., then says this earth: O man, who cultivatest me, etc., I shall indeed make thrive the country here, I shall come to bear all (sorts) of nourishments.

91–95. (Sp.) ∴ He who does not cultivate, etc., then this earth speaks to him, Man, thou who dost not cultivate me, etc., always thou standest there, going to the doors of others to beg for food, always they bring to you out of their superfluity of good things.

(H.) ∴ there thou standest before another man's door, going for food [amongst those who beg for it]; sitting outside, food is brought to thee only by drops [*Paz.*: They are brought to others who have abundance of goods].

96–98. (Sp.) ∴ Creator of the corporeal world, pure one, what is the increase of the Mazdayaçnian Law? Then answered Ahura Mazda: When one diligently cultivates corn, O Holy Zarathustra.

(H.) ∴ O Creator, how is the Mazdayaçna religion to be made growing? chiefly by cultivation of barley

99–104. (Sp.) ∴ He who cultivates the fruits of the earth cultivates purity [the true religion]. He promotes the Mazdayaçnian Law; he spreads it abroad; for a hundred Paitistanas; for a thousand Paitidaranas; for ten thousand Yaçnakertas.

(H.) ∴ Who cultivates barley, he cultivates Purity (he is furthering the Mazdayaçna religion); he makes the Mazdayaçna religion increase by hundred victorious combats, by thousand offerings, by ten-thousand prayer-readings.

105–110 ∴ (Sp.) When there are crops, then the Daevas hiss.
When there are shoots, then the Daevas cough.
When there are stalks, then the Daevas weep.
When there are thick ears of corn, then the Daevas flee.
There are the Daevas most smitten, in the dwelling-places where the ears of corn [△] are found.
To hell they go, melting like glowing ice.

(H.) ∴ When barley there is, then the devils whistle;
When barley is threshed, then the devils whine;
When barley is ground, then the devils roar;
When flour is produced, then the devils perish.

[This is *Avesta*, and in metrical verses, which show even a rhyme. *Haug.*]

Zend: Then the devils are driven out from the place [*Pazend*: In the house where this flour is kept]; their jaw-bones are burnt by it; many of them disappear entirely, when barley grows in large quantities.

*The words, *gātus*, *çayamnō*, are an explanation of the older phrase *vantavē çtareta*; *gātus*, 'place,' being that of *Vantavē*, and *çtareta*, 'stretched,' corresponding to *çayamnō*. (*Haug.*) 'Or fruit,' also is *Pazend*.

[△]'*Gundo*, which I translate *ears of corn*, does not occur again.' (*Spiegel.*) *Gund*, Sanskrit, to cover, *pound*, preserve.' I think Haug rightly renders *gundo*, 'flour.'

111-115. (Sp.) After that, let this Mañthra be recited: No one, if he eats nothing, has any strength; he is not able to be of pure conduct, not to be employed in cultivation, since with food lives the whole corporeal world, and without food it dies.

(H.) ∴ Then may he recite the following verses:

Avesta: There is no strength in those who do not eat;
Neither for keeping up a strong life;
Nor for hard agricultural works;
Nor for begetting strong children.

[*Pazend*: By eating only, all living beings exist; without eating they must die.]

5. Who rejoices the earth, etc. When one labours on this earth for the holy man—(but) if he does not give in holiness, he will be thrown from off this Çpênta-Ârmaiti (earth) into darkness, into sorrow, into the very worst places, into all the sharp-pointed grasses [*nimata*].

I need not point out the absurdities of this translation. They are obvious enough. “The holy man” is, I think, not the priests, but the nobles, or chieftains of the clans; and “giving in holiness” means rendering the service required of a clansman. He who refuses to render it, shall be expelled from the cultivated and fertile country, into one not opened and cleared, and therefore shaded and dark, into want, into a bad region; but what of the “sharp-pointed grasses”? *Nemi*, in Sanskrit, means “circumference and edge;” and *nimata* may mean the frontiers of the country, beyond the pale of civilization, where there was danger from the marauding infidels.

Then it is asked what the punishment is, “if one buries dead dogs and men, and does not dig them up again [dig it up for cultivation? See v. 40], in half a year, a year or two years.” It is evident that arable land was valuable, and not of large extent, and that it was deemed very desirable that none of it should lie idle. Superstitious notions probably prevented many from cultivating places where dogs or men had been buried; and the object of this law was to overcome that reluctance by the fear of punishment.

So, for half a year, the punishment of five hundred blows with the *Astra*, and as many with the *Craošhô-charana* is prescribed. The former, Spiegel says:

Roth has proven to be the Vaidic *Ashtra*, an ‘ox-goad,’ and the latter is very obscure. Benfey gives us *ashtrâ*, i. e., *aç+tra* (vb. *ço*) ‘a goad.’ *Charman*, Sanskrit, is a ‘hide,’ ‘leather,’ and as *Su*, *Çru* means ‘to possess power,’ and *Sû* ‘to incite, impel,’ *craošhô-charana* may mean a whip of raw hide.

For a year, a thousand blows with each. For two years, there is no punishment, for there is no atonement or purification for it. It is inexpiable forever.

The Mazdayânian Law is then said to expiate sins, if not again committed, e. g.,

deceit (*draošha*), the murder of an Aryan, the burying of the dead, inexpiable deeds, the high sin of debts, all the sins that one commits. It takes away all evil thoughts, words and deeds, of a believer, even as the strong, swift wind clears the sky from the right side.

Druh, Sanskrit, "to hurt, injure, wound," whence Zend *draošha*, "wounding, maiming." Herodotus says that among the Persians, "to tell lies is accounted the most shameful thing, and next, to owe a debt." Plutarch says the same. It is evident that they were not civilized. Fargard 4 is more emphatic still, as to debts.

FARGARD IV.

This Fargard, verses 1 to 117, treats of offences and punishments; of not paying a debt, in which case the debtor is declared to be "a thief of the loan, a robber of what is lent to him." Dr. Haug understands the failure to return property to the owner of it, but Spiegel proves, I think, that debts are meant. To retain the property of another is certainly no worse than failing to pay a debt, when one is able to pay. And he who borrows money, not intending or not expecting to repay it, is certainly no better than a thief, indeed worse—except in civilized countries, where "gentlemen" do it.

Next, breaches of contracts are spoken of, and the punishments therefor. There are six kinds of *Mithras* (contracts), of which that by simple word is the first, and as many different punishments. Then various punishments for acts of personal violence are prescribed.

[From verse 117], most of this Fargard [Haug says], is *Avesta*, without Zend or *Commentary*, very old, of various contents, and as to style, very dark and obscure. It is [he says] the most difficult passage of the whole Vendîdâd.

Spiegel thus translates 118 to 122.

If then, men, in conformity with the law [*Gujerat trans.*: 'If any man, a co-religionist'], come hither, a brother or a friend, desirous (to atone) with gold or with women, or with the understanding, if they wish to atone with gold, they may bring gold hither; if by means of women, may bring women; if by the understanding, they may recite the Mañthra-Çpênta.

Haug says that this is an ancient law, enjoining the greatest friendship and equality among the members of the Zoroastrian community. And he translates it:

If men who profess the same religion, brothers or friends, should be desirous of obtaining a field, or of marrying a woman, or of acquiring wisdom, then shall

those who aspire after a field, get offered this field; and those who aspire after a woman, they shall get offered her in marriage, and those who aspire after wisdom, they shall be taught the Sacred Word.

As the punishments previously prescribed are only to be inflicted in case the offences are not atoned for, I lean to the opinion that Professor Spiegel's interpretation is the more nearly correct. I do not see what brotherly kindness there is, in merely permitting a friend to read and recite the Mañthras, to get understanding, but if an offence is not against another, so as to require atonement in money or property, one can understand the Aryan idea that it can be atoned for by repentance, and reading the sacred writings.

A single verse follows, which seems wholly isolated:

One must not speak contrary to the law, concerning flesh or pasture.

And then the different values of men, in estimating satisfaction are spoken of. One "who furthers the increase of cattle" (a breeder of cattle), is of a particular value; and if one kills him, he must prove the sincerity of his repentance,

by warring with the Astavidhôtus, the Ishu-Qathakhto, and the Zemaka [the demon of winter, Spiegel says], and puts on him a smaller garment; against the brain of wicked men, and against Ashemaoghô, the impure, who eats nothing.

I do not suppose that the Aryan race was stupid enough, in those old days, to have been much impressed by the information that if a man murdered a great public benefactor, he could atone for it, and escape punishment, by warring against the brain of wicked men, the demon of winter (even putting on a smaller garment), and sundry other invisible beings, whose very existence he had to take on trust, and how to war against them would have been puzzling.

Already atonement by the understanding had been defined, as requiring the recitation, of course from memory, of the whole collection of Mañthras, during the first and second parts of the day and of the night, with faith and prayer, to the middle of the day and of the night, without sleeping at all during these hours, until they have spoken all the words that the priests of the sacrifices have spoken. The demons could hardly be warred against in any other way, and, therefore, it is not likely that by the "warfare" prescribed was meant a warfare against spiritual enemies. I think, in short, that the second atonement mentioned was, to doff the long robes or looser dress of ordinary life, and don the scantier and more closely-fitting dress of the soldier, and march and fight against the hostile tribes named in the text; warring against the sharp cunning of the unbelieving Tâtars or Toorkhs. As no demons can be supposed to eat

substantial food, eating nothing could not have been peculiar to one family, class or social circle of them. The Gujerat translation is "eats by oppression."

As, in Sanskrit means "to throw;" *asana* "discharging" (arrows, etc.), and *asi* is "a sword;" *astri*, "a shooter;" *astra*, "a missile weapon." *Magha*, a Vedic word, means "power, wealth;" *makha*, "a warrior;" *maha*, "great, powerful, strong." *Ashemaōghô*, if compounded of these words, would mean "the strong archers, spearmen or swordmen." And I find in Zend, *ash*, meaning "to hit."

So, *Ishu*, Sanskrit, means "an arrow," and *kath*, "to tell, announce, command," and *Ishus-Qâthakhto* probably means "chiefs of the bowmen," or those who shoot arrows. The Zend *Q* sometimes represents *k*, sometimes *kh*, and sometimes *h*, of the Sanskrit, so that the derivation of a word beginning with it is necessarily uncertain. *Ch*, *j*, *z*, and *zh* are changed into *kh*, before *t*, *th*, and *s*, and *Qarakhto* is the nominative plural of *qaraz*, *qarach*, *qaraj*, or *qarazh*. *Hri*, Sanskrit, means "to take, seize, steal, rob, etc.," whence *hara*, *hari*, "taking, etc.," *hâra*, "one who takes, etc.," and *hâraka*, "thief, plunderer, rogue." *Zamaka* is, no doubt, the name of some other tribe.

"One must not speak contrary to the law concerning flesh and pasture," probably means that the law was in regard to the killing of those engaged in raising and pasturing cattle for food. The married are declared to be of higher value to the country than the unmarried; those having households than those having none; fathers of families than those without children; and the rich (those having many cattle) than the poor. And for this last distinction, the reason immediately given is, that he who breeds and raises many cattle does more to benefit men than he who raises none. The rich, in that day, were benefactors of the poor, one of many. They did not become rich by speculation, stock-gambling, and other modern devices, by which many lose when one wins, and to make one rich knave there must be ten thousand poor honest men; nor did the rich hoard their riches and live useless lives; but the poor, labourers and herdsmen were of their families, like the servants and herdsmen of Abraham, the Chaldæan. All individual interests were in that day subordinated to the general interest; the Aryan land and people, and the Mazdayaçnian law were everything; the human unit and his private interests, nothing. It was not as it is now, when individual interests are everything, and the country nothing, except as a prey to be devoured. If the rule of precedence at the present day were, as it was then, "He first, whose life is of most worth to the Commonwealth," there would be an immense overturning of the social order. Contrast also a state of things wherein the name *duhitar*, "daughter," meant "milk-maid," with that where she is the best who

dressess herself most gorgeously, and Court-Journals record for an admiring posterity and for the edification of the men of the present who stand behind counters or are proud to be *petits-maîtres*, the millinery worn by female butterflies at assemblages of the *élite* and of the rulers and legislators of the nation. And yet, we think a Republic possible!

142-155. If he has committed this deed for the first time only, and the commission of the deed is known among the people [and if he does not make due atonement?], let them begin to cut, with knives of iron, the bones of his body, which is no longer worthy to be preserved unharmed: Let them even fasten fetters of iron on its bones; or even, for, without intending it, he causes a hundred men to perish [by killing him on whom their living depended], and thus commits without knowing it, an immense crime. If they become aware of this deed in the corporeal world, he were knowingly to approach the hot golden boiling water lyingly, as if speaking truth, lying to Mithra.

I cannot conjecture the meaning of cutting the bones, and putting iron fetters on them, unless it means that such a murderer, when discovered, is to be quartered, and hung up in chains of iron.

It seems to me that there is a change of subject after verse 153, and that what follows has this meaning:

If it comes to the knowledge of the people of the land, that this offence has been committed, that is to say, one has knowingly approached the hot, golden boiling water, pretending to speak the truth, but in reality lying to Mithra, what is the punishment for so doing?

Spiegel thinks that the reference may be to some kind of ordeal, but the expression is explained by verse 127:

Until they have spoken all these words, which the Herbads have spoken, which they have made for men with seething waters.

The boiling water, therefore, was used in sacrificing, and the punishment was for coming to the sacrifice, and repeating the sacred words, as if innocent and pure, when stained with guilt unatoned for.

FARGARD V.

This Fargard treats of the uncleanness caused by death and dead bodies and the means of removing it. There is also an episode on the high value of the Vendîdâd.

The first question asked is, whether, if a man dies, and the birds eat him, and fly to and alight upon a tree, and there deposit part of the corpse, and a man then cuts the tree down for firewood, and burns of it, there is

any punishment for him. The answer is that when corpses are so carried away, by dogs, birds, wolves, winds or flies, they do not defile a man, because, if they did, there would be none undefiled, but all the Aryans would become *Khraōjdaṭ-Urva* and *Peshō-tanus*.

Spiegel defines the former word as meaning "hardness of heart" or "hard-hearted," a term, he says, applied to a class of great sins.

Krad, Krand, Sanskrit, means "to roar" (Vedic), "to cry miserably, to implore, to lament;" and, therefore, the meaning of *Khraōjdaṭ* is "lamentation, sorrow, mourning;" and, with *urva*, "heart- or soul-lamentation or -sorrow," i. e., "sad at heart, sorrowful, despairing."

Pish, in Sanskrit means "to grieve, bruise, destroy," and *perhaps*, "to grind, pound, bruise, injure, destroy;" *pеша*, "grinding."

Tan, partic. *tanu*, "to draw, spread, arrange, cause," etc., and *tanus*, "body." So that *peshō-tanus* means "emaciation, wasting, disease or destruction of the body."

These would be the natural consequences of a general defilement, when none could approach or commune with the defiled persons. Hardness of heart would not be.

The next case put is: A man pours water over a grain-field; it flows over the field four times, and then an animal brings a corpse into the field. The answer is the same as before.

And to the question, does the water 'destroy' a man, it does not; *Aṣṭō-vīdhōtus* binds him, the birds carry the bound one away, the water carries him up and down, and washes him, and then the birds eat him. 'There he goes up and down by destiny.' [After 'there,' Spiegel inserts, parenthetically, 'in the other world' —why, I cannot see.]

Then it is asked, does the fire 'destroy' a man. [The answer is], No; *Aṣṭō-Vīdhōtus* binds him, the birds carry him away bound, 'the fire burns his bones and the vital principle; there he goes up and down by destiny.' [The same addition is made here also.]

Of this, Spiegel says that it is

a declaration that fire and water do not kill any man, but only attract to themselves the parts which belong to Ahura Mazda; and hence, the contradiction is removed, that two elements so pure, and belonging to Ahura Mazda, could destroy any creation of Ahura Mazda's, and thus work against their own purpose.

I cannot think this interpretation correct: To tell men that fire and water do not kill, is simply absurd.

Vidh, Sanskrit, is 'to dispose, to perform;' *Vidhā*, 'act, action;' *vidhātri*, 'fate;' *vidhana*, 'ordering, arrangement, ordinance, rule, precept, regulation;' *vidhi*, i. e., *vidhā*, 'order, injunction, command'; *daiva-vidhi* ('when Destiny commands'), 'rule, precept, fate;' *vidhitas*, 'according to rule;' *vidheyatā*, 'necessary or proper act or conduct, fitness for enactment as a rule.'

It seems, then, that *Aṣṭo-Vidhōtus* is simply fate or destiny. But why is it held that water or fire does not destroy (or kill) a man drowned or burned? Spiegel says, in note to this passage:

Aṣto-Vidhōtu, 'the destroyer of the bones,' is the *Aṣṭa-Vahāt* or *Aṣṭahvāt* of the later Parsee mythology. He appears at the judgment of souls at the bridge Chinvat, to support the claims of Añra-Mainyus against Črosh and Bahram (Čraoša and Vohū-Manô).

Perhaps the explanation of this passage is, that although that which touches a dead body is defiled, water and fire are not defiled by the contact, when a man is drowned or burned. They are but the instruments of fate; and when the water carries the body up and down, it is still carried by fate; and so do the ashes fall to the earth and the consumed parts ascend, when one is burned.

The next question asked is:

What is to be done with the body of a man who dies in the winter. [The answer is, that] in every house and village where one dies three *Katas* shall be erected for him. These [Spiegel says], are 'places of three corners.' [What sort of a 'place' each is, he does not say.] It is asked how they shall be made [and the answer is, that] they shall not touch against the uplifted head, shall not reach farther than his feet and his hands.

I find in the Sanskit, *Kat*, "to encompass;" *Kaṭa*, "a mat," and *kaṭo-udaka*, "obsequies of a deceased person." A *Kata* may have been an enclosure, put up round the body, but then what is meant by there being three, perhaps, a three-cornered enclosure? There, at any rate, the body was to lie, "even for a month, until the birds should come northward and the grass begin to grow [the "trees" grow up, the winter pass away], "and the ground become dry." Then the body was to be exposed to the sun, until the birds should have eaten it up.

Then, it is said, Ahura Mazda brings the water, with wind and clouds, from the Sea *Vōru-Kasha*, and by it carries away the remains to the Sea *Pīritika*, from the *dakhma* (the platform, probably, on which it was laid, as it is now the custom among some Indian tribes to so expose corpses upon platforms built in trees), and the waters flow purified from the Sea *Pīritika* to the Sea *Vōru-Kasha*, to the tree *Hvāpa*. There the green growth of the earth has its origin, and is rained down in grain and pasturage.

Then follows the laudation of the Zarathustrian law, given against Daevas, and this is followed by a curious detail as to the number of persons defiled, when, there being several in one house or bed, one man or dog dies. "On how many," it is asked, "does the Drukhs Naçus settle, with *corruption*, *rotteness* and *filth*?" The answer is, "If it is a priest, the

Drukhs Naçus rushes up, and if it comes to the eleventh, it defiled the tenth;" if a warrior, the ninth; if a husbandman, the eighth; if a dog, whose business is with cattle, the seventh; and so on, with other dogs and puppies, to the first if it comes to the first.

Spiegel says of this:

Since the death of a pure man is a victory gained by Añra-Mainyûs, it is easily understood that the pollution is greatest when it is a priest who dies, and the pollution diminishes step by step, according to the rank of the individual. When Añra-Mainyûs or one of his demons slays a pure creature, he diminishes the number of the creatures of Ahura Mazda, and occasions an amount of impurity or pollution proportionate to the rank of the creature (person or animal) destroyed. On the other hand, the destruction of a creature of Añra-Mainyûs is a victory of Ahura Mazda; and no pollution can be occasioned by the death of an impure animal.

Spiegel gives *Akhtis*, from *Anj*, "to penetrate, prevail;" *pavaiti*, from *pu*, "to be corrupt," hence, "corruption, rottenness;" and *âhiti*, "filth," and refers to *anahita*, "pure," and the Sanskrit *asita*, "black."

The Drukhs Naçus, it is said in Fargard *vii*. rushes from the north to dead men, "in the form of a fly, pernicious when she comes bringing immense filth from her anus, as the most hideous of the *Khrafstras*." In Fargard *viii*., it is represented as driven to different parts of the body, until it is at last driven under the toes, like the wings of a gnat, as the different parts of the body are washed or sprinkled with water, until finally expelled, it is driven back to the north region in the shape of a fly, "with evil assaults, out-crying, unbounded dismemberment for the most hateful *Khrafstras*," and they are also made to fly away by leading along a defiled road a certain number of times, "a yellow dog with four eyes, or a white one with yellow ears;" and by prayers and certain recitations.

The dog *Urupis* (the mangoos, Spiegel says), "defiles no creature of Çpënta-Mainyûs, except the person who kills it." This is rather unfortunate for Professor Spiegel's theory, as this little animal is certainly one of the creatures of Ahura Mazda, i. e., an animal beneficent to man, and its death ought, according to that theory, to defile several. Living or dead, the lizard is exceedingly hurtful and impure. Living, it injures water and extinguishes fire, leads cattle astray, and smites the pure man a blow which injures his consciousness and his vital power, but it does not do that when it is dead.

When we add, that women delivered of still-born children were purified by washing their bodies with cows' urine and water, and that one who threw on a dead body, even a thread or a shred of cloth, was not pure in life, and after death took no share in Paradise, we shall have repeated enough of the idiotic nonsense of the successors of the great soldier and

king. I shall notice, of the remaining Fargards, only such passages as may have some bearing upon the more ancient compositions.

The Sixth Fargard continues the subject of uncleanness occasioned by dead bodies. The Seventh continues the same subject, and treats especially of the management of various objects which have come in contact with dead bodies. But verses 94 to 120, give directions in regard to physicians and surgeons, and as to their fees. They are, when wishing to make themselves physicians, to experiment first on the Daevayaçnians (captives, probably, and slaves). If one operates with the knife on three of them in succession, and they all die, then he is incapable forever; the Mazdayaçnians shall not give him a trial, nor shall he operate on them. If he does, he is to receive the punishment of the *baödho-varsta*, which, Spiegel says, means "sins committed wilfully."

But if he operates on three Daevayaçnians and they all recover, then he is licensed to practice.

If he cures a priest, his fee is a pious blessing; in other cases, the greater the dignitary, the larger the fee; for the master of a house, a small beast of burden; the ruler of a clan, a middle-sized one; the chief of a tribe, a large one; the ruler of a territory, the value of a chariot and four oxen. Women paid a she-ass, a cow, a mare, and a female camel. And assurance is given, that when many physicians came together, those with knives, those with herbs, and those with holy sayings, he who uses the Mañthra-Çpënta as a remedy will be most successful.

Bad and *bandh*, in Sanskrit, mean "to bind, to overpower;" *baddha*, "bound, got, checked, suppressed;" *bandha*, "binding, holding in fetters;" and *vazh*, "to hurt, to kill." So that *Baödho-Varsta* is a "slave-killer," or "prisoner-killer," which is rather more definite than "sins committed wilfully."

The Eighth Fargard, the largest in the Vendîdâd, continues the same subject. The punishment for various offences is also prescribed, and those who commit some of them are declared to be Daevas, and worshippers, companions, vassals and paramours of the Daevas.

The Ninth continues the subject of purification, tiresomely repeating much about the Drukhs Naçus, and the unclean Ashëmaögha is denounced, who takes up the business of purification without having learned the law on that subject from an expert. This last name, Spiegel says,

is composed of *ash*, 'very,' and Sanskrit *magha*, and seems to be sometimes used as a proper name, and sometimes as an adjective, signifying 'unclean' or 'hurtful.' *Mogha*, in Sanskrit, is 'vain, useless.'

The Tenth is short, and prescribes the prayers and passages of the Gâthâs by which the Naçus are to be combated, and Añra-Mainyûs,

Indra, Çanru, the Daeva Naonhaiti, Tauru, Zairicha, the Daevas Aeshma and Akatasha, those of rain and wind, the Mazanian and all other Daevas, and the Drukhs. I have already spoken of Aindra or Ander, and the other emanations from or creatures of Añra-Mainyûs.

The Eleventh is a continuation of the same, containing an enumeration of various prayers from the second part of the Yaçna, efficacious for purifying. The worshipper declares that he combats Bushyańcta, the yellow, and *Bushyańcta dareghô gava*, and the Pairika that goes to the fire, water, earth, cattle and trees. *Bushyańcta*, Spiegel says, "is the later *Boshaçp*, the Demon of Sleep." In the Bundeheš, he is the demon who has thrown Iam Kéręçâçpa into a long sleep, to continue until the time of the last things, when Dahâk will be loosened from the mountain Demâwand. Kéręçâçpa will then awake and conquer him.

The Twelfth Fargard continues the subject of prayers for purification, and prayers to be recited for deceased relatives, with directions for purifying the houses.

Fargards Thirteen and Fourteen treat of dogs and water-dogs, of the sin of and punishment for killing them. Dogs are creatures of Çpënta-Mainyûs. The dog with prickly back and woolly muzzle that comes forth at sunrise as a thousand slayer of Añra-Mainyûs, called Vaihâpâra, called by evil-speaking men Dujaka, is, it seems, of the greatest value, since the slayer of him destroys his soul, even to the ninth generation, and the bridge Chinvat is difficult to reach for him, unless he atones for it all his life with Çraöshas. On the other hand, the Daeva Zairimyañura, called by evil speaking men, Zairimyaka.*

It is also a great sin to kill any cattle-dog or trained bloodhound. The slayer's soul becomes horrible and miserable, and goes to the world above, like a wolf in a great wood. Dogs take care of and protect the bridge. If one wounds a herding-dog, and the cattle are stolen, he must make good the loss. So, giving a dog bad food is a sin. They watch over houses, villages, etc., to protect them against thieves and wolves. The water-dogs are to be fed on milk, and fat along with meat. Then, there are directions in regard to chaining up and muzzling dogs who give no bark, and are not right in their understanding. For injuries done by them, their owners are to be punished. Ahura Mazda has made dogs with keen scent and sharp teeth, faithful to men, to protect the folds and bite the enemy, thieves and wolves, and the animals that are half dog, half wolf.

A dog has eight characters, like an Âthrava, a warrior, husbandman, villager, thief, wild beast, courtesan and child.' His points of resemblance

**Zairimi-añura* literally means, 'eating in the depth,' or 'in darkness,' and is, perhaps, a mole. (*Spiegel.*) To kill him, atones for all sins.

to each are given. And the reason for the value set upon them is, "for the dwellings would not stand fast on the earth, created by Ahura Mazda [settlements in the Aryan country could not be maintained], if there were not dogs that pertain to the cattle and the village."

Great veneration was felt for the "water-dog," *udra* [from the Sanskrit *udan*, water], which was, perhaps, that most sagacious of animals, the beaver. For killing one, the punishment was 10,000 blows with the goad, and the same with the whip. For atonement, 10,000 loads of wood, baregmas and Zaōthras were required, and the killing of 10,000 of each kind of a dozen noxious kinds of vermin; the filling up of as many holes, and divers gifts to the priests, warriors and husbandmen, etc., etc., including a house, and a virgin, his sister or daughter, over fifteen years of age, to be betrothed to a "pure" man.

The Fifteenth Fargard enumerates the sins whereby a man becomes *Peshô-tanus*, and makes provisions as to seduction and procuring abortions. Then follow dispositions as to the support of bitches that have had puppies, and observations as to the breeding of dogs.

The Sixteenth consists of rules for the treatment and behaviour of women during menstruation and child-birth.

The Seventeenth contains injunctions concerning the cutting of one's nails and hair. The nail-parings were to be buried in a little hole, with saying of the Ahûna-Vairyâ and Ashem-Vohû, and a formula, devoting them to the bird Ashô-Zusta, to be lances, bows, swords, etc., against the Mazanian Daevas. If we add that in Fargard 15, the chief offences enumerated are slander, giving to a dog hot food, or bones that are not eatable, striking or scaring a pregnant bitch, adultery and seduction, the reader will have a pretty good idea of the absurdities of the criminal code of the degenerate descendants of the Aryans.

FARGARD XVIII.

Professor Spiegel says that

this Fargard does not seem to have originally belonged to the Vendîdâd; [and that] at least it differs in many respects from the usual tenor of that work.

Ahura Mazda is introduced as speaking from the commencement, without any question having been put to him; and in another place he orders Zarathustra to put questions, and promises the answers. Then Çraôsha converses with a Drukhs; and after, Ahura Mazda again orders Zarathustra to ask questions.

Ahura first denounces those who pretend falsely to be Âthravas; and then describes those who are truly such. He is worthy to be called such,

who the whole night through asks the pure understanding, which purifies from sins, which makes large, and affords rewards at the bridge Chinvat; which makes us to reach the place; the purity and the goodness of Paradise.

The first question asked by Zarathustra, in response to the permission of Ahura, is,

Who is the perishable, mortal? [The answer is], He who teaches a sinful law, during the three night-seasons, does not put on the girdle, does not recite the Gâthâs, etc.

Zarathustra asks who is the Craoшhâ-Vârëza of Çraoшha, the holy, etc., and the answer is:

The bird called *Parodars*, whom evil-speaking men call *Kahrkatâç*.

This bird lifts up his voice at every godly morning-dawn, urging them to rise, and not permit the demon *Bushyańça* with long hands to put them to sleep again, as he does the whole corporeal world, when they have been once awakened.

In the Sanskrit, “*varivasya*,” a denominative derived from the Vedic noun *varivas*, with *ya*, Par., means “to adore;” and *varivasyâ* is “worship, service.” As Çraoшha is the spirit of devotion and worship, or worship and devotion personified, the compound noun Çraoшha-Varëza means one who performs particular acts of worship; and here, the cock, calling men to rise and worship at dawn, is represented as inspired by that spirit, and as being the caller to worship.

Then the fire is represented as asking for wood, lest Azis created by the Daevas should appear and snatch it from the world. Çraoшha wakes the cock, who calls on men to rise and drive away the Daevas. “Whoso first arises, he comes to Paradise.” And he who brings wood to the fire, the fire will bless him, pleased with the act, wishing him a herd of cattle and abundance.

Çraoшha (70, *et seq.*) inquires of a female Drukhs, “threatening her with his club, if she became pregnant without coition.” She answered in the negative, and that four kinds of men copulated with her:

1. One who, when begged for them, does not give his worthless garments to a pure man, in purity and goodness. The atonement is, to give them to a holy man, without being asked for them. One who does that, destroys the pregnancy of the Drukhs, as a wolf tears the child from the mother.
2. If a man the foot placed forward, makes water on it. The atonement is, to repeat several prayers.
3. If one in his sleep emits his seed. The atonement is by prayers on waking; and to say to Çpênta-Ârmaiti, ‘I give thee this male, give me him back again at

the time of the resurrection (*frashmo-kereti*), acquainted with the Gâthâs, and give him a name, fire-given, etc., or any other given by the fire.'

The Sanskrit, *p* and *ph* change in Zend into *f*. Pros, Sanskrit, is "to extend, to bring forth;" whence *prasava*, "being in labour, bringing forth; offspring, blossom, fruit;" *prasû*, "a mother, a mare." *Kere*, Zend, is "to make." The suffix *ti* makes an abstract, "the making" (*Bopp*, §844). In Sanskrit, *kṛi* means "to make," whence *Kara*, "making," "causing," "producing." *Kâro* means the same, and "a maker of," and, as the latter part of compound substantives, "making," "action;" and *kâru*, "making," "an artisan;" and *kârin*, "acting," "agent." I cannot find in Benfey anything to warrant the meaning imputed to *frâshmô-kérëti* by Spiegel. It seems to me to mean "made or produced by growth," or as plants are produced from the earth. If this be so, one can understand why the appellation "fire-given" was to be given him; since it is by the sun's heat that the earth is made to produce.

4. If a man above the age of puberty 'practices unchastity without *kosti* and *band*. Immediately after the fourth pace we do occupy him, his tongue and his feet.' [In v. 120], 'when he has made four steps.' [And in each verse it is said that he] 'is afterwards able to go about among the people as a slayer and sorcerer, slaying those who are of the true faith.'

The manuscripts here, Spiegel says, are in great confusion.

He who inflicts the greatest wound on Ahura Mazda, is one who mixes the seed of the faithful and the Daeva-worshippers. He dries up a third of the water by looking at it, kills a third of the trees, grass and men; and is rather to be killed than a poisonous snake, a she-wolf or a lizard.

Of Fargard xix., Haug says (213), that

it is, in part, the fragment of an old epic song. Verses 1, 2, 3 are introductory, and evidently composed to make better understood the contents of this ancient piece.

It commences with a description of Añra-Mainyus inciting the Drukhs to slay Zarathustra, of her attempt to do it, and that he recited the prayer Ahuna Vairya, and frustrated the attempt, and the Drukhs returned and repeated her failure.

Zarathustra [Dr. Haug says], perceived these snares laid to him, and thought about escaping them. This is described with the very verses of an old song, undoubtedly current in the mouth of the Iranian people. The song is composed in the heroic metre of the ancient Aryans, the Anustubh, which has given rise to the common Shloka.

Dr. Haug translates the introductory verses and this hymn or song. I will note the material differences between his translation and Spiegel's.

1. From the north region, from the north regions, rushed forth Aîra Mainyus, he who is full of death [the death-darting. *H* :.], the Daeva of the Daevas. Thus spake the evil-witting [evil-knowing. *H* :.], Anra Mainyus, who is full of death: 'Drukhs, run up! Slay the pure Zarathustra.' The Drukhs ran round him, the Daeva Bûiti, the perishable, the deceiver of mortals. [Then the Drukhs broke forth, the devil Bûiti, the destroyer, with the intention of killing. *H* :.]

It is evident that the legend thus repeated had its origin in an account of the irruption of the unbelievers from beyond the Oxus, into Bactria. Aîra Mainyus is "full of death," or "death-darting," because these fierce invaders slew without mercy the people of the countries which they invaded, as Tamerlane ages afterwards piled up his pyramid of human skulls before the gates of Damascus. The female Drukhs represents the whole force of the invaders, as the soul of the cow is all the Aryan cattle. *Buṭ*, in Sanskrit, is "to kill;" and *Bûiti* is "the slayer." Spiegel often uses "perishable," when the original evidently means "the destroyer, or one who causes to perish."

2. Zarathustra recited the prayer Ahuna Vairyā: *Yathâ ahû variyô*. May they praise (*Guj. translation*, 'He praised'), [He invoked. *H* :.] the good waters of the good creation [of good qualities. *H* :.]; and honor the Mazdayaçnian law. [He confessed the Mazdayaçna faith. *H* :.]. The Drukhs ran away from him grieved [was slain. *H* :.]. The Daeva Bûiti, the perishable, the deceiver of mortals [the destroyer, intending to kill him. *H* :.]

3. The Drukhs answered him: 'Tormentor, Aîra Mainyus! [spoke to him: Impostor! *H* :.]. I do not see death in him, the Holy Zarathustra [do not think about doing any harm to. *H* :.]: Full of brightness is the pure Zarathustra [the brilliant, pure Zarathustra. *Zend*. *H* :.]. Zarathustra saw in the Spirit [perceived by his mind, *H* :.]; the wicked, evil-witting Daevas consult over my death [that the evil-doing spirits are laying snares to him. *H* :.].

THE SONG.

4. Zarathustra arose, Zarathustra went forward, uninjured by Ako-manô's very tormenting questions [to annihiilate all those hostile intentions, *H* :.], holding stones in the hand—they are of the size of a Kata—the pure Zarathustra [holding a shepherd's hook with nine knots in his hand [*Zend*, 'that are as large as a cottage.' *H* :.], which he had received from the creator, Ahura Mazda [was praying to Ahura Mazda, the creator. *H* :.]: To keep them on the earth, the broad, round, hard to run through, in great strength, in the dwelling of Pourushâçpa. [Wher-ever thou touchest this wide, round, far-extended earth, recite efficacious prayers to protect from ruin Pourushâspa's house. *H* :.]

The first two lines of the fourth verse are thus given by Dr. Haug:

*Uçchistat Zarathustrô
Khruzhdyâi tbaêshô-parstanam*

*açaretô aka Manañiha
açânô zaçta drazhimnô*

Manaṇiha (*Manaṇha*) is the instrumental singular of *Manô*, "mind or reason." As I have shown before, *Ako-Manô* is the un-reason, irrationality, the first evil emanation, antagonist and opposite of *Vohû-Manô*. "Hostile intentions" is clearly erroneous.

Cri, in Sanskrit, means "to hurt, to wound;" whence *cara*, *carâru*, *câri*, "hurtful, mischievous." The *a* prefixed is not privative here, but a mere augment, and Haug is right in rendering the word by "annihilate."

Açânô, which Haug renders "a shepherd's hook with nine knots," and Spiegel, "stones," is, the latter says, "probably, =Sanskrit *acna*." I do not find *Acna* in Benfey. *Acanî*, is, in Sanskrit, the thunderbolt of Indra; and *asana*, from *as*, "to throw," means "discharging," as arrows. *Asi* is "a sword." The thunderbolt, I imagine, was called *acani*, because it was hurled; and *açano* probably meant missile weapons, or spears.

But how comes the Commentary to say that either stones held in Zarathustra's hand, or the nine knots of the shepherd's crook, or the missiles, are as large as a *Kata* or cottage? As to the residue of the verse, it is impossible to say more than that Spiegel's translation is utter nonsense, and that the meaning of the original is entirely uncertain.

5. Zarathustra informed Añra Mainyus: 'Evil-knowing Añra Mainyus, I will smite the creation (the people of the race) that was created by the Daevas; I will smite the Naçus which the Daevas have created. I will smite the Pari [Pairika, *H*.:], whom one prays to (?) [Khnathaiti, probably an idol-worshipper in Kandahar or thereabout. *H*.:], until Çaošhyanç is born, the victorious, out of the water Kançaoya, from the east region, from the eastern regions.'

6. Him answered Añra Mainyus who has created the wicked creatures: 'Do not slay my creatures, O Pure Zarathustra! Thou art the Son of Pôrushaçpa, and hast life from a mother [so thou art called by thy mother. *H*.:]. Curse the good Mazdayaçnian law, obtain happiness as Vadhaghna, the lord of the regions has obtained it.'

Evidently this means that Zarathustra was tempted to abandon the Aryan cause and renounce his faith, by an insolent and powerful enemy, by promises of honour and profit. Vadhaghna was, no doubt, a chief of an extensive district, who had so submitted, and continued to rule as a tributary chief.

The original of the verse is:

<i>Paiti ahmâi adavata</i>	<i>duzhdâmô Añgrô Mainyus</i>
<i>Mâ me dañma mere chañuha</i>	<i>Ashâum Zarathustra</i>
<i>Tûm ahi Pourushâçpahê</i>	<i>puthro barethryat hacha</i>
<i>Zavisi apa-çtavanuha</i>	<i>Vanuhâñ daênañ Mâzdayaçnîm</i>
<i>Vindai yanem yatha vindat</i>	<i>Vadhaghanô danhupaitis.</i>

7. Him answered the holy Zarathustra: 'I will not curse the good Mazdayaçnian law, not if bones, soul and vital-power were to separate themselves asunder.'

The original of this verse is:

<i>Paiti ahmâi avashata'</i>	<i>yô çpitâmô Zarathustro</i>
<i>Nôit hê apâçtvânê</i>	<i>vajuhûn daênañ Mazdayaçnîm</i>
<i>Noit açta nôit ustamem</i>	<i>noit baodhaçcha urviçyât.</i>

8. Him answered Aîra-Mainyus, who has created the evil creatures: 'By whose word wilt thou smite, by whose word wilt thou annihilate, by what well-made arms, my creatures?' [Haug has 'pollute' instead of 'annihilate'].

The original of this verse is:

<i>Paiti ahmâi ada vata</i>	<i>duzhdâmô Añgrô Mainyus</i>
<i>Kahê vacha vanahi</i>	<i>Kahê vacha aþayaçðhi</i>
<i>Kanazaya hukeretâonhô</i>	<i>Mana-daña Añgro Mainyus</i>

9. Him answered the Holy Zarathustra: 'Mortar, cup, Haöma, and the words which Ahura Mazda has spoken, these are my best weapons; by this word will I smite, by this word will I annihilate, by these well-formed weapons, O Evil Aîra-Mainyus, which Çpënta-Mainyûs created; he created in the Infinite Time; which the Amësha-Çpëntas created, the good rulers, the wise.'

The original of this verse is:

<i>Paiti ahmâi avashata</i>	<i>yo çpitâmô Zarathustrô</i>
<i>Havanacha tastacha Haomacha</i>	<i>Vacha Mazdô-fraokhta</i>
<i>Mana zaya açti Vahistem</i>	<i>ana Vacha Vanâni</i>
<i>Ana vacha apa yaçâni</i>	<i>ana zaya hukeretâonhô.</i>
<i>âi duzhdâ Añgra Mainyô</i>	<i>dathat Çpëntô Mainyûs</i>
<i>Dathat Zruni akaranê</i>	<i>fradathen Aniêshâo Çpënta</i>
<i>Hukhshathrâ hudâonhô.</i>	

Zruni akaranê is the *Zeruane Akherene* of the writers on the religion of the Persians. In Guigniaut's *Creuzer* (*Religion de la Perse*, c. ii., § i.), it is said:

We see, then, that the doctrine of the Persians did not stop at Dualism, as many learned men have supposed, but recognizes a Supreme Principle of the Duality, duration without limits, the Eternity or the Eternal, Zervane Akerene, creator of Ormuzd and Ahriman. It is Zervane Akerene that has given birth to all beings; he at the beginning made Zervane, Time or The Long Time, the Grand Period or Year of the World, which will endure twelve thousand years, until the Resurrection. In Zervane the Universe reposes, and Time was created as it was, while Zervane Akerene is uncreated duration, which had no beginning, and will have no end The cause of this intermingling of Light and Darkness, the means by which the former is to triumph over the latter, are Zervane Akerene, God, who reposed solitary in Himself, before the birth of the two principles, first made Light, and by necessary and inevitable opposition, Darkness immediately had its inception. God has not willed the Darkness, but has tolerated it.

In Sanskrit *Kâraṇa*, i. e., *Kṛi*, causative, and *aṇa*, means "motive, cause, primary cause, element;" and *a-kâraṇam* and *akâraṇena*, "without cause."

Zarvan, Zend, is “time;” *Zarvô-datâ*, “created in time.” I have not found the Sanskrit original of this word.

The Zend-Avesta, as we shall see, in more than one place characterizes the luminaries of the sky, as self-existing and without beginning, as here time is characterized as uncaused; and there is no more reason to suppose that time was regarded as creator, than that the sun and stars were. The “Words” spoken by Ahura, i. e., the prayers, were created in the uncaused time, by Ahura; and the expression meant no more than our equally Aryan expression “in the womb of time,” by which no one imagines that it is meant that time is creator.

To the questioning of Zarathustra, how he shall protect the people from this Drukhs and the evil Añra-Mainyus, and purify them, Ahura tells him to

praise the Mazdayaçnian law, the Amêsha-Çpêntas over the land that consists of Seven Kareshvares, the self-created firmament, the uncaused Time, the Air which works on high.

If time is infinite, because uncaused, so must the firmament be, if self-created. He tells him also

to praise the swift wind, Çpênta-Ârnaiti, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda, and his (Ahura's) Fravashi, ‘strongest, greatest, best, fairest, most understanding, best-formed, highest in holiness, whose soul is the Holy Word,’ i. e., the Mañthra Çpênta; and finally, ‘this creation of Ahura Mazda's,’ i. e., the Aryan land and people.

[He praises, in reply] Ahura Mazda, Mithra, Çraošha, the Holy Word, very brilliant, etc., and asks how he shall praise ‘this creation of Ahura Mazda.’ He is told to go to the growing trees and praise them, and cut the bâreçma, praising Ahura Mazda, the Amêsha-Çpêntas, Haöma, the fair offerings [the devotional compositions] of Vohû-Manô, the good, created by Ahura Mazda, for the holy best [i. e., the highest of the Priests].

Next follow directions for purification of Vohû-Manô, when defiled. Here, Vohû-Manô is man as an intellectual being.

Zarathustra then asks if he shall “invite the holy man and woman, and the sinful of the evil Daeva-worshipping men, to diffuse over the land running water, growing crops,” and other goods; and is directed to do so. The question means, whether he should encourage the settlement of unbelievers, as well as Aryans, in the country, in order to extend the system of irrigation and increase the cultivation of the soil.

From this the Fargard continues as follows:

27. [*v. 89, et al. Spiegel.*] Creator, where are those tribunes, where do they assemble, where do they come together, at which a man of the corporeal world gives account for his soul?

(H.) ∴ Creator of the fenced estates with living beings. Thou True! What events will be [Pazend: what events will happen?—What events will take place? What events will be met with?] when a man gives up his soul in this world of existence?

28. [90–93.] Then answered Ahura Mazda: After the man is dead, after the man is departed, after his going, the wicked evil-knowing Daevas do work (?). [H.: When a man is dead (Pazend; when a man has departed this life, when the running evil-doing devils make destruction)]. In the third night, after the coming and lighting of the dawn, and when the victorious Mithra places himself on the mountains with pure splendour, and the brilliant sun arises [H.: Then, after the third night, at day break (Zend: when Aurora is rising), he reaches Mithra, rising above the mountains resplendent of their own spotless lustre (Pazend: When the sun is rising)].

29. [94–97.] Then the Daeva Vizareshô by name, O Holy Zarathustra, leads the souls bound, the sinful-living of the wicked Daeva-worshipping men. To the ways which were created by Time, comes he who is godless, and he who is holy; to the bridge Chinvat, the created by Ahura Mazda, where they interrogate the consciousness and the soul regarding the conduct practiced in the corporeal world.

(H.) ∴ The Devil, Vizareshô by name, O Zarathustra Çpitama, carries the soul tied towards the country of the worshippers of the running Daevas. It goes on the old paths, the soul of the good man as well as that of the bad, to the Bridge of the Gatherer, the good, created by Ahura Mazda, where they ask for her conduct in the fenced estates, i. e., world [Zend: for what was achieved in the world of existence].

30. [98–101.] Thither comes the beautiful, well-created, swift and well formed, accompanied by a dog . . . * This leads away the souls of the pure, over the Hara-bérézaiti; over the Bridge Chinvat it brings the host of the heavenly Yazatas.

(H.) ∴ He, the happy, well-formed, swift, tall Serosh, comes thither with the dog, with the nine-knotted hook, with cattle, with the twigs (of Barsom). He dismissed the sinful soul of the bad into darkness, i. e., hell. He meets the souls of the good, when crossing Harô-bérézaiti, and guides them over the Bridge of the Gatherer [Zend: the bridge of the heavenly spirits].

31. [102–105.] Vohû-Manô arises from his golden throne; Vohû-Manô speaks: ‘How hast Thou, O Pure, come hither, from the perishable world to the imperishable world.’

(H.) ∴ How happy that you have come here to us, from the mortality to the immortality!

32. [105–107.] The pure souls go contented, to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazda, of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, to Garô-Nemâna, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda, the dwelling of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, the dwelling of the other pure.

(H.) The souls of the good go joyfully to Ahura Mazda, to the Immortal Saints, to the golden throne, to Paradise [Zend; the residence of Ahura-Mazda, of the Immortal Saints, and of other good Spirits].

* The other words are not clear. (*Spiegel.*)

° Spiegel says: “I have preserved this singular translation, ‘with the dog,’ because it is attested by the tradition, although Çpânavati seems rather compounded of *çpânô*, ‘holiness’, than *çpa*, ‘a dog.’”

Then follows what Haug considers "a fragment not connected with the preceding contents":

33. [108–109.] The smell of the soul of the pure man, who has purified himself, does so affright the bad, evil-witting Daevas, as sheep enclosed by wolves do dread these wolves.

(H.) ∴ The good man is to be made pure after his death; the Devils run together and frighten the soul, like as a sheep is frightened by a wolf.

34. [110–112.] The pure men are together with him, Nairyōcañha is together with him; a Messenger of Ahura Mazda is Nairyōcañha.

(H.) ∴ The good assemble, Nairyōcañha assembles. Say: Ahura Mazda's weapon is Nairyōcañha.

Then Zarathustra, invited to praise, of himself, the creation of Ahura Mazda, praises

Ahura, the earth, water, sea, sky, 'the lights without a beginning, self-created,' the good Çāoka who possesses many eyes [*H* ∴ the good flame widely shining], the strong Fravashis of the pure [*H* ∴ guardian angels of the good], Vērēthraghna created by Ahura Mazda, the carrier of light created by Ahura Mazda [*H* ∴ Behram, the bearer of splendour], the star Tistar, the shining, brilliant, who has the body of a bull and golden hoofs.

Miçvana is praised (from *Mith*, "to unite"), translated by Spiegel, "the mid-world," and by Haug, "the intermediate world," and styled the "self-created." Spiegel says it is

the world in which souls are placed where good and bad deeds are equally balanced. It is between heaven and earth, and the souls in it have to suffer both cold and heat.

Mithuna (for *Mithvana*), Sanskrit, means a couple, and the sign or constellation Gemini. As Tistrya and Vērēthraghna are immediately after praised, I do not see why Miçvana should not have been that constellation.

Vērēthraghna may be from the Sanskrit *vrišha*, a bull, and the sign Taurus, in which is the great star Aldebaran. *Var* is the same verb as *vri*, and *Vara* = *vri+a*. Tistrya, according to Spiegel, is Sirius. Haug considers it Mercury. I think it neither of these.

After this, the Gâthâs and Kareshvares are praised,

Hâetumat, Ashis-Vañuhi [the good Nature, Haug], the right wisdom, the brightness [beauty, Haug], of the Aryan country, *Yima-Khshaēta* [Haug renders *Khshaēta* by 'beauty'; but in Sanskrit, *kshata* means 'hurting, destroying,' and *Khshatra*, 'a man of the military caste']. As an appellation of Yima, *Khshaēta* may mean 'soldier, warrior.'

The Fire Vazista (for the offering), smites the Daeva Çpēnjaghra and Çraošha is invoked to smite the Daevas Kunda, Baña and Vibaña; and this passage follows, and concludes the Fargard:

[139-147.] He (Çraošha), who seizes the sinful life of the men who belong to the Drujas, the godless Daeva-worshippers. Thus spoke the evil-witting Añra-Mainyus, who is full of death: 'What will the wicked, evil-witting Daevas bring together to the head of Arézûra.' [Arézûra, Spiegel says, is a mountain, not a Dæva]. They run, they consult, 'the evil eye,' they thought, 'this we will bring together to the head of Arézûra. Alas, the pure Zarathustra is born in the dwelling of Pôurushaçpa; how shall we compass his death? He is the weapon with which they [the Amësha-Çpëntas?] smite the Daevas; he is the antagonist of the Daevas; he takes from the Drukhs there [in the debatable country beyond that held by the Aryans], their power, the wicked worshippers of the Daevas, the Naçus whom the Daevas have created, and the false lie.' [There are not many true lies. The 'false lie' is probably, the false religion]. They consult, they run, the wicked, evil-witting Daevas, to the bottom of hell, the dark, the bad, the evil.

Is it "hell" or the Daevas, to which or whom these adjectives apply? And by what right does any one render any Zend word by our word "hell," which is wholly without meaning to ourselves? In the early ages of the world, every word was the symbol, representative or expression of an idea or thing. Now we have a multitude of words that express, represent and symbolize nothing—at least nothing of which the early Aryans had any idea.

It is evident that this portion of the Fargard is an ancient fragment, originally relating to the Tâtar or Toorkhish possessors of a part of Bactria, including, certainly, that about the present city of Balkh. The names of the Daevas were then, no doubt, those of prominent leaders or bands of the Drukhs.

Kunda, Sanskrit, is a name of Vishnu; and *Kundr*, "to lie;" *Khund*, "to break in pieces." *Kündüz* is the present name of the Southeastern part of Bactria.

Vana, Sanskrit, "forest;" *Vâna*, "an arrow, and the name of an Asura;" and *vi* is a preposition, which in compounded words means "opposition, baseness, and manifoldness, much."

The word translated "the north region," in verse 1 of this Fargard, is *A pâkhtara*. But Spiegel does not give its derivation.

Fargard xx. contains an account of Thrita, the first physician, together with a few invocations, apparently interpolated. Thrita is called *Hamana-riuhatañm*, "skilled in healing." He kept back *Vazëmnô-açti* (*Guj. Trans.* "smiting scimetar"). *Açti* means "being," and I find *Vazëmnô* rendered by "driven, as in a carriage." *Vâ*, Sanskrit, is "to hurt," and *Vash*, "to hurt, to kill;" and *Vazëmnô* may be derived from one of those roots, and mean "the being that kills, or death."

Ahura Mazda, it is said, caused to grow thousands of healing plants around the one *Gaōkerēna*; which, Spiegel says, is expressly explained by the Huzvaresh translation as the 'white Homa,' respecting which there are many passages in the later Parsi writings.

In the last four verses, Airyêmâ the desirable is invoked as

the restorer of health, to cure and make glad the men and women of Zarathustra,
smiting all sickness and death, all Yatus and Pairikas, all the slaying wicked.

Spiegel says that

There is no doubt of the identity of this physician, called Airyama in Fargard *xxii.*, with the Aryman of the Veda.

I do not think that there is the least reason for that conclusion. The mere literal resemblance between the names is nothing. Müller justly remarks that such resemblances are often the best evidence that words are not identical. Airyama is rendered by Bopp, "friend," "associate."

Yadu, Sanskrit, is the name of a king, and *Yat*, a Vedic root means, as a causative, "to distress, to torture." *Parakiya*, is "hostile," in Sanskrit, but it is impossible to ascertain the origin of these ancient names of native tribes, which in later ages were taken as names of evil spirits. It is told in Fargard *i.*, that when Ahura had created the Seventh Country, Vaêkereta, the dwelling-place of Dujak [or, according to Haug, in which Duhaka is situated, the country being, in his opinion, Segestan; and in that of the Huzvaresh translator, Kabul] Añra Mainyus created a Pairika, Khnañthaiti, who attached herself to Kéręçâspa. In the Yashts, she is designated as a powerful woman, who did not profess the Zarathustrian religion.

Fargard xxi. is only a fragment, and Spiegel says,

Not one of the most intelligible, but 'interesting as a relic of that old Persian literature which related to Sabæanism, or Star-worship.'

In its views, it belongs to the later development. It commences with an invocation to the holy bull and well-created cow—

to him that multiplies and causes increase, gift of the Creator to the Aryans, whom Jahi slays, the very hurtful, unclean and wicked man [people or tribe], unbelieving.

Then healing is ascribed to the rain, after which, the sun, moon and stars are in succession invoked, to rise and ascend, the sun with swift steeds over Hara-bérzaiti, and all

on the way which Ahura Mazda has created, on the air which the Baghas have created, on that created way abounding with water.

Each is invoked to do so, "if worthy of honour," meaning, I imagine, "if thou wouldest be adored;" and the sun is addressed as "Thou for the sake of whose birth and increase Ahura Mazda has created the air;" and the moon and stars with the same formula, except the change of "air" to "earth." It is so clear that the Deity could not have been said to have created either the air or the earth for the birth or increase of the sun, moon and stars, that I suppose the grammar of the passage in the original to be as uncertain as we have seen it to be in many, translated one way by Spiegel and another by Haug. As the air has no birth or increase, I suppose it to be, in the sentence addressed to the sun, a mere error; and that this sentence is, like all the rest, the same in the three addresses. I think the true reading must surely be,

Thou whom Ahura Mazda did create, for the sake of production and increase of the earth, or land.

And, following each invocation to rise (the moon being addressed as containing "the seed of the cattle," and the stars as containing "the seed of the water"), is this passage, as translated by Spiegel and Bleek, the words in parenthesis not being in the original:

Then (spake the Holy Word) before that Mañthra-Çpēnta: 'I will here purify thy birth and thy growth, thy body and strength; I will make thee rich in children and milk, in activity, milk, fatness, bounds and posterity: for thy sake I will purify here a thousand fold, riches in cattle which runs about and is nourishment for children.'

Spiegel says that this verse is obscure. It is clear enough that the sun, moon and stars are requested to repeat, when they rise, these stanzas; a poetical mode of praying them to confer these benefits and work these good results. For that, it has already been said to them, they were created; and now it is said to each by the first line, "Then utter (or put forth) this Mañthra-Çpēnta." To "purify," birth, growth, body, strength, and riches in cattle, cannot be a correct rendering of the original. The whole is a prayer for production and increase; and the word rendered by "purify" must mean "augment." The "birth and growth," are not *of* the earth but *from* its womb or bosom.

The fragment concludes with this verse: "Go up to torment Kaquji, Ayêhyê, and the Jahi who is provided with Yatus." To "torment" everywhere represents a word that means to inflict disaster and cause calamity and suffering. And, to enable the Aryans so to punish and afflict their enemies, abundant supplies of food were indispensable. Hence the sun, moon and stars, one by impregnating the earth with light and heat, the second by increasing the cattle, and the stars by causing abundance

of water, would effectually aid the Aryans to "torment" the unbelieving tribes.

Fargard xxii. is also a fragment, derived, apparently, from the same source as Fargards *xx.* and *xxi.* The whole contents of it show its late origin. Haug says that "the three seem to have belonged, originally, to a medical book." The argument in this is, that Ahura, finding that Añra-Mainyus has created an immense number of diseases in the world, so informs Zarathustra, who applies to Mañthra-Çpēnta to heal its people, calling it also "Çaōka, good, created by Ahura Mazda," and promises it compensation in horses, camels, cattle and small cattle (sheep?), and with blessings, "which make want full, and fullness overflow; which bind the friend, and make the bond fast."

But Mañthra-Çpēnta declaring its inability to heal the people and avert all the diseases, Ahura sent Nairyō-Çaīha, the "assembler," to the abode of Airyama, with the same information, request and promises. Airyama also being called "Çaōka, good, created by Ahura, Pure." The message was repeated in full, and "the lusty Airyama, the desirable," hastened forth, to the mountain where the holy questions take place, bringing nine sorts of horses, camels, cattle and small cattle, and nine of willows, and drew nine circles.

All of which, if it means anything must mean that psalms and praises alone, without prayer and sacrifices, are not sufficient to relieve the land of fatal epidemic diseases. And here the Vendīdād abruptly terminates.

It is note-worthy here, that Añra-Mainyus is called "The Serpent." For from this, probably, came the later Hebrew notion, that the Devil, in the shape of a serpent, tempted Eve; which is not only not hinted, but expressly contradicted, by the original legend in the Book *Barasith*.

Sukha, in Sanskrit means "happy, agreeable, sweet, virtuous, pious, easy;" and, as a noun, "pleasure, alleviation, happiness, easiness;" whence *Saukhya*, i. e., *Sukha+ya*, "pleasure, happiness." *Çaōka* is not a name, because it is applied both to Mañthra-Çpēnta and Airyama; and it probably means "alleviator, giver of ease, solacer, consoler, comforter."

Nara, Sanskrit, "a man," "the eternal, the divine imperishable spirit pervading the Universe;" whence *narya* (Vedic), "manly." *Nârâyanâ*, probably *nara+âyana*, "the first living being, identified with Vishnû or Krišna, and a proper name."

Sana is a Vedic adjective, meaning "old, eternal."

In Zend, *Nar*, *Nairyâ* and *Nairô* all mean "man," and *nairi*, "a woman." I cannot find any evidence of *Nairyō-Çaīha* meaning "assembler," or "gatherer together." It seems more probable that it means primæval or eternal spirit, or being.

In Note 3 to *Fargard xxi.*, Spiegel says, *Baghô* = "God," seldom used in the Avesta, though frequent in the cuneiform inscriptions. In Huzvar-esh: १ ३. Compare Sanskrit "Bhaga," and Sclavonic "Bog." In Sanskrit, *bhaga*, i. e., *bhaj* and *bhañj+a*, is "the sun, Siva, divine power, fortune, virtue, beauty;" and *bhagâ*, fem., is "a favourite woman, a respectable mother." As a neuter, "fortune." In that Fargard it seems to be plural (the Baghas), and the air is said to have been created by them. It may mean "the Divine Potencies," and be merely a title of the Amêsha-Çpêntas.

The prayer contained in the last three verses of *Fargard xx.*, invoking the presence of "the wished Airyêmâ, the Desirable," is also the Airyama Ishyo of the Yaçna (*Yaç. liii.*); but in the latter, Spiegel and Bleeck translate the word by "obedience," and say that "in the Vendîdâd it is wrongly retained as a proper name."

The word would seem to be derived from the same root as Airyana (Vaêjâ) in the first Fargard, name of the original Aryan land.

Benfey gives us *Arya*, fem.; *aryâ* and *aryî*, a man or woman of the third caste; and *ârya*, fem., *Âryâ*, the original name of the race, and as meaning "respectable, venerable, apposite;" *Ârya-ka*, "a grandfather," *ârya-tâ*, "venerableness;" but none of these are Vedic meanings; nor does he give the derivative of either word. Eichoff gives us the root *Arh*, *pourvoir*, *prévaloir*, whence Greek *ἀρχω*, *ἀρκεω*, *ἀρχος*, *ἀρχων*. Sanskrit, *arhas*, *arhat*, "worthy, principal." Also *ri* and *rî*, "to go, attain," and thence *Aris*, warrior, Greek, *ἀρης*; *Aryas*, excellent, Greek, *ἀρεος*; also *aras*, iron; *arus*, wound.

The verb *ram* means "to rest, rejoice," whence *ramya*, "pleasing, agreeable, beautiful;" *ramaya*, "to exhilarate, to be delighted, rejoice;" *âram*, "to repose, to cease, to take pleasure;" *ârâma*, "pleasure."

The suffix *ma*, in Sanskrit and Zend, denotes the person or thing that completes the action expressed by the root, or on whom that action is accomplished. Thus, for example, in Sanskrit, *yudhmâ*, 'combatant, contest, arrow,' from *yudh*, 'to fight;' *idhma*, 'wood,' as being burned, *bhâma*, 'the sun,' as giving light, *çushma*, 'fever,' as drying. *Bopp, iii. §805.*

The suffix *na*, forms in a comparatively small number of cases, the perfect passive participle; and also from substantives forms, with the insertion of a conjunctive vowel, *i*, possessive adjectives. (*Id. §§836. 838.*) The suffix *ana* forms abstract substantives (e. g., *gâmana*, 'the going'), and also appellatives, neuter or masculine, as, e. g., *vadana*, 'mouth,' as speaking and sometimes with a passive signification, as *çâyana*, 'couch, bed,' and *âsana*, 'seat;' and in Zend *Kharanê*, 'sustenance,' as being eaten. (*Id. §932.*)

I think that *arya*, *ârya*, *airyana*, *airyêmâ* and *aiyama* are all from the old verb, *Argh* or *arh*, “to be worth, deserve, be entitled to, to be worthy, to be able, and to worship or honour,” or, if it is not the same at bottom, *arch*, “to beam, shine, worship, honour.” From the former are *arghya*, “deserving worship,” an oblation; *argha*, “price, cost, worship, oblation;” *arhaṇa*, “worship, adoration.”

I think that, however derived, as *Arya* means “respectable and venerable,” *Airyama* means “adoration by prayer and sacrifice;” and *Airyana*, “valued, esteemed, precious.”

I cannot learn the meaning of “the tree *Hvopâ*,” in the middle of the Sea Vouru-kasha. *Svap*, Sanskrit, is “to sleep;” and *svaṭpa*, “sleepiness, sleeping, ignorance, dream;” but this identity of letters does not prove the words to be the same.

Jahi, “the very hurtful,” may be from the Sanskrit, *jas* (Vedic) or *jash*; the latter meaning “to kill, wound;” the former, “to be exhausted,” causative, *jâsaya*, “to kill, strike.” The name is said to mean “killer of cattle.”

Apakaitṛi, Sanskrit, means “an injurer;” *apakarsha*, “determination;” *apakâra* “injury, malice;” *apakṛitya*, “injury;” *apakṛiya*, “a wrong act.” I can find no other derivative for *apakhtara*, “the north region.”

Khrafṣtra (a name or epithet of Daevas) is probably from the Sanskrit, *Kṛiç* (Vedic) “to become thin, to make thin,” caus., *Karçaya*, “to cause to become thin;” *Karçita*, “emaciated.”

Kshnôithni, an epithet of Ashis Vanuhi, may be from *Kshon̄î*, “the earth,” or *Kshaun̄î*, the same.

THE VISPERED.

The name *Visparad* (Zend, *vīçpē-ratavō*) means 'all heads.' It designates a collection of prayers, composed of twenty-three chapters. They are written in the usual Zend language, and bear, as to their contents, a great resemblance to the first part of the younger Yaçna. (*Haug.*)

The Vispered is not to be regarded as a distinct book from the Yaçna, as it consists merely of liturgical additions to it, and can never be recited alone. Its contents are almost exclusively invitations to Ahura Mazda, the good genii, and other 'Lords of Purity,' to be present at the ceremonies about to be performed. In fact, the meaning of '*Vispered*' appears to be 'all Lords,' or 'to all Lords,' 'invocations' being understood. (*Spiegel.*)

Portions of the Vispered are, according to the order in which the sacred writings are arranged in the Vendīdād-Sâdés, inserted in various places between the chapters of the Yaçna *i.* to *liii.* but the Fargards of the Vendīdād are inserted only between Chapters *xxviii.* to *liii.*

The Liturgy appears to have been recited, for the most part, by the priests alone, during the performance of certain religious ceremonies, the presence of the laity not being required.

The *Zaōta* was the chief priest, and the *Rathwi*, his subordinate.

Of the ceremonies, the principal were: 1. The consecration of the Zaōthra, or holy water: 2. The consecration of the Bâreçma, or bundle of twigs of a particular tree (either date, tamarisk or pomegranate): 3. The preparation and consecration of the Haöma: 4. The offering of the Draönas, or little round cakes, on which pieces of cooked flesh were placed, and after certain prayers, the whole was eaten by the priests. Fruits, butter, fresh milk and flesh were carried round the sacred fire, and after being shown to it, Dr. Haug says, were eaten by the priest, or by the man in whose favour the ceremony was performed. He adds *hair* to the list of articles so eaten, about which, one may be permitted to doubt.

The Vispered, though more modern than the first portion of the Yaçna, is older than the Yashts of the Khordah Avesta. The later Deities, greatly enlarged upon by modern fancy in the Yashts, are very briefly spoken of in the Vispered, which warrants us in expecting to find the ancient ideas less lost sight of or misunderstood in the latter than in the former. Many of the later myths and legends are developments of misunderstandings of figurative expressions in the older compositions, but many, also, are mere inventions, and the number of these myths and legends in the Zend and Parsi books is very small, compared with the immense number of those that in India, Greece and Rome grew out of misunderstood expressions in the Veda.

Vispered i. is an “invitation and announcement” to (the meaning of which in the original, I have already considered) various lords or chiefs, of the heavenly, the earthly, etc., the seasons or great festivals, named in Yaçna *i.*, prayers, the Gâthâs, etc., and the Ahurian question, custom, ruler and high-priest.

The words rendered “heavenly” and “earthly” here, are *mainyava* and *gaêthya*, and the former is rendered by Haug, by “the invisible, spiritual.” It rather means “the mental” or “intellectual.”

In verse 15, of Spiegel’s translation, we have:

‘The women who have a congregation of men of many kinds, created pure by Ahura Mazda, mistresses of purity.’ [Haug terms them] ‘the female genii (*ghena*), who give abundance of all things, and chiefly of posterity’ [and I imagine, he is nearer right than Spiegel, who says], ‘who these women were is not clear, nor what is meant by their possessing a congregation of men. The phrase is suggestive of a *male* seraglio, but polyandry was unknown to the Aryans.’

Gena or *Ghena*, in Zend, means ‘wife’ and ‘woman,’ Greek γυνή; Sanskrit, *jani*, ‘a woman’. [And the meaning of the verse no doubt is, ‘the wives, of the faithful, themselves pious, and having many male descendants.’]

Vispered ii. “wishes hither with praise” (*âyêcê yasti*), with Zaôthra and Bâreçma, the same lords and festivals, Ahura and Zarathustra, styling the former, “the heavenly Lord, Lord and Master of the heavenly creatures, of the heavenly creation,” and the latter, “the holy earthly Lord, the Lord and Master of the earthly creatures, of the earthly creation,” i. e., of course, of the Aryan land and people, over which and whom he was king. The heavenly creation is all the productions of the Divine Mind or Intellect.

Among others, whose presence is desired, he is mentioned,

Who thinks on the Lord, the pure man who holds fast, the well-thinking in thoughts, speech, works, who holds fast Çpênta-Armaiti, namely, the Mañthra of the profiting, and through whose deeds, the worlds of the pure increase;

i. e., he who acts as his ruler desires, and thinks, speaks and acts loyally, serving Çpênta-Armaiti (cultivating the fertile land, whereby she gives him its fruits), which is the devotion and worship of those who labour and cause the land to prosper.

[In v. 17], ‘The women, the good goddesses, who are descended from a good father, the well-grown’ [are wished for]. Spiegel says, ‘Who these women are is not known. The “good father” may, perhaps, signify Hormazd.’

The women are simply the Aryan wives and mothers, descended from good ancestors, and “well-grown,” or “well-increased” (which Spiegel says, “is the literal meaning of the Zend word,” though he substitutes “beauti-

ful"), means precisely what was meant by "having a large congregation of men," in the first chapter, i. e., having many children or descendants. As to the word rendered by "goddesses," it must mean house-wives, mistresses of the household.

"Victory created by Ahura," i. e., the triumph of the Aryan arms, and "the blow which springs from above," i. e., defeat of the enemy by the Divine Power, are praised, and the dwelling (house), "provided with fodder, the well-created fodder for the cow," and "the cattle-breeding man." And here, we learn what "well-created" means, for "well-created fodder" must be fodder or grain produced by the Divine Beneficence. And as "cow" means cattle, so "man" means men or persons.

Vispered iii. This chapter has no immediate connection with the preceding, but is recited at the Haōma-offering. The first verse is spoken by the *Zaōta*, the second by the *Raçpi* (*Rathwi*), and so on, alternately, to verse 16, after which both priests speak together. (*Haug.*)

In this chapter, the various priests are desired to be present, the soldiers, husbandmen, etc., the furtherers of the region (those who improve it and make it prosperous), the willing worshippers, etc. Among others, those who have married among kindred, on which Spiegel says:

Marriages among relatives has always been accounted praiseworthy among the Parsees. In the ancient times, it was even permitted for brothers to marry sisters. Diogenes Laertius says that the Persians held it lawful *μητρὶ ή θυγατρὶ μίγνυσθαι*. Strabo makes similar assertions.

I doubt whether the practice, if it prevailed in later days, did not arise out of a misunderstanding of the ancient expressions. "Kindred" were all the Aryans, for they were all children of Ahura.

The mistresses of the houses are desired, the women who think, speak and do good, let themselves be commanded, and obey their husbands, the Aryans. And it is added, "Çpenta-Armaiti, and who are Thy women, O Ahura Mazda." Spiegel inserts "besides" after "who." I think the meaning is, "and who are the women of Çpēnta-Armaiti and of Thee;" i. e., industrious or fruitful and obedient to the divine law.

Vispered iv. contains, in five short lines, the promise of the *Zaōta* to perform his priestly duties.

Vispered v. praises what is thought in the soul, and the good knowledge, holiness, wisdom and steadfastness.

These praise it in the time, at the periods of time [these verses, Spiegel says, are extremely difficult and obscure]: To protect the cattle, the followers of Zārathustra, to them, we make it known as at the right time for the Myazda, as the right time for prayer, to the whole world of the pure [i. e., all pious Aryans],

etc. 'In the time' probably means 'at the proper time of the day,' and 'at the periods of time,' 'at the set seasons and festivals.'

vi. In this, the Zaōta does homage to the Amēsha-Çpēntas, as singer and speaker of praises and glorifier, and to them gives the soul from his body, i. e., in their service, is ready to offer up his life.

vii. He invokes and praises them.

viii. The right-spoken words (prayers) are praised; Çraōsha, Nairyō-çāñha, the Fravashis of the pious, the bridge Chinvat, Garo-nmanem, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda ("the Mountain of Worship.") Compare the Holy Mountain of Zion, and the Shekinah, or *Deus cohabitans*, "dwelling in the Holy of Holies"); "the best place of the pure, shining, wholly brilliant" (the fertile region of Arya-land, with fine climate and rich in products),

the best arriving at Paradise [safe emigration thither]; Arstāt, the good-spreading of the world, and its increase and profit, [i. e., the extension of Aryan settlements, their prosperity and abundant harvests], Rashnu-razista, the friendly Pârēndi, the manly strength, which thinks on men and mankind, and is swifter than the swift and stronger than the strong;

i. e., the divine strength imparted to men, and which makes them swift to march and strong to fight. The warlike qualities of men are thus conceived of as divine power, divine might, coming to men and becoming theirs,

which comes to him as something given by the Gods [*baghō-bakhta*]; sleep, the Sea Vouru-kasha, fire, and the navel of the waters, and Nairyō-çāñha.

ix. Through these words mediate, through the words of this combat, Thou art Ahura Mazda, the pure, with the Yazatas and Amēsha-Çpēntas, with fifty, hundreds, thousands, innumerable and more. The kingdom to the best ruler, for whose sake we give, bestow, offer this to Ahura Mazda.

This seems to be a prayer to Ahura to intervene in the struggle against the unbelievers, by the words which the priest utters—with a host of the Yazatas, and so to give regal power to Zarathustra, and it seems, therefore, to be a fragment of an invocation of his time, rendered into the modern language.

x. follows *Yaçna xxi.*, declaring the Haōmas and Zaōthras uplifted on high,

for the serviceable pure and worshippers, for the Mazdayaçnian law, etc., for the good blessing against the Drukhs and Daevas [for success against them]; the Haōmas uplifted, announced, prepared, etc., for the strong Yazatas, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, endowed with good rule, etc., who dwell together with Vohû-Manô and the female ones also; to Haurvat and Amērētât, the body and life of the cattle, etc.

xi. "Desires with praise" for the several Kareshvares, the mortars, etc., used in sacrificing, for the Ahuna Vairya, and the continuance of the Mazdayaçnian law.

xii. offers the Haöma to Ahura Mazda, and makes them known (displays them), to the Amësha-Çpëntas, the good waters, the souls of the worshippers, and the whole Aryan people, with the flesh for the offering, and the Haöma-water (juice), the bareçma, recitations, Gâthâs and prayers, wood for the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, and these are offered to Ahura Mazda, Çraošha, Rashnu, Mithra, the Amësha-Çpëntas, etc., to the Amësha-Çpëntas,

the good rulers, the wise, which are hereafter to be created, hereafter to be formed, by Vohû-Manô.

Spiegel says, of this:

Although Vohû-Manô is the highest of the creatures of Ahura Mazda, it is nowhere said that he, himself, has the power of creating. Therefore, the participle which is literally translated, as usual, 'by,' ought probably to be rendered 'like.'

I think that the text is corrupted. There are no Amësha-Çpëntas hereafter to be created or formed by Vohû-Manô. There is not a hint to that effect anywhere, nor that any new ones are to be created *like* him. The passage should read:

We make these Haömas, etc., known to the Amësha-Çpëntas, the good rulers and wise, and those Haömas, prayers, etc., that shall hereafter be inspired and formed by Vohû-Manô;

to whose inspiration was considered to be owing, not the prayers and hymns only, but the very implements of the sacrifice. He created and formed all, because they were works of the mind, intellect and ingenuity of man, all which were his own, *in* man.

The residue of the chapter recites the good results expected from, or desired to be attained by the offering, and again announces and makes them known.

xiii. continues the same subject, in seven unimportant verses.

xiv. is recited while the Haöma is being prepared, and consists of prayers for benefits, to the worshippers individually, the dwelling, clan, race and region.

xv. praises Ahura Mazda, and the Mañthras, Hâs and prayers.

xvi. and *xvii.* follow *Yaçna xxxiv.*, and direct the recitation of prayers, questions, etc., "that are according to the wisdom of Ahura," i. e., that emanate from it, and are published by Him, expressions of His will, rule

and supremacy, to be repeated from memory, "for increase for the believing mind," and this is followed by praises of the prayer, Ahuna Vairyā, the Gāthā Ahuna-Vaiti, and the Hâs.

xviii. is an exhortation addressed to the people, to keep their feet, hands and understanding ready for the performance of good works, according to the law of the Commandment, for the avoidance of unlawful, forbidden, wicked works [irreligious, as contrary to the divine teachings of the Mazdayānian law or religious doctrine, forbidden by it, and impious].

Accomplish good deeds here; afford help to the helpless [by which is probably meant more than the words seem to mean, to-wit], render good service to the country, and assist the poor and oppressed people of the land.

The residue of the chapter prays to be heard,

for the offering of Ahura, through the recitations of the Yaçna Haptanhaiti, for the praise of the Fire, etc.

xix. praises the Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda; the descendants of the Fire, the Yazatas, the descendants of the Fire, those sojourning in the (dwelling) of Rashnu; the Fravashis of the faithful, of Zarathustra and the pure women, what Ahura recognizes as good in the offering, whose Lord and Master, Zarathustra is.

The translation makes it uncertain *whose* chief and ruler he is. Probably there is corruption or transposition in the text, or error in translation, and they are the believers, male and female, the Aryans.

xx., xxi. One of these contains nothing; the other, only a few praises.

xxii. This commences thus:

'Holy! (*çpēntem*) we praise Ahura Mazda. Holy! We praise the Amēsha-Çpēnta. Holy! We praise the pure men.' [And Spiegel says that] *çpēntem* is used here, like *Usta*, 'hail!' In remembrance of the Gāthā Çpēnta-Mainyûs, in praise of which this invocation is recited.

Çpēntem is in the accusative, and, therefore, *not* an interjection like *Usta!* The Gāthā Çpēnta Mainyû begins with the words, "through the Holiest Spirit," and *Çpēntem* may be the first word in the sentence. If not, it was the first of some prayer or invocation, which was here to be repeated in full.

Next, 'the fore-knowledge' is praised. 'That is [Spiegel says] the seeing beforehand the consequences of one's actions. It is a characteristic of Añra-Mainyûs, that he never sees consequences, until too late.'

Other passages lead me to believe that by "foreknowledge" here is intended that sagacity, imparted by Vohû-Manô, which enables men to foresee the results of military movements and other actions and measures.

Then Çpēnta-Armaiti is praised, and the creatures created by the Holy One (Çpēnta-Mainyûs),

the pure, the first after the understanding among the pure creatures, the all-knowing understanding, Ahura-Mazda. [And, in verse 11], 'Wisdom we praise, and Çpēnta-Armaiti by her creation and of the Asha, the pure, and the first creatures in purity.'

The "pure creatures," and "first creatures in purity," here, are neither the Amēsha-Çpēntas nor men, but the utterances and productions of the Divine Intellect, the prayers and Mañthras. The first of these "creatures" was the prayer, Ahuna-Vairyā. And "the first after the understanding" meant those *immediately* dictated by the Divine Intellect and Wisdom.

xxiii. to *xxvii.* These are very short, and consist of praises only, mere repetitions of those in other chapters, and needing no notice. And these conclude the Vispered.

THE KHORDAH AVESTA.

The Khordah Avesta (Little Avesta) consists, for the most part, of prayers and the Yashts. The word *Yasht* (*Yēsti*) means, according to Spiegel, "invocations," and according to Haug, "worship by prayers and sacrifices." *Yaksh*, Sanskrit, is "to worship, to honour," and *yaj*, "to sacrifice, to worship, to inaugurate, to give." Its perfect participle is *ishta*; infinitive., *yashṭum*, whence *yashṭri*, "a sacrificer."

[Spiegel says], The Khordah-Avesta was intended for the use of the laity, and all the daily prayers are contained in it. Of these prayers, the greater part are in the same language as the rest of the Avesta—not unfrequently, indeed, consisting of extracts from different chapters of the Yaçna.

Many are in Parsi, and consequently modern. These I shall not notice.

The pieces that precede the Yashts are: 1. The prayer, *Ashem Vohū*: 2. The prayer, *Ahuna Vairyā*, or *Yathā Ahū Vairyō*. 3. A prayer in Parsi. 4. *Nirang Kuçtī* (recited during the binding on of the *Kuçti*, or religious girdle of the Parsees, which must be bound and unbound many times daily, and always with the recitation of prayers. It is a small woven cord of white wool, long enough to go round the body three times. Men and women alike wear it, and children after they attain their seventh year). 5. *Çros-Vâj*. 6. *Hos-Baím* (prayer at morning-dawn). 7. *Qarsét-Nyâyis*. 8. *Mihr-Nyâyis* (praises of Mithra). 9. *Mâh-Nyâyis* (praises of the moon). 10. *Nyâyis-Ardvîçur*: 11. *Âtas-Behrâm-Nyâyis* (praises of the fire). 12. *Nirang-Âtas*. 13. *Viçpa-humata*. 14. *Naím-ctaisni* (in Parsi). 15. Prayer to the four quarters. 16. The five Gâhs, *Havan*, *Rapitan*, *Uzîren*, *Aiwicrûthrêma* and *Usahin*. These are prayers that belong to the different subdivisions of the day and night. After these, the *Yashts* follow, beginning with the *Ormazd* Yasht, and ending with the *Vanañt* Yasht. Four fragments follow: The first, a conversation between Zarathustra and Ahura Mazda, as to the value of the prayer, Ashem-Vohû. Second, of the disposal of souls after death. Third, four verses, of which the first and second are:

Creator, whence are here the souls of the deceased, the Fravashis of the pure?
Then answered Ahura Mazda: From Çpênta-Mainyû is their origin, from
Vohû-Manô.

The other two are from *Fargard xviii.*, and in regard to the bird, *Parodars*, and *Bushyança* with long hands from the north region, urging men to continue to sleep after cock-crowing.

Then follow, the *Âferîn Paigambar Zartusht*, an address of good wishes by Zarathustra to Kavi Vistaçpa: *Afrigân Gahanbâr*: *Afrigân Gâthâ*, and *Afrigân Rapithwin*, and, last, the two parts of the *Sirozah*, or "thirty days," each part containing thirty short invocations, one for each day in the month.

Spiegel says, of the Yashts,

Addressed to the good genii (but which are addressed also to Ahura Mazda Himself, to stars, the sun, the water-goddess, etc.), that they are, in some respects, the most interesting of the Zend writings. They contain numerous legends belonging to pre-historic times, and constitute the principal source of our information respecting the old Iranian mythology. Most of them are found in Firdûsi, but both the names and the circumstances have undergone some little alteration in their poetical form, which is not surprising, when we consider the length of time which elapsed between the composition of the legends in the old Iranian language, and their reproduction by the Persian poet. A few of the legends occur also in the Vendîdâd and Yaçna, but the accounts there given are much shorter than those in the Khordah-Avesta.

[Haug says that] each Yasht is devoted to the adoration of one divine being only, or of a certain limited class, in which respect, they differ from the prayers of the Yaçna and Vispered. The devotee endeavoured, by means of all the glorious feats, achieved by the respective angel, and the miracles wrought by him, to induce him to come and enjoy the meal that is prepared for him, and then to bestow a similar blessing upon the present worshipper, as had been bestowed by the angel upon his devotees in ancient times.

These praises are often highly poetical, and on a close inquiry, we find them to contain really, in several cases, metrical verses. They are to be traced to the songs of the Median bards, who are mentioned by Grecian historians, and the primary sources of the legends contained in the Shâhnâmah. For the legendary history of the ancient Iranians, and chiefly for a critical inquiry into the celebrated Shâhnâmah, the Yashts are the most important pieces of the Zend-Avesta.

Nyâyish, Haug says, are "praises." In Sanskrit, *Nyâya* is "rule, method, manner, judgment, a syllogism." Whence the *Nyâya* doctrine is so named, as consisting principally of logic. Probably *Nyâyis*, in Zend, meant simply "formulas."

The *Afrigans* [he says] were blessings, recited over a meal, of wine, milk, bread, fruits, etc., to which an angel or a deceased is invited, in whose honour the meal was prepared. After the consecration, which only a priest can perform, is over, the meal is then taken by those who are invited.

[And] the five Gâhs are the prayers devoted to the several angels who preside over the five parts into which day and night are divided.

I do not propose to go over, in succession, the different portions of the Khordah Avesta, but to inquire what they contain in regard to Ahura Mazda (connecting what is said in them with cognate passages of the

other books), and to the principal and most important of the other ideal beings that were objects of worship and veneration in the time of Zarathustra, and in the days after his, which were yet of the ancient ages of Irano-Aryan existence. We shall find, I think, that many of the ancient ideas reappear in the later books, enabling us more fully to understand the thought of Zarathustra himself. The original conceptions embodied in the Amēsha-Çpēntas and other personifications underwent, indeed, very little change during many ages. In effect, they survive to this day in the Hebraic Kabalah, which, ages after the captivity of the Hebrews, when they were subjugated by those who, in their turn, were conquered by the Medo-Aryans, reproduced the emanation theory, and other notions and conceptions, that had, at that earlier day, been transplanted from the Aryan into the Hebrew mind (together with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul), and shaped these into a peculiar philosophy, of which there is not the least trace in any of the canonical Hebrew books.

AHURA MAZDA.

The Fire is "the Son of Ahura Mazda," i. e., issues or emanates from Him, and the Yazatas, or adorable ones, are called in Vispered *xix*. "the descendants of the Fire."

We find in the Zend-Avesta, no definitions of Ahura-Mazda, no discussions as to His nature, no legends in which He plays a part. He is not invested with the form, the passions or the affections of humanity. He speaks to Zarathustra, but He is not visible to him. He acts and speaks through the Amēsha-Çpēntas. He is the Creator, wise and beneficent, but He creates by them, and His wisdom and beneficence are personified by them. He is just and true, omnipotent and omniscient, and His justice, truth, all-might and all-knowledge are His emanations.

"Through my wisdom," He says to Zarathustra, in the Ormazd-Yasht, "through which was the beginning of the world, so also its end shall be." From His understanding, the Mañthra-Çpēnta proceeds, and the potent superiority of the Aryan race. The God of the creed of Zarathustra was veritably displayed and acted, in nature and man.

Among the names whereby He tells Zarathustra, in this Yasht, that He is called, are:

All' good things created by Mazda, that have a pure origin; the Understanding; the Endowed with Understanding; Wisdom; the Endowed with Wisdom [i. e., He is Himself wisdom and understanding, and has them for His emanations and agents]; the All-observing; the Healing; the Creator; the Nourisher; the Knowing; the Priest; Ahura; Mazda; the Absolute Ruler; the All-Majestic; the All-smiting and All-creating; the Strong; the Great; the Most Kingly; the Well-wisest and the Far-seeing.

He comes to His servants for protection and joy, and promises Zarathustra that he shall conquer the Drukhs, and the passages in this Yasht, in regard to that, show that there are incorporated in it portions of a composition of the time of Zarathustra himself.

In the Sirozah (*Kh. Av. xliv.*), He is called the strong, majestic, the creator of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, of the water, mountains, and the stars Vañant and Haptô-Iriñga, "which proceed from Mazda," although, elsewhere, the stars are called "self-created" and "without beginning," and in the Sirozah itself, "the lights without a beginning, which follow their own law." Though created by Him, they proceed from Him, as the emanations do, and like the emanations, they are immortal, as He is, for, as He never began to exist, so He never began to *create*. To *think*, with Him, is to *create*, and being, mind, intellect, wisdom, He never *was*, nor

could be, without thought; to think, to exist, and to create, are with Him one and the same.

Benfey gives the Sanskrit verb, *AS*, as three different words:

1. 'To be, to exist;' 2. 'To throw, to leave,' and 3, as the same with *ASH*, 'to go, take, and to shine.'

Eichoff (*Parallele des Langues*) gives *Ash*, with the meaning of *briller*, *bruler*, "to shine, to burn," and thence the Greek $\alpha\omega$, $\alpha\xi\omega$; Latin *asso*; Sanskrit *âśtran*, "light"; Greek $\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\nu$; Latin, *astrum*.

The original meaning of *Asura*, Sanskrit, is "eternal." It means that in *Rigv. i. 64, 2.*

Uru is the same as *vri+u*, and *Uras* as *vri+as*, and *vri* and *vri* mean "to guard by covering, to screen, to cover, to conceal."

"In Him was Life, and that Life was the Light of men." The Very Deity, in the Kabalah, is the Perfectly Hidden and Concealed Light. The Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria says (*Tractatus i. of the Book Druschim, or Metaphysical Introduction to the Kabalah, Chap. i.*)

The light, supremest of all things and most lofty and limitless, and styled Infinite, can be attained unto by no cogitation or speculation, and its Very Self is evidently withdrawn and removed beyond all intellection. IT WAS, before all things whatever, produced, created, formed and made, by emanation, and in IT was neither time, head nor beginning, since IT always existed, and remains forever, without commencement or end.

I think that *Ahura* meant, therefore, both "The Eternal Living One, and The Most Concealed Light."

And from *Mah* (the original form of which was *Magh*, "to be great, powerful"), "to adore, honour," we have *Maha*, "great" and "light," and *Mahas*, "light, lustre" (*Rigv. vi. 64, 2*); *Mahasa*, "knowledge," *Mahiman*, "majesty." And the fact that *Mahas* and *Maha*, changing to *Mazda* in Zend, mean "light," as well as "great" and "excellent," explains why neither *Ahura* nor *Mazda* is an adjective, but both are nouns, and the Deity is styled, indifferently, *Ahura Mazda*, *Mazda Ahura*, *Ahura* and *Mazda*.

The number of names of *Ahura Mazda*, given in the *Ormazd-Yasht*, is seventy-five. But most of the manuscripts omit the name, "Endowed with very great Majesty," and the thirteenth and eighteenth names are repeated in verses 14 and 22. This leaves seventy-two, which, according to the Parsees, it should be. And it is curious that this is the number of the words of the Hebrew *Shem Hammephorash*, or "Great Name,"

whence was derived the knowledge of seventy-two attributes of God, and of seventy-two angels who surrounded His Throne.

And the name which we erroneously read "Jehovah" was also made by the numerical value of the four letters composing it, thus arranged,

ל	.	.	.	.	.	10
ה	.	.	.	.	.	15
ה	ר	.	.	.	.	21
ה	ד	ה	.	.	.	26

to produce the same number, seventy-two.

The fact that in both the ancient and later writings, a Fravashi is assigned to Ahura Mazda, shows how little has hitherto been known of the true Zarathustrian conceptions in regard to Him.

I do not find in the Zend-Avesta any hint of the origin of Ahura Mazda Himself, in the Infinite Time (*Zarvane acareno*), or of the pre-existence of His Fravashi.

As to the nature of the Fravashis, I will inquire hereafter.

The creed of Zarathustra was eminently a religious one. Devotion and worship are constantly inculcated, and were regarded as divine forces and powers. The Holy Word (*Manthra-Çpēnta*, prayer, as the unity that includes all prayers) is "the body of the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda," and of Çpēnta-Mainyū. It is prayer that wins victories, restores peace, makes abundance. Çraošha, sleepless, watchfully protects the creatures of Ahura Mazda, the Aryans. He

no more sleeps softly since the two Heavenly Beings, Çpēnta-Mainyūs and Añra-Mainyūs, have created the world, because he is resolute to protect the land of Iran, and wars day and night with the Mazanian Daevas, conquering and converting them.

When Zarathustra, in the Gâthâ Ustvaiti, imputes to Ahura Mazda the creation of all pure creatures, and the sustaining of the universe, the making of light and darkness, the dawns, noons and nights, the love of father for son, he asks also how he shall maintain for himself, the religious faith, which the Divine Wisdom, Vohû-Manô, teaches; the cow that continually made prosperous the Aryan realms; and how he should, by piety, make himself worthy of reward.

The ideas of Paul, as to the absolute omnipotence and sufficiency for salvation, of faith in Christ, without works, went beyond those of Zarathustra, who by no means considered faith as enough, without works in maintenance of it. "Purity" was not faith or doctrine alone. It included thoughts, words and works. It is true that the works were chiefly of a devotional and warlike nature, and that Paul evidently deemed it meritorious to be persecuted for his faith, and did inculcate good morals and purity of life and conduct.

Paul wrote to the faithful, who inhabited great, rich and luxurious cities, swarming with all the vices and spoiled by all the luxuries of a long civilization. Zarathustra addressed a hardy, rugged, simple and frugal people, of soldiers, herdsmen and farmers. And the teachings of the two, nevertheless, agree in this, that they considered the faith and the works in maintenance and extension of the faith, to be the only true excellence, and the only valid title to success, prosperity, and the favour of the Deity. In all that, and in regard to the efficacy of prayer, and the nature of the Deity, one religion is but the other re-produced. Ours owes nothing to Semitism, but a few names and phrases.

Añra-Mainyus is not represented as a fallen angel or spirit, nor as created by Ahura Mazda. He and Çpënta-Mainyû are co-eternal, but He and His emanations are always represented as overcome by the good. Dr. Haug thinks that "Ahura Mazda is the Absolute Unity, from which both Çpënta and Añra-Mainyûs proceeded." But the ideas of Zarathustra were clear and precise enough. Ahura was the Absolute and Perfect Light, Life and the Good and True. Zarathustra did not conceive of darkness emanating from light, for that which *is* the emanant, emanates from itself, nor of death as emanating from or produced by life; nor of evil as emanating from, flowing out of perfect good; nor of falsehood flowing out of the perfect truth.

But the *absence* of the light *occasions* and *is* the darkness, and Zarathustra did not conceive of Ahura Mazda as *creating* this darkness, which was the absence of Himself or of His effluence. By withdrawing Himself and His out-flowing, He gave occasion for the darkness, which thus existed co-eternally with Himself, and uncreated like Himself, the twin of Çpënta-Mainyû, but not of the same Father.

So he deemed evil, death, and falsehood, to be but the absence and non-existence of good, life and truth. If Ahura had *created* the light, or if His own existence (He being the hidden light) had had a beginning, there would have been eternal pre-existence of darkness, not His creature, but independent of Him and self-existent. Nothing is clearer than that, if there had never been light, darkness would always have existed, without beginning, and that if light and Ahura were to cease to exist, darkness would continue to be, without end. We can no more conceive of it, than of space and nothingness ceasing to exist, or to *be*.

Ahura Mazda is a merciful and beneficent Deity. He does not, like the Yehuah of the Hebrews, slaughter His own people by tens of thousands, for small offences, complainings and discontent. He tempts none, nor hardens the heart of any one that He may have reason and cause to punish him. He is never represented as angry, jealous or vindictive. The smell of blood is not sweet in His nostrils. The unbelievers, Drukhs and

Turanians, are creatures of the Daevas and of Añra-Mainyûs, and He smites them in battle, but He does not order the murdering of women and children, and the conversion of these infidels is more desired than their destruction. He even empowers and advises Zarathustra to settle unbelievers in the conquered country, that it may be improved, and we find the Fravashis of Turanians praised among the Aryans.

The Zend-Avesta nowhere revels in descriptions of the horrid atrocities of a merciless barbarism, or of the miseries and agonies of the enemies of Zarathustra's God. It could truly have been said of Ahura, "He is a Spirit, and those who worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and truth."

He was a spiritual God, a pure spirit, and this expression represents the same idea, with the same vagueness, to us, as the original did to Zarathustra. Of course, he could not define spirit. In one sense, it is a word that expresses only negatives. But He was power, wisdom, beneficence, dominion, life, health, and the power of production, and then, as now, He was, while profoundly hidden in the inscrutable mystery of His nature, represented to the Aryan mind by these attributes, which it personified.

Of idol-worship, and the deification of men, we find no trace; nor does there seem to have been, in the original Zarathustrian faith, any worship of the sun, moon or stars. Mithra was not then the sun. It was not attempted to make images of a being conceived of as perfectly spiritual, as light not cognizable by the senses nor attainable unto by the intellect. It was as impossible as it would have been to represent by a visible image, the Ainsoph of the Kabalah, or the Father or Buthos of the Gnostics. Nor could any be made of the Amësha-Çpëntas, that were but His names, powers and attributes personified—rays, emanating and radiating from the hidden infinite and uncognizable light.

Neither was there any conception of Him as of male and female nature, to create in later days an obscene worship like that of the Lingam. To that, the emanation doctrine is utterly opposed.

ÇPĒNTA-MAINYÛ.

I have already spoken of Dr. Haug's ideas in regard to Çpēnta-Mainyû. It is to be noted, first, the Çpēnta-Mainyû is not one of the seventy-two names ascribed to Himself by Ahura Mazda in the Ormazd-Yasht; and, second, that in the Farvardin-Yasht, it is said of the Amēsha-Çpēntas or their Fravashis, "who are all seven of like mind, of like-speech, like-acting;" and that the same is repeated in the Zamyad-Yasht. Being seven in number, either Çpēnta-Mainyû or Çraōsha must be one of them; and that Çraōsha is not, I hold to be absolutely certain. Worship or devotion is not an attribute of the Deity, nor an emanation from Him.

Çpēnta-Mainyû is so named in the Gâthâs, apparently as a mere name of Ahura Mazda, as to cause me to conclude that they were absolutely identical. Nor is Çpēnta-Mainyû ever *called* an Amēsha-Çpēnta.

The Kabalistic idea as to the first originated, may serve to explain this. The Rabbi Cohen Irira, in the *Porta Cælorum*, demonstrates by thirteen reasons, "that from the first cause, or first principle, or origin, there immediately emanated only a single originated [*Principiatum*]," which the Rabbi Jitzchaq Loria, following in the footsteps of that great luminary of the law, Rabbi Schimeon ben Jochäi, in the Book Sohar, called *Adam Kadmon*, "the primal man" (or individuality); and which the still earlier Kabalists called *Kether Aliun*, "the Highest Crown" (or Circle), *Corona Summa*.

[The first reason is]: Because from one, as one, one only emanates; and from the same, always remaining in its own same identity, nothing but the same can proceed. Hence, from that one simple existence, by a single act, that act not in any wise severed from himself, nothing can emanate but a single originated Nor does he use various instruments and diverse media; because neither had there become, before the first originated, which is the instrument and medium as to all subsequent originates, any other medium or instrument; nor was there any after it, besides the origin himself, unoriginated [*Principium ipsum sine principio*], from whom immediately emanated this first originated, which, after its emanation is the medium to all other originates.

The fifth reason, after showing that every manifold is reducible to some unity; and that the higher unity embraces the multitude of specific forms in itself, and emits and produces them outwardly from itself; as all heat and light may be reduced to the primal heat and light, and all souls to one primal and perfect soul, all intelligences to the first and perfect intellect; and all this manifold and unity to the first and perfect Unity, proceeds to argue that:

they are subordinate and subject to the first and perfect originate, which, because it also is generically the same, is the determination and measure of the others, the which, the nearer they approach to it; or the more remote they are from it, are thereby more perfect or imperfect, and in the same proportion have more or less in common with it, are more or less *like* it. Hence results the existence of a Primal Unity, one, extremely perfect, but emanate, to which all else is referable, emanations as well as numbers.

[The thirteenth argues], This originate has the most perfect similitude to the first cause; for else that first cause would not have attained the end aimed at by every Efficient, to-wit, that it strives to make its effect in every possible mode like unto itself; nor would the power and most lofty and admirable majesty of the cause be in the highest degree possible displayed and manifested in the first originate that first and perfect originate, proceeding from the cause uncaused by any other, from the cause of all causes, and origin of all origins; and which originate is yet itself, by its unshared potency and excellence, the cause of inferior causes, but not of *all* causes, as if infinite; for then it would be the cause of *Itself*. And although it is the cause of the causes that succeed it, and follow each other in due gradation under it, still it is also causate or originate. . . . It is itself one and perfect, from one who is perfect; and it contains within itself, and projects out of itself, by the virtue of its cause, through which it exists and operates, whatever is contained in the five systems

[And, in *Dissert. ii.*:] Whence that appears, to which we and all the Kabalists agree; that one originated person be admitted, the only highest, immediately proximate to the first cause, emanated with every possible perfection; and that IT is the cause, through the power of the infinite, of all inferior existences.

And the same thing is expressed by the Apostle John, in the sentence:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made.

And, as all the Sephiroth below Kether were contained in and proceeded forth from Him; so the other six Amēsha-Çpēntas were contained in and proceed forth from Çpēnta-Mainyû.

In the Farvardin-Yasht, Çpēnta-Mainyû upholds the heaven, the water, the earth, the trees, the children in the womb; and the Fravashis of the pure uphold Him. And in the same (v. 76), it is said of the Fravashis:

Who at that time stood on high, when the two Heavenly Ones created the creatures; the Holy Spirit and the Evil.

In the Ram-Yasht:

I bear the name Air, because I lead away (*vayēmi*), the creatures, both those which Çpēnta-Mainyus has created, and those which Añra-Mainyus has created.

In the Zamyad Yasht, Çnāvidhaka is represented as saying:

'I will lead away Çpēnta-Mainyû from the shining Garô-nemâna. I will make Añra-Mainyus ascend from the bad hell.' And 'the strong kingly majesty' [is

praised], 'in which Çpēnta-Mainyus and Añra-Mainyus viewed themselves. In this each of the twain plunged his imperishable, very swift limbs. Çpēnta-Mainyus drew through the body [or perhaps, 'caused them to draw their bodies through.' The Zend is *astēm frañharēchayat*. *Sp.*] of Vohū-Manō and Asha Vahista and the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, Añra-Mainyus drew through the body of Akōmanō and Aeshma with frightful weapons, and Azhi Dahâka and Çptyura, the cutter-to-pieces of Yima.

"Drew through the body of Vohū-Manō," is nonsense so indefensible that I wonder Spiegel should not have looked more carefully into the meaning of the Zend phrase.

Bopp (§1009) speaking of prepositions used as prefixes, says:

Prā (insep.) formed by a very ancient syncope from *para*, means 'before, in front, forwards, forth.' To it corresponds, in Zend *fra* or *frā*; in Greek πρὸ; in Latin *prō*; in Lithuanian, *pra* (insep.) 'before'; in Slavonic, *pra-*, *pro-*; in Gothic, perhaps *fra-*, our *ver*; in old High German, *fra*, transposed *far*, *for*, *fir*, *fēr*; [and, in note], If we take *frā* as the ancient form, we will recognize in it an instrumental, as in the Sanskrit, *pra*. [Benfey gives], *Pra*, prep., 'before, forward, away, pre-eminent, excessive, beginning.' And, *pras*, 'to extend, to bring forth;' whence *prasara*, i. e., *pra+sri+a*, 'who or what proceeds, going forward, etc.'; *prasava*, 'bringing forth'; *prasavite*, 'a father'; *prasū*, 'a mother, a mare'; *prasūti*, 'bringing forth'; *prāna*, i. e., *pra+an+a*, 'breath, air, wind, a vital organ, one of the five vital airs, the Supreme Spirit.'

Harech, in Zend, means 'to emit, to pour.' I find no other meaning ascribed to it. Causal forms, in the Zend, are formed exactly in the same manner as in Sanskrit, by lengthening the vowel of the root, and adding the syllable *aya*; example, *vī-shāvayat*, 'he made go asunder,' from *shu*, 'to run, to go;' *ava-çtayat*, 'he fixed, established,' from *çtā*, 'to stand.' (Haug. Essays, 60.)

[Bopp says, §109a. 6] that the tenth class of verbs adds *aya* to the root, and that all causals follow this class; and, indeed, from every root a causal can be formed by the addition *ay*, as in *Vēd-aya-ti*, 'he makes to know,' from *vid*; *śrāv-aya-ti*, 'he makes to hear,' from *śru*. And [§739], the Sanscrit and Zend causal is, in its formative character, identical with that of the verbs of the tenth class, as in *Kārayāmi*, 'I cause to make;' and in Zend, *grāvayēmi*, 'I make to hear.'

[From *sri*, Sansk.], 'to flow or flow to, to blow, to go to;' [caus.] 'to extend;' with *pra*, 'to proceed, pass, break forth, extend' [caus.], 'to stretch forward or out;' are *sara* (adj.) 'who or what goes, going;' *saraka*, 'going, moving;' *sarat* 'air, wind;' [participle *Sarant*, 'flowing']; *sari*, 'a water-fall;' *sarit*, 'a river' [and hence, in Zend (the Sansk. *s*, commonly changing into *h*)], *harech*, 'to emit, pour, pour out;' [and the causative] *harēchayat*, 'he poured out, emitted, made to flow or flow out.'

Açtem is the accusative of *açti*, "being, existence;" and, derivatively, as existing, "body." Of course the original meaning is correct.

This is enough to know, that instead of "drew through the body," *Astem frañharēchayat* means "spiritually sent forth or emitted being into;" for I do not find that either *pra* in Sanskrit or *fra* in Zend takes *n* as a suffix in composition; and I take *fran* to represent the Sanskrit *prana*. The

meaning is thus clear that from Çpēnta-Mainyû proceeded by emanation, or flowed forth the spiritual being of Vohû-Manô, Asha-Vahista and the Fire; and from Añra-Mainyus, Ako-Manô, Aëshma, Azhi-Dahaka (the Snake Dahaka) and Çpityura. Nothing could be clearer than this expression of the emanation doctrine.

In fragment *xxxix.*, the souls of the deceased, the Fravashis of the pure, are stated to have their origin from Çpēnta-Mainyû, from Vohû-Manô. The former is that light, intellect or wisdom "that dwelleth in God;" as is said in the *Porta Cœlorum*, of the first and primitive emanation produced immediately from the first cause,

Adam Kadmon, that which is inherent in Himself, the Unrevealed Intellection and Divine Thought, from which the supernal light afterwards flowed forth, expanding itself into five Sephirothic Decades.

And these Sephiroth, we are informed ("persons or lights"), are not creatures *per se*, but ideas, and rays of the Infinite, which by different gradations so descend from the Supreme Source, as still not to be severed from it; but it, through them, is extended to the production and government of all entities, and is the single and perfect universal cause of all, though becoming determinative, for this or the other operation, through this or that Sephiroth or mode.

God produced all things by His intellect and will; and of His free determination; and although He could have immediately produced all things, He willed to produce them by the mediation of His Sephiroth and persons, which, though they are originates, are still not His creatures, but His rays, by which He is enabled most perfectly to manifest Himself, and that the more perfectly by producing the causes themselves, and the causes of causes, and not merely the vile effects.

God produced, in the first originate, all the remaining causates; for, as He Himself is most simply one, and from one simple being only one can immediately proceed, hence it results that from the first, supreme, infinite unity, one and all flowed forth at the same time Wherefore this first and perfect originate, in the oneness of its essence, and without distinction of place and time, contained in itself all other causates.

Çpēnta-Mainyû, then, is the Unrevealed Divine Intellect, the Hakemah of the Kabalah, thinking, but containing its thoughts within itself.

It ought to be possible to ascertain the exact meaning of the name of this divine, self-existent Supreme Intellect; but as to one part of the same, there is a distressing uncertainty. It is at least certain that *Çpēnta* neither means "white" nor "holy;" and I think it quite as certain that it is significant of more than either of *these* words expresses.

There is no doubt at all as to the real meaning of the word *Mainyû* and that it is identical with the *Hakemah* of the Hebrews.

It is from the Sanskrit root *man*, the original meaning of which was "to think." In the Rigveda, also, it has the meaning of "to know," and "make known or declare." From it, *manas*, "mind, intellect;" and *manus*, for original *manvant* ("thinking"), "man;" and *mantra* (as fruit of the intellect, or manifestation of it), "hymn."

From this root *man* come the Greek *μενω*, *μενοιναω*; Latin *menisca*, *memini*; Gothic, *man*; German, *meine*; English, *mean*, *mind*, *memory*; Lithuanian, *menu*, Greek, *μενος*.

Mân means, according to Benfey, "to honour"; according to Eichoff, "to inform, advise, warn." From it, the latter says, come, Greek, *μηνυω*; Latin, *meneo*, *mando*; German, *mahne*; Russian, *manin*; Greek, *μηνυσις*, *μαντεια* (prophecy).

And in the Zend, from *man*, "to think," come *manas*, *manô* (gen. *mananho*), "mind, thought, intellect;" *Mañthra*, "hymn;" and *Mainyu*, *mainyus*, "the intellect or mind." "Spirit" is a word that does not at all express the meaning of the original word "*Mainyû*."

Professor Bopp ascribes to *Çpēnta* the meaning of "holy," and says that "there must originally have been a Sanskrit *çvanta* corresponding to it as the Lithuanian *szanta* indicates.

Bleeck translates it by "holy;" and Haug by "white, bright, holy." Its derivation is uncertain. There is no doubt that it answers to the Sanskrit *çvanta* or *svanta*, if there is such a word in that language. And it is an adjective, because we find its superlative *çpēnistā*.

Svânta, in Sanskrit, means "the mind," and is also the perfect participle passive of *svan*, "to sound," meaning "sounded." As meaning "mind," it must be from *Sva*, a reflective pronoun, meaning "one's own self," whence are *svaja*, "self-born," *svadhâ*, "spontaneity, self-will, strength." But this admits of no degrees of comparison.

Çu, *sru*, means "to flow, be divulged, transpire, to let flow, shed;" causative, *srâvaya*, "to cause to flow;" and if *Svanta* or *çvanta* could be derived from this, it might mean "emanated" or "emanation;" but neither would this admit of a superlative.

Çvas means "to breathe;" *çvasita*, "breathing, breath;" causative, "to re-create;" *âçvasta*, "re-created," *âçvasita*, "blessed;" *çvasa*, "breathing, breath, air, wind."

Çvi, means "to swell, to increase." But the participle of the perfect passive of this is *çána*.

Çvit, an old denominative, based on a verb *çvi*, means "to be white," as *çwind* does also; and from the former is *çveta*, "white, wearing white, a white cloud, the planet Venus." It is not to be believed that so insignificant a term as "white" was connected with, or formed part of, the names of the Supreme Deity and His Emanations.

I find *çpan* and *çpen*, in the Zend, having ascribed to them the meaning of "thriving;" and *çpēnistō*, as meaning "most excellent." These may have come from *çvi*, "to swell, to increase."

There is in Sanskrit a verb *çudh*, probably, Benfey says, for original *çvadh*, "to be purified, to become pure;" participle, perfect, passive, *çuddha*, "pure, white, faultless, innocent." *Svad* and *Svâd* mean "to taste, eat, please, be liked." Hence *svâdu*, "sweet, agreeable, handsome."

Svastha, in Sanskrit, means "relying on one's self, resolute, self-sufficient, independent;" *Svâtantrya* means "independence;" as *svâmm* means, "proprietor, master, sovereign," and *svâmya*, "ownership, mastership, supremacy, dominion."

Su, Sanskrit, "to beget, bear, bring forth;" also, "to possess power or supremacy."

It would be idle to suppose that the meaning of the word in question will ever be ascertained with positive certainty. If we can say what meaning it cannot have, and that it must have one of two or three others, we shall have to be content.

If *çpen*, *çpan*, in the Zend, are from *çvi*, Sanskrit, "to swell, increase," *Çpēnta* would mean "great," and derivatively, "excellent;" as "excelling;" so that *çpēnista* might mean "most excellent." *Çpēnta* should mean the opposite of *Añra*, for otherwise it stands alone among all the seven *Amēsha-Çpēntas*, all the others being the exact opposites of the emanations that are their antagonists. *Añra-Mainyûs* being the mischievous, harmful, maleficent mind, *Çpēnta-Mainyus* should be the beneficent one.

Now the Sanskrit has the advantage of being able to use the participles in *ta*, which are properly passive, with active, and, indeed, with a perfect meaning, and this power is very often employed. (*Bopp*, §513.) [And if *çpēnta* represents a Sanskrit *çvanta*, from *çvas*, it may have had the same meaning as the causative of that verb, with the preposition *å*, i. e.], 'refreshing, inspiring with courage, with hope, consoling.'

If from *su*, it may have meant, "producing, creating, bringing forth," in opposition to destroying; or "possessing power or supremacy; supreme;" or if from *sva*, "self-existing, independent." On the whole, I think it must have meant "beneficent."

It is quite true that there is no special attempt in the Zend-Avesta to explain this theory of the various emanations from Ahura Mazda. Neither is there any in the Hebrew writings to explain the Nature of the Elohim, and their relations with Yehuah. And there is certainly none whatever, in our New Testament, to explain the nature of the Holy Spirit, or its relations with the Father or Son. As to that, we are wholly left to conjecture; and as to the Word we have precisely the expressions of Philo, which

only repeat the ideas of the Zend-Avesta, with somewhat more of development.

Ahura Mazda himself is not defined. The very deity is incapable of definition. We can speak only of his attributes and action.

And it is also true that the Parsees do not attach to the Amēsha-Çpēntas the same ideas that I suppose to have been originally embodied in the conceptions of them. They have entirely lost, ages ago, the philosophical interpretation. Nor is this an exceptional case. If we were not influenced by preconceived opinions, we should not doubt that the Elohim were personified potencies of Yehuah; if, indeed, they were not originally subordinate gods, not emanating from him.

Nor, as I have said, is it doubtful in what sense the words and phrases current at the time, in regard to the Word and Wisdom and Holy Spirit, were used by Saint John. He used them in the same sense as Philo did. In any other, and unexplained, they would have misled those to whom he wrote, for they had a current and accepted meaning, in which, of necessity, they were used by all writers. The Logos, or Word, and the Holy Spirit, of that gospel, were precisely the Logos and the Holy Spirit or Wisdom, of Philo; and the expression, "I and my Father are one," meant that he had emanated from the Father, who was limitedly manifested in and by him; and it meant no more. The new meanings which afterwards were accepted and became current, were the substituted and untrue meanings of the interpreters. If the original and real meanings were accurately expressed in the translation, many doctrines and some sects would disappear.

The various sects of Gnostics owed their origin and being to the use of these words and phrases, in their current sense. They merely developed the emanation theory, expanding it into fanciful details; and they never departed as far from the original and true reading, as those did who invented the now current notions in regard to the Trinity, in which hardly a trace of the old philosophical idea remains. The ideas of the writer of the fourth Gospel were inherited legitimately from Zarathustra.

The first three Sephiroth of the Kabalah are steps of the descent from the unfathomable abyss of the absolute, the unmanifested, the infinite, the beyond the reach of cognition by the senses or the intellect, to the creation of individualities. In the view of the Kabalists, all individuals are contained in species, and all species in genera, and all particulars in a universal, which is an idea, abstracted from all consideration of individuals; not an aggregate of individuals, but, as it were, a one, an Ens or Entity, prior to any individual, containing them all, and out of which they are all

in succession evolved. Every thing actual must also first be possible, before it has actual existence; and this possibility or potence was to the Kabalists a real Ens. Prior to the evolvement of the universe, it had first to exist potentially, the whole of it, with all its individuals, included in a single unity. This was the idea or plan of the universe; and this had to be formed. It had to emanate from an Infinite Deity, and be *of* Himself, (as a thought is *of* the soul), though not His very Self.

The infinite had to limit and determine itself, in order to manifest itself at all; in order to act at all, even by intellection.

All these ideas in regard to emanations and manifestations, grew out of, or were developments of, those in regard to fire. The universal, fire, regarded as unmanifested, and of course as severed from light and heat, which are its effects or its outshowings, was invisible, and not cognizable by the senses. It was like the invisible soul, only manifested and revealed by thought, word, and work or act. The visible fire was itself manifested, by determination and limitation which gave it a distinct and limited being. Its flame, light and heat are all of it of which the senses can have cognizance; and each of these was an outflow, emanation, manifestation or revealing of itself, its very self remaining unrevealed. The infinite light cannot reveal itself in its infinity, but only limitedly. It must, as it were, divide itself into portions. They *contain* the light, heat and flame. They *are* the light, heat and flame; for, if these are taken away, there is no visible fire.

These ideas were readily applied to the divine intellect, when it took the place of the fire, which thereupon became its outflowing. Kether was the divine will. Hakemah and Bainah are laboriously explained in the Kabala, to be, as it were, male and female; and from their congress results Daath, not a Sephirah, but the thinking, intellection—the product of the divine intellect, in action, but not the thoughts that this action of thinking generates.

If we put aside the difficulty which the impossibility of conceiving of the infinite as in any way conditioned, as thinking, reflecting, considering, resolving, etc., caused the Kabalists; and can simply regard the operation as taking place within the infinite itself, we may understand what they meant by Hakemah, Bainah and Daath. The first was the intellectual energy or power of generating thought; the second, the productive capacity of being impregnated, and producing the action of thinking, and the consequent thoughts. And thus the idea of the universe, i. e., the universe itself in idea and possibility, existed in the intellect of the deity, not manifested, but definite, precise and real.

THE OTHER AMĒSHA-ÇPĒNTAS.

In the Ormazd-Yasht, Zarathustra asks Ahura Mazda, what is the mightiest of the Mañthra-Çpēnta, the most victorious, most majestic, which most brings fulfilment to prayers, etc.; and is answered:

Our *names*, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, O Holy Zarathustra, that is the mightiest of the Mañthra-Çpēnta, etc.

That is, to repeat these names, or to call upon me by them, is the most efficacious of all adoration.

For, to repeat the names was to ascribe to Ahura all the powers and potencies, the grace and beneficence, embodied in these emanations; and constituted an explicit and formal profession of faith.

The Âtas Behrâm Nyâyis, a brief invocation, is as follows:

Purify me, O Divine, give me strength through Armaiti. Holiest, Heavenly Mazda, give me at my prayer, in goodness, strong power through Asha, fullness of blessings through Vohû-Manô. Give me certainty to teach afar for prosperity that which is of the kingdom that belongs to the blessings of Vohû-Manô. Teach, O Çpēnta-Armaiti, the law with true faith. Zarathustra tenders the life out of his body, voluntarily, to the service of the faith.

We have seen that these and the other Amēsha-Çpēntas are emanations of Ahura Mazda, contained in the divine wisdom or intellect, Çpēnta-Mainyûs: and if the reader thinks the whole emanation doctrine absurd, let him reflect whether the Amēsha-Çpēntas and Sephiroth are any more to be deemed imaginary, mere attributes of deity, ideal personifications and not actual existences, than the magnetic force is a merely ideal somewhat, a name for a particular action of the omnipotent divine power. If forces are distinctly substantive, and the deity acts by and through them, why may not His other potencies, His wisdom and beneficence, be invested by Him with the same substantiveness and like energy; or must we hold that the whole and very deity acts directly in the exertion of every minute material force?

At all events, to deny the truth of the theory of emanation is to deny the original Christian doctrine in regard to the Word, which was in the beginning with God, and which was God. It is beyond all question that the writer of the gospel according to Saint John used the words and phrases that Philo had used, in the same sense as that in which they were used by that expounder of the Hebrew philosophy of Alexandria; and regarded Christ as an emanation from the deity, and the Holy Spirit or "Ghost" as the divine unrevealed, unuttered wisdom, which, uttering itself, became the Word.

The origin and age of the notions contained in the Kabalah of the Hebrews, have long been subjects of anxious speculation. Their age has always been unknown, and their origin hidden in the mists that obscure and darken all the past. A very high antiquity has always been claimed for them as traditional, by the Kabalistic commentators: but it has never been known that they were not Hebraic, but were learned by the Jews from their Median masters, who overturned the Assyrian Empire, and planted the Irano-Aryan ideas, the Zarathustrian philosophic religious doctrines at Babylon. The Hebrew Theosophy was anthropomorphic. Jehovah had, with them, the attributes, the passions and even the form of humanity; and the writer of the book ascribed to Solomon and by us known as Ecclesiastes expressed the religious faith of all the people, when he declared that the existence of man, like the existence of the animal, ended at his death. The immortality of the soul was an unknown doctrine to them, until they learned it from the Medo-Aryans; and even in the time of Christ, it was the doctrine of only one of the two great Jewish sects. Metaphysical ideas as to God and the soul, they had none at all. There is not a trace of any philosophical doctrine in their books.

I think that the Kabalists can help us to understand the Zend-Avestic ideas of the emanation of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, and the meaning of the Fravashis.

I translate the following passages from the *Pneumatica Kabbalistica*, called *Bith Alohim*, of Rabbi Abraham Cohen Irira of Portugal, containing the doctrines of Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria, in the second volume of the *Kabbala Denudata*.

Dissertation i., Chapter i., commences thus:

From the certain Soharistic discourse of the Book *Raja Mehimna*, of *The Faithful Shepherd*; is shown the sublimity of the infinite God, the good, highest and first; and how from Him depend (*dependant*, hang down), the four worlds of emanation, creation, formation and fabrication.

Ascribing the doctrines to Moses, from whom the elders and prophets who succeeded him received them, from these the men of the Great Synagogue, and from these Rabbi Schimeon Jochaides, from whose Treatise in Hebrew, *Raja Mehimna*, the writer quotes, he thus translates into Latin.

§ 2. For before He had created an idea in the world (that is, a particular limited and intelligible nature); and formed anything having figure, He was alone, without form and similitude (that is, there could neither be cognition of Him nor could He be in any wise comprehended). For who could have cognition of Him, when He was without idea or figure?

§ 3. But after He had made this idea (that is, that limited and intelligible nature), which the ten numerations [Sephiroth] are, He descended there-

by, so that by this idea He could be called by the tetragrammatonic name; so that they [created things] might have cognition of Him, in His proper similitude.

§ 7. A conception of Him can only be had to such extent as He exercises dominion over some attribute [yea, over all creatures]: than which attribute, nothing is higher . . . when abstracted from Him, it has no attribute, nor conception, nor idea, but is only like a Sea extended throughout some great receptacle, such, for example, as the Earth is, where the Sea makes for itself a certain concave figure, so that we can there begin to make some estimate of it.

§ 7. E. g., the source [or spring] of the sea is *one* somewhat [*unumquid*]. If from this a stream goes forth, commensurate with its extension revolving in that receptacle, . . . the source is the first somewhat, and the stream going forth from it, the second. Then let it make a great receptacle, as if one should dig a great basin, and this be called 'Sea;' and this will be the third vessel. Now let this great vessel [basin] be divided into seven channels of rivers, such as oblong vessels are, so that the waters may flow forth from the sea in seven rivers; and the spring, the fountain, the sea and the seven rivers make ten.

§ 9. So the cause of causes made ten numerations [*Sephiroth*, from *Sephir*, 'to act, sculpture, write, number, writing, a book,' emanations, out-flowings, [from *e-manare*, 'to flow from or out of'] and called 'the spring' (or hidden source), 'crown' [*Kether*], for there is no limit there of the out-flowing of light, wherfore He called this, like Himself, Infinite; for, also, this has no similitude or figure and there is no vessel in which it can be contained and whereby it can be known by any cognition.

§ 10. Then He made a certain small receptacle [*vasculum*], which is the letter Yod; and He fills this from that source, and it is called the fountain pouring forth wisdom; and in this He called Himself wise; and the vessel itself He called *Khakemah*, 'Wisdom.'

§ 11. Moreover He made a great receptacle, which he called 'Sea;' and gave it the name *Bainah*, *Intelligence* [*Understanding*, *Intellectus*]. In this He called Himself 'intelligent' or 'instructing.' He is wise from Himself, and intelligent from Himself. But this wisdom is not called wisdom from itself, but by reason of that intelligent which fills itself from it. For if it [wisdom] were taken away from it, intelligence would remain dry

§ 12. Then that takes place which is said (*Isaiah xi. 15*), 'And shall smite it in the seven streams;' to-wit, into seven precious vessels, to which the following names are given: *Gadolah*, 'magnificence or benignity'; *Gaborah*, 'rigourousness' ['severity, austerity or strict justice']; *Taparat*, 'beauty'; *Natzakh*, 'victory or overcoming'; *Hūd* [or *Havad*], 'glory'; *Yesōd*, 'foundation' ['permanence, stability']; and *Malakoth*, 'dominion' [*Regnum*, 'rule or reign, empire']. And in magnificence He called Himself 'great' and 'benignant,' in rigour, 'robust' ('strong'); in beauty, 'beautiful'; in victory of victories, 'hero conquering in battles'; in glory, 'our glorious maker' [*Conditorem*, 'establisher']; and in foundation, 'just.' And in foundation all things rest, all vessels and all worlds. And in dominion He took on Himself the name of 'king.'

Know [says Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria, in *Tractatus i. Libri Druschim*, Chapter 2], that before the emanants emanated and the created were created, the Supreme Light was most plenarily extended and filled all the *where*, so that there was no void place in the conception of the Light, and no empty space, but the *all* was filled with that Light of the Infinite in that manner extended, whereunto, under every conception of it there was no limit, because nothing was, except that extended

Light, which with a single and simple equality was every where like unto itself; and was called *Aur Ainsoph*, 'The Light of the Infinite.'

But when it came into the mind of this Extended, to will to make worlds, and by emanating to produce emanants, and into the Light to extend the perfection of His active Potencies, and of his names and appellations, which was the impulsive cause of creating worlds, then that Light, being somewhat compressed, drew back on every side round from a certain central point, and so a certain vacant space was left, equi-distant from that point, which was established exactly in the middle of it and so a certain where was constituted, in which the emanating, the created, the formed and the made might exist. Wherefore the Infinite produced [sent forth, uttered] a certain line from the light of his concavity, from above downward, and directed it and sent it into the said space.

Rabbi Abraham Cohen Irira says, in his *Porta Cælorum, Dissertation iii. Chapter 7:*

The Infinite and Immense God is in the most perfect manner possible discerned by His intellect, which is not diverse from Himself; and therefore in Himself and through Himself He perceives all substances and perfections, which are eminently contained in Him, and from Him issue forth innumerable, and beyond contradiction can reveal themselves in an infinite number of beings, in infinite times and places.

§ 2. And this natural and necessary intellection, whereby the Divine Intellect can have cognition of its potency that is in itself, whereby it could make an infinity of beings in infinite times and places, is under the control of His will and determination, etc. . . .

§ 3. From these things that is understood which Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria wrote, when he said, that the Infinite Deity is indeed extended to all imaginable and possible places, and fills them with the light of His countenance; but when He should wish to be manifested, and to produce natures, He would draw back Himself, and, as it were, contract and narrow Himself, from Himself into Himself, and so leave a certain place amid those infinite spaces, which, before, He entirely filled, which He might fill, as He has filled it, with these beings that He produced within it; but so, nevertheless, as that He Himself should be extended thither, and be there manifested, as before the production of them.

Chapters viii. and ix. Section 2—That these passages may be better understood, it is to be known that the Infinite Deity or First Cause primarily produced Adom Kadamūn, i. e., that which is, in itself, called 'The Primal Man,' which is the occult divine intellection and thinking; and from it afterwards the Supernal Lights proceeded forth, which reveal themselves in five Sephirothic decades; so indeed, that to the production of the inferior worlds, called (the World) 'of creation,' or the Throne of Glory; 'of Formation,' or of the Angels; and 'of Making' (or Fabrication), this material world, that very essence extended itself, which is extended into the world of emanation; and that it not only produced these, but preserves and governs them.

In this "Divine Intellect," whereby the Deity perceives and comprehends himself, we see reproduced the Çpēnta-Mainyus of the Zend-Avesta; and Adam Kadamun, "the occult intellection and cogitation," is Vohū-Manô, i. e., the divine mind-being.

§ 7. Hence it is concluded, that the Sephiroth, by the virtue of their Infinite Emanator, who uses them as an artificer uses his tools, and works with them and by them, did create everything created, formed and fabricated by certain sure media. But these Sephiroth, persons and lights, are not by themselves creatures, but notions and infinite rays, which by various degrees so descend from the highest fountain, that yet they are not separated from it; but it by them, is extended to the creation and government of all beings, and is the single and perfect universal cause of all things, although determinate [by limitation], to this or the other operation, by this or that Sephirah or mode.

Porta Cælorum, Dissertation, vii. Chapter iv. §1:

. . . . These media which represent the first cause, in itself entirely concealed, are the Sephiroth; which emanate immediately from it, and by its virtue have produced and govern all the rest.

§ 2. These Sephiroth from the simple primal unity, manifesting its infinite goodness; the mirrors of its truth, and the analogues of its most high essence; the ideas of its wisdom, and the representations of its will; the receptacle of its power, the instrument of its action the judges of its dominion, who produce to the light its justice; and, finally, the denominations, attributes and names of Him who is the highest of all things and the cause of all; the ten indelible names; the ten attributes of his most august majesty; the ten fingers of His hands, five of the right and five of the left; the ten lights by which He shines; the ten garments with which He is invested; the ten visions, by which He appears; the ten forms, by which He has formed all things the ten degrees by which He descends, and by which to ascend to him the ten lights, illuminating intelligences the ten sayings by which the world was created; the ten spirits by which it is moved and vivified; the second causes, by which the first operates, preserves and governs all things; the rays of His divinity, by which all things are illuminated and manifested the supernal monads, to which all manifolds are reduced, and through them to the simple unity; and finally, formal perfections, which, while they depend from one eminent perfection, one illimitable, are the causes of all dependent perfections

Chapter viii. §1. The Sephiroth are called Numbers, with respect to the Infinite. For, as all numbers proceed from one numeral, so these all emanate from Primal Infinite Unity They are Numbers, because in every Sephirah all the ten are contained because every Sephirah is inseparably united with the other nine, and with the Infinite Principle finally, because they are composed of essence and subsistence, of nature and accession, substance and accident; essence, potency and act; intellect and will; diverse species and various operations. They are intelligible and intelligent; dependent from their causes, subsisting of themselves, and extended to things below them; Aziluth, so manifold and numerous, is the Image and Similitude of the Infinite; not equal to Him, but as a number divided from unity; and yet having communication with Its totality and with all its parts, so that, like that number, it may, as it were, expound its first cause, and show to Its creatures what in It is concealed.

§2. The Sephiroth are the media by which the first cause is applied to all things, and is manifested

Chapters ix., x., xi. §3. When the Infinite God desired to manifest somewhat of Himself, he produced the Highest Crown [*Kether*, the first Sephirah], His

Will. When He would apply His Intellect to the Intelligible, He produced the Father, or *Wisdom* [*Hakemah*, the Second]; and thence went forth, as it were, a Spirit and internal breathing and produced the Mother, which is called *Spirit*, by the impulse whereof the *Voice* is born.

Chapter xii. §1. The world *Aziluth*, in which the ten Sephiroth shire, when considered with respect to *Ainsoph* {the Infinite Absolute, Nameless One}, has the Name of *Crown*, because *Kether* receives from Him, *the One*, all essence, potency and operation. And in so far thence as it understands and concludes, it is called *Wisdom* [*Hakemah*]: but in so far as it has respect to what is below, and to these extends itself, it is called *Intelligence* [*Bainah*], which applies itself to them out of the excellence of its intrinsicality and nature, and this is *Favour* and *Benignity*. When it is determined and limited according to the disposition of those receiving it, which is one mode of descending, it is *Gaborah*, 'Strict Law' [the Divine 'Justice']. In so far as the active is joined with the passive [Justice simply lets consequences follow acts, and is passive: Mercy interposes to avert them, and is active], *Khased* with *Gaborah*, or *Act* with *Potency*, it is called *Tapharat*. And in so far as benignity bestows its influx on all it is called *Netsach*, 'overcoming.' When it gives to some, some part that is due, to-wit, reward and punishment to those below it, which are composed of two contraries, as things that have free will, it is called *Hud*, *Glory*. It is called *Yesod*, in so far as it gives all things to all. And *Dominion* is the aggregate of all emanating perfections, and that wherein all concur and consist.

§2 *Khased* [*Gedolah*] denotes the emission and application of this Superlative Goodness: *Geborah*, 'Justice' and 'Judgment': *Tapharat*, 'manifestation of the Truth': and it is therefore called the written law

§3. The *Will* of God, wishing to be manifested and made known, is *Kether*. Consideration of the mode in which this will is to be deduced into act, and His intellectual decision, is *Hakemah*, and the deduction into act is *Bainah*.

§4. The Sephiroth represent the Infinite, as Cause of all Entities, and of their essence, potency and operation: this is *Kether*. Life and Truth understood by itself, is *Hakemah*: Intellect is *Bainah*: Grace and Benignity, *Gedolah*: Power, *Geburah*: Beauty and mercy, *Tapharat*: Victorious, overcoming, *Netzach*: Glory, *Hud*: Justice, *Yesod*; and Dominion, *Malakoth*. So, that although this Infinite is elevated above all these perfections; still, by a certain infinite eminence He contains them all in a perfect, absolute, simple and occult manner, so that He Himself is their only Life, Intellect, Truth, Benignity, Rigour and Victory, etc., and all His Attributes and Perfections, which these Sephiroth are, are inseparable from His Essence and from one another; so that all are in one, and one is in all; and that without any change, multiplication and composition; since in Him all these Perfections causally and eminently are, He produced them into proper being, and unites with them, and with all created things through them, and through them is manifested to created intelligences, human and angelic.

These emanations are also called "Persons," and it is said,

Kether, or 'Crown', is one person of the Ten, which the Numerations are, and is called *Arayak Anpayin* [or *Arik Anpin*], or *Makroprosopos*. 'Hakemah [*Chochmah*] is also one person, and is called *Aba*, or 'Father'. *Bainah* is equally a person, and is called *Ama*, or 'Mother'. Then the Numerations from *Khased* to *Yesod*, inclusive, constitute one person, which is called *Zaayar* [*Seir*], or *Mikroprosopos*.

The sum of the whole is [it is said in the General Commentary], that the intention of the Blessed God was to form persons, to limit the extension of the Light.

The human soul, also, is defined as an incorporeal and rational substance or hypostasis, a prolongation of the Divine Intellect, and having in itself the nature of that intellect, conjoined with the body, and infusing into it life, after its own similitude and image, and making with it a living, composite unit, a rational living creature, which it uses as an instrument, essentially and naturally concreted with itself; this soul being possessed of intellection, of which it is, by its own proper influx and operation, the cause.

In the *Introductio ad Librum Sohar*, Section *vi.*, Chapter *viii.*, it is said of the Sephiroth:

And that point was the point Crown [*Kether*, the first Sephirah] in the world of space [*Inanitalis*]. And all the Numerations [*Sephiroth*] were contained in it potentially, as the four elements are in Man, which yet are not distinguishable separately, *in specie*, for the very reason that all are in potency. So these ten Numerations were in potency in this Crown.

Then the Wisdom of The Blessed ordered that the Numerations aforesaid, that were in *Kether*, should be produced [*pro-ducerentur*, 'should be pushed out'] from potentiality into actuality, so that worlds might exist Hence all the other Numerations were uncovered, which were in *Kether* potentially, and were united together in the manner aforesaid, in a circle.

In *Tractatus i. Libri Druschim*, of Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria, *Chapter i.*, it is said:

The Supreme and Highest Light of all, and limitless, and called by the name of Infinite, cannot be attained unto by any cogitation or speculation, and its basis [*fundamentum*, meaning its essentiality, its very *Self*] is plainly abstracted and remote from all intellection, and is that which was before all things produced [uttered forth] by emanation, created, formed and made, and there was in it no time, nor any head or beginning of it, since it always exists and perpetually remains, altogether without beginning or end.

But from this Infinite afterwards descends the existence of that Great Light produced by emanation, which is called *Adam Kadmon*, Adam prior to all firsts. Then in like manner from this Lights descend, depending upon itself, which are, very many, and go forth from it, and emit the rays of its splendour outside of itself.

Chapter ii. For all the names are Lights, to which belong terminus, boundary and end; which measures cannot be predicated of the Supreme Infinite Light. For so it is known that the Light of the Infinite permeates and passes through all the substance of the Sephiroth, and enters into each Sephirah, and mingles itself with them, and shines forth from and beyond them.

So, in the *Amica Responsis* of Rabbi Yitzchaq Loria to Henry More, it is said, 'The Sephiroth, as to their substance when first in being, are as near as is possible to the cause of causes, and they are a slender emanation, which was hidden in its source, and when it pleased that source, was manifested; whence they are united with their origin in the most perfect unity possible.'

'Ain-soph [The Absolute, The Very God], is their life, and Himself their substance . . . and this is the virtue of the emanative in the emanated, that its very self is extended into limited spaces [*in vasis*], without any, even a momentary separation. And it is to the One King, with the emanants from Himself, that our worship and prayer and benedictions and praise . . . and our psalms, to Himself, to Himself, I say, are addressed, and not to His modes, except so far as they inhere in His substance, and that our prayer may attain Him, and that He (Ainsoph) may be limited by names and terms and words; for the infinite in proper notion [conceived of as The Very Infinite's Self], is not limitable by any name, nor can be called by any denomination or name; but by the means of His emanating modes we can name Him, by names in accordance with the respective particular names given to the respective numerations. But all the Holy names, and all their appellations and the tetragrammaton and its plenitudes, all, I say, look toward His substance, through the numerations that emanate from Him.

'The numerations are determined to somewhat, to-wit, divine outflowings, limited by various modes and degrees of representations, and by various names, distinguished from each other for the sake of more distinct cognition, yet one, if they are taken together with the Infinite, constituting the essence of God.'

The Kabalists conceived of the Deity as limitless light, i. e., as that incorporeal and immaterial substance or essence, of which the visible light is the manifestation; having the same relation to the visible light that the invisible soul of man has to its thoughts, and that electricity has to its power of attraction and other potencies by which it becomes known to us. The emanations or Sephiroth were conceived of as the measured and limited outflowings of this light, becoming visible by limitation. If we conceive of this infinite essential light determining and limiting portions of itself as rays, and these rays as having and expressing different potencies of the infinite whole, one ray being hot, another having the actinic potency, another the polarizing virtue, one a certain chemical power, and the like, we shall not be very far from the idea which the Kabalists had of the Sephiroth, and the Zarathustrians of the Amēsha-Çpēntas.

Every thought of another person, expressed to us and comprehended by us, makes known to us, in one aspect and to a certain extent, the soul of which it is an utterance. The whole soul thinks every thought; but neither one thought, nor all the thoughts of that soul together are the whole of that soul; and we may conceive of it as able to think an unlimited number of other thoughts besides. But each is the soul, made known to us as that one thought. We conceive, also, of each thought as having a distinct individuality, and yet of each as the soul thinking, manifesting itself by limitation. Conceive of all electricity as a unit, as one whole, filling all space, and all acting in every spark or in every lighting-flash, its limited and momentary manifestation, and you have the Kabalistic and Zarathustrian idea, the former wholly borrowed from the latter. And if the undulatory theory of light is true, then the conception of Deity as the light

of which the visible light is a manifestation becomes still more reasonable and natural.

The forces of nature, it has been said, are the varied action of God. Each is the Deity, in act and as that particular potency. Each is the Divine Will, acting; and not a force or power created by Him, and distinct from Himself.

The same potency which the Zend-Avesta attributes to prayer, is attributed to it by the Kabalah. It is said in the *Synopsis Libri Sohar*, *Tit. ii., Domus Presum, è Dictis in Genesin*, 4: "*Preces dicuntur Scala in terrâ consistens, et summitate suâ cælum attingens.*"

Prayers are termed a ladder which stands upon the earth, and with its top reaches to the Heavens.

13. Let not man pray his prayer, until after the Sun has risen. [Ne *precetur homo precatisnem Suam, antequam splendet Sol.*]

14. Three times daily do the Patriarchs pray for the children of Israel.

18. In this time, when with us there are no sacrifices, prayer supplies the place of sacrifices. And whoso blesses our most Holy and Blessed God, receives from Him blessing; but he who blesses not this Most Holy God, receives also no blessing.

Id. in Exod. 9. At whatsoever time the priests stretch out their hands, the divine glory comes to them and fills their hands.

43. How great the power is of the Canticles and prayers of the Israelites; and how three Hierarchies of the higher Angels are appointed to have in charge the Canticles and prayers of the Israelites.

Id. in Num. et Deut. 4. Unto Him who to all benedictions responds "Amen!" the heavenly doors are opened, and the higher and lower are blessed; and when it is needed by him, the most Holy and Blessed God opens to him all doors, higher and lower, so long as he is still in this world; and when his soul goes away from him, it is carried into the Upper Kingdom.

The following passages are not without interest in this connection:

[In *Tit. xiii: Porta Spirituum*, in *Exod. 42*, we find that], 'The Magi and female diviners are diminishing in the world, because they sometimes meet with success, and sometimes not; but they are ignorant of the reason.' [In 37], 'Some devote themselves to the practice of Magic, in which they attain success; while others have none' [and in 43], 'Those who engage in the practice of Magic, should not spare expense.'

Acquainted thus with the Magi, the Kabalists must needs have been acquainted with their doctrines.

And another and more striking proof of Iranian origin of the Kabalah is found in these passages:

Tit. I. Lumen Legis: In Genes. Loca analog. 14: We find the earth to be called by seven names, which are, *Aratz, Adamah, Ayaka, Gaia, Nasyah, Tsayah* and *Tobel*. And there are seven distinct regions or climates [Kareshvares] of the earth; and in each climate the creatures (or men) are different.

Tit. xiv: in Genes. 11. There are seven earths towards the seven heavens; and the Israelitish earth is situated in the centre of them.

xviii: Porta Collectaneorum: 48. There are seven firmaments, and so seven earths here below; seven seas, also, and seven rivers.

The Amēsha-Çpēntas are (*Visp. ix. I*) 'the good Yazatas, who have good empire, good wisdom.' Victory, power, rule, as well as truth and wisdom are in and with them, and flow from them. They are (*Visp. x. 20 to 22*), 'the strong Yazatas (Adorable Ones), endowed with good rule, wise, immortal, ever beneficent, who dwell together with Vohū-Manō [being all contained in the First Originate, Çpēta-Mainyū], including the females, Çpēta-Ârmaiti and Haurvat and Amērētat. They are (*Visp. xii. 23*), 'the good rulers, the wise, the givers of good, which dwell together with Vohū-Manō, which are hereafter to be created, hereafter to be formed, by Vohū-Manō.'

By which it is perhaps to be understood, that, notwithstanding their distinct personalities, they are still contained in Vohū-Manō, and continually produced from Him, their existence being a continuous emanation.

They are (*Visp. xxii. 4, 5, 6*), "the creatures created by the Holy One, the Pure," by the Omniscient Understanding, Ahura Mazda.

In *Yaçna xxvi. 8, 9, 10*, they are "the kings, beholding at will (which Mr. Bleek does not deem the correct reading. As it is simple nonsense, that is probable), the great, potent, mighty, proceeding from Ahura, who are immortal." As to the "beholding at will," the original is *dōithranañm bērēzatañm*. *Bērēz*, is said to mean "to shine," *bērēzant*, "shining," and *berezat*, "high." *Dōithra*, Mr. Bleek says, means "eye," and perhaps "a fountain" [which *ojō*, "eye" also means in Spanish]. The two words are in the genitive plural. *Barh* or *Vark* means, "to be pre-eminent." *Thra*, as a termination, forms nouns; and *dā*, Sanskrit, is "to give, grant, teach, cause;" whence *dātri*, "giver," Greek *δωτήρ*. The words in question may mean, "pre-eminent givers, or causes of things."

In the Farvardin Yasht, they are

the shining, with efficacious eyes, who are all seven of like mind, all seven of like speech, all seven like-acting. Like is their mind, like also their word, like their actions, like is their father and ruler, namely, the Creator Ahura Mazda. Of whom one sees the soul of the other, how it thinks on good thoughts, how it thinks on good words, how it thinks on good works, how it thinks on Garô-Nemâna. Their ways are shining, when they fly hither to the offering-gifts.

This allusion to their paths or orbits in the sky indicates that there was originally a connection between these emanations and seven celestial luminaries, and shows us the origin of the seven archangels of the Hebrews, assigned to the seven bodies anciently known as the planets. It is an obscure reminiscence of the former worship of the celestial bodies, out of which Zarathustrianism among the Irano-Aryans and Vedaism among the Indo-Aryans, at different periods, sprung. The Kabalah reproduces with exactness the ideas expressed in this passage. The Sephiroth like the Amēsha-Çpēntas, distinct from each other, are yet one, each containing the other, and each a manifestation of the Divine Substance. All are contained in Vohū-Manô, which not only *contains* all, but *is* all.

In the same (92), all the Amēsha-Çpēntas are said to have "like wills with the Sun; for the Sun is a manifestation of that light which in its essence is the Deity."

In the Zamyad Yasht, the passage cited above from the Farvardin Yasht is repeated; and it is added (18),

which are there the creators and the destroyers of the creatures of Ahura Mazda, their creators and overseers, their protectors and rulers. They it is (19) who further the world at will [cause it to improve and make progress, the 'world' meaning the Aryan land], so that it does not grow old and die, does not become corrupt and stinking, but ever-living, every-profiting, a kingdom as one wishes it, that the dead may arise, and immortality for the living may come, which gives according to wish furtherance for the world. The worlds which teach purity will be immortal, the Drukhs will disappear at the time. So soon as it comes to the Pure to slay him and his hundred-fold seed, then is it for dying and fleeing away.

Immediately before this (10, 11, 12) is the same passage, commencing thus:

Ahura Mazda created the creatures, very good, very fair, very high, very furthering, very lofty; that they might make the world progressive, etc.

The whole is a prediction of the final establishment of the Aryan power and of the Zarathustrian faith, in the country in which the Aryans were then struggling for dominion. Their power was to increase, not growing old and effete, nor dying, nor decaying, but living ever and ever beneficial, such a kingdom as one might well desire. "The worlds that teach purity," the portions of country in which the true religion was planted, would not relapse into their former barbarism, but have continuance of life in the true faith, the unbelievers in time being expelled; for so soon as the true believers should become numerous enough to overcome and extirpate them, they would abandon the country and retire to their own. The immortality for the living, that furthers the world at will, is that greater security for life, by immunity from war and violence, which, lengthening it, increases the population and prosperity of the Aryan land. "That the dead may arise"

cannot be accepted literally. The expression is either figurative or the original word rendered by "dead" has some other meaning. The latter, of course, is certain, because every such word has more than one meaning.

Bopp i. 226, gives as the meaning of Amēsha, *non conniventes* (referring it to the Sanskrit, *Amiṣha*), "unwinking, never sleeping or dozing." *Mish*, in Sanskrit, certainly means "to wink." But *mī* also means "to perish;" *mash*, "to kill, hurt;" *mas*, "to measure;" *mā*, "to mete," whence *meya* "measurable," and *ameya*, "immeasurable;" and *amēsha* may be derived perhaps, from one of these. I hardly think it meant "the sleepless ones;" and if satisfied that it did, I should think that they received the name before they were conceived of as emanations, and when they were simply the Seven Stars of the Great Bear, revolving unwinking round the Central Star of the Pole.

[In the Mah-Yasht it is said], 'when I see the Moon then stand the Amēsha Çpēntas and guard the majesty, and distribute the beams over the land created by Ahura.'

[In the Gâh Rapitan]: 'We praise that assembly and meeting of the Amesha-Çpēntas, which is prepared in the high place of the sky, for the praise and adoration of Zañtuma the chief. We praise Zañtuma the pure, lord of purity.'

At the end of the Yasht of the Seven Amshaspands (*the 2nd Kh. Av. xviii.*), is a curious old composition which Haug calls "a short proper spell, such as we find, now and then, in the Zend-Avesta." It is composed of short verses, each consisting of six or seven syllables, as follows:

<i>Yātu zî Zarathustra</i>	<i>vanat daēvō mashyô</i>
May he come then Zarathustra	May he destroy the devils and bad men
<i>kô nmâhahê badha</i>	<i>Çpitama Zarathustra</i>
who (are) in the house, soon	Çpitama Zarathustra
<i>Viçpa Drukhs jânâité</i>	<i>Viçpa Drukhs nâshâité</i>
Every Evil Spirit is slain	Every Evil Spirit goes away
<i>Yatha Naonaoiti</i>	<i>Aeshâm Vachañ</i>
When he hears	these words.

I have not changed Dr. Haug's rendering of the words "Drukhs" and "Çpitama." Spiegel thus translates this verse:

May the sorcerers, Zarathustra, smite the Daevas and men who (are) in the house. Always, O Holy Zarathustra, smite every Drukhs, drive away every Drukhs, till they are terrified at these words.

It is not to be supposed that the "sorcerers," whom Asha Vahista smites and Zarathustra vituperates, were expected to smite the Daevas. Haug translates *Yatu zi*, "may he come then;" and Spiegel "may the sorcerers."

I find no word in Sanskrit, from which to derive the meaning of "sorcerers" for *yatu*. *Yat* means "to exert one's self, to endeavour;" whence *yatha*, "effort, perseverance, energy, will, diligence." I find in the grammatical section of Dr. Haug, *zi*, "then, therefore;" and that the termination of the third person, imperative active, singular, ends in *tu*, as, e. g., *qaratu*, "let him eat;" *mraotu*, "let him tell" (70): Also in Bopp §726. I should read the first line, "Let Zarathustra exert himself, or, persevere." *Vana* is certainly the third person singular, potential, "may he destroy"! *Mashyo* is rendered by Spiegel, "men;" by Haug, "bad men." I find it to mean the former, from *Mashya*, "man;" from the Sanskrit, *manu*, *manus*, *manushya*, "man," which are from *man*, "to think." The omission of the conjunction *cha*, "and," is common in Zend, as that of the equivalent conjunction is in Sanskrit.

As to *jānāitē* and *nāshāitē*, Dr. Haug himself, though at page 176 he renders them by "is slain," "goes away," at page 64 considers them as being in the subjunctive, with a future sense, and says *Vīçpa Drukhs nāshāitē*, (*Yasht* 2, 11), "every evil doer will perish or is to perish" (from the root *nash*, "to perish, go off"). I find *naç* and *nash* (Zend) meaning "to perish;" and *nas* (Zend) "to drive away." *Naç* in Sanskrit, means "to be lost, disappear, go away, and perish." It is only to be added that these verbs in the texts are in the plural, and that they certainly are, as accented, in the subjunctive and not indicative mode.

Nmana (*namana*) means, not "house," but "place, earth, land," from the Sanskrit, *nemi*, i. e., *nam*, "the circumference." And thus it seems plain enough that the whole verse is to be read thus:

May Zarathustra therefore persevere! May the most Noble Zarathuṣṭra soon
destroy the Daevas and their people who occupy the land! Every Drukhs will
be slain, every Drukhs will flee away (or perish) when he hears these words.

For the residue of this old fragment I have to rely entirely on the translation of Bleeck from Spiegel.

12. To thy body they cleave; thy priests they smite—priest and warrior—so that he becomes altogether disobedient, through the strength of those to be driven away.

13. He who takes for his protection the seven Amēsha-Çpēntas, the good kings, the wise (the virtuous Mazdayaçnian law, which has the body of a horse, the water created by Mazda, we praise). May he renounce the storming-up and the storming-away, O Zarathustra! May he renounce the up-and-away-storming, O Zarathustra, against Vohū-Manō, against the more manifest driving away, slaying, and annihilating of prayers. A hundred, hundred-fold they drag out, away like a bound one, the Mazdayaçnian law of the Fravashis, through the power of the to-be-driven-away [those who are to be and must be expelled from the land, the Drukhs].

All the aid that Spiegel affords us towards understanding this, is this characteristic note: "Who the 'storming up' etc., are, is not known; but of course they belong to the creation of Añra Mainyus." *Cela va sans dire*; but Mr. Bleek might at least have used words with a meaning definite enough to afford a basis for conjecture. What does *he* mean by "storming up," "storming away," and "up and away storming"?

The "body" of Zarathustra, to which the Drukhs "cleave," is probably the country ruled by him or belonging to the Aryan people, which the Drukhs tenaciously held. And the meaning of the residue of the twelfth verse is clearly enough, that they slew the Aryan priests and soldiers, defeating their forces, and were so strong as to cause the soldiers to become demoralized and refuse to obey their chiefs and continue the struggle.

As one must be content to guess at the meaning of "storming," I propose the following reading of verses 13 and 14:

'Let every Aryan who accepts as his protection the seven Amēsha-Çpēntas, the good wise Sovereigns, refuse to submit longer to the raidings of Toorkish riders, hostile to Vohū-Manô, and the more especial suppression of the true worship; for they a hundred hundred times drive and expel from the land the Mazdayaçnian law of the Fravashis, supported as they are by the hostile population that we must of necessity expel from the land.' [The invocation to 'the virtuous Mazdayaçnian law,' and 'the water created by Mazda' is a devotional interjection, like our parenthetical 'Praise be unto God!']

I cannot conjecture what is meant by the law having the body of a horse, unless it be this, which is sufficiently curious as illustrating the idiosyncracy of the Irano-Aryan intellect, the ingenious subtlety of their expressions, and the intricate processes of their fanciful thought. The soul of man is invested by Ahura with its body. The armies of the faithful are a body, as it were, animated by a soul. For every body is but an instrument of the soul which it invests; and all the actions performed by the body are really deeds of the soul or intellect. It is not the army that gains victories; but the soul that uses it to that end. That soul is not the intellect of the general, or his will, for his wisdom and skill are of Divine origin, flashed into him, and part of the Divine Potency of Vohū-Manô. The real soul of the general and army is the religion which they defend. The sacred law or doctrine, observed and obeyed—it is this that wins victories; and as the Aryan armies consisted chiefly of horsemen, this law and doctrine is said to have had a horse (i. e., the Aryan Cavalry), for its body.

I do not understand why the water is praised, in this connection, unless it is because by its aid food was produced for the people and the army.

Çpēnta-Mainyû, the Mind immanent in the Deity's Very Self, reveals and manifests herself only by means of the other emanations. She contains them all in herself. When man or the human intellect wills or plans, the work, operation or result still remains to be effected; and what is resolved or planned may be wise or unwise, within or beyond his power to effect. But the Divine Will *is* itself perfect wisdom and absolute omnipotence. What is willed by it, does not *become*, but *is*. "And God said, Be Light! And Light is." So the flame, the light and the heat were deemed to be *in* the fire, and *of* the fire, and not to be *caused* or *made to exist* by it, as entities distinct from itself. It *flowed forth in* flame, light and heat; and this is what is meant by their "emanating" from it.

Finally, Çpēnta Mainyû is not feminine, as Sophia, the Divine Wisdom and "Holy Ghost" was. We find in the Zend-Avesta no such idea as was embodied in the Hindu conception of Maya, created in Brahm by the potency of the sexual desire. Çpēnta Mainyû was the Pure Intellect of the Supreme Inaccessible God.

VOHŪ-MANŌ.

Vohū-Manō is, as I have said elsewhere, the Intellect-Being, the Divine Intellect in the condition of distinct existence, manifested, and in action.

In *Vispered xxii.*, we read:

We praise the creatures created by the Holy One, the Pure; the first after the Understanding, among the pure creatures; the All-knowing, Understanding, Ahura Mazda. Čpēnta-Mainyū is the Understanding, or Divine Intellect, unrevealed, inseparable from Ahura. Which was with Him and was Himself, as Intellect, and Vohū-Manō is the first after her, the first emanation from her, manifested in thought and action, and personified.

In the Kabalah, *Kether* the “Crown”, the first Sephirah is not distinctly defined, and I have considered it as being the divine will. It is the intellect that wills and determines. The thought may be conceived of as distinct from the intellect that thinks, and we habitually speak of our thoughts as entities, having individuality of existence, like the sparks by which the invisible electricity manifests and reveals itself, but the divine will does not manifest *itself*. It remains immanent in the intellect, and reveals itself only by its effects.

In the verse of the Sirozah addressed to Bahman, we read:

Vohū-Manō, the Amēsha-Čpēnta; Peace the Victorious, placed over the creatures; the Heavenly [spiritual] Understanding, created by Mazda; the Understanding, *heard with the ears*, we praise. [The ‘Understanding heard with the ears,’ is Vohū-Manō, as contradistinguished from Čpēnta-Mainyūs, the Unheard and Unrevealed.]

Mazda-Ahura (*Yaçna xxxii. 2*) rules through Vohū-Manō. For Vohū-Manō is both the Divine *Intellect* which *judges* what *ought* to be done, and the Divine *Will*, which *determines* that it *shall* be done. “They take away my good,” says Yima, in the same, “that is ardently desired by Vohū-Manō.”

In the Amshaspands’ Yasht, Vohū-Manō is styled:

The peace that smites victoriously [and the victorious peace], which is set over other creatures, the Heavenly Understanding created by Ahura Mazda, the Understanding, heard with the ears, created by Mazda.

And this is repeated twice in the Sirozah, the words in brackets being used there. This peace, set over the other emanations, is the power, which, by giving victory to the Aryāns, gives them peace as its fruit.

In the following extracts from the Gâthâs, the first numeral indicates the number of the Gâthâ, where there are two, and the second, the Yaçna number. The figures indicate the verse.

I. *xxviii*, 1. By my prayer with uplifted hands, I desire this joy.

2. First, the entirely pure works of the Holy Spirit, Mazda, (3) the understanding of Vohû-Manô.

xxxi. 5. Let me know through Vohû-Manô what is profitable for me, that, O Mazda Ahura, what will not be and what will be.

6. To Mazda belongs the kingdom, so far as it prospers to him through Vohû-Manô.

7. He came as the first fashioner, brightness mingled with the lights:
He, the pure creation, He upholds the best soul with His understanding.

8. Thee have I thought, O Mazda, as the first to praise with the soul.
As the Father of Vohû-Mano, since I saw Thee with eyes.

10. Of them hast Thou chosen for it the active worker,
As the pure Lord over the good things of Vohû-Manô.

11. When Thou, Mazda, first createdst the world forces, and the laws,
And the understanding, through Thy spirit, when Thou clothedst the
vital powers with bodies.

xxxii. 12. Holiest, Heavenly Mazda, give me through Asha, strong power,
through Vohû-Manô, fullness of good.

13. To teach afar for rejoicing, give me certainty,
That from the Kingdom, O Ahura, which belongs to the blessings of
Vohû-Manô.

xxxiv. 2. And so to Thee [Ahura], by means of the soul are also given all
the good things of Vohû-Manô.

3. May all good things which are nourished by Vohû-Manô, be in Thy
Kingdom.

The worshipper first offers to Ahura his life, and the products that are his wealth, and then "by means of the soul," "all good things of Vohû-Manô." These "good things" "given by means of the soul," must be the works produced by the intellect, prayers, hymns, etc.

7. Where are Thy worshippers, Mazda, who are known to Vohû-Manô?

8. Those who think not purity, from these hastens Vohû-Manô afar.

9. Those who, from ignorance of Vohû-Manô, destroy with evil deeds, the
holy wisdom, which is desired by them that know Thee, from them, purity
flies away.

10. Let the wise announce the laying hold on Vohû-Manô, with the deed;
him who knows, the holy wisdom, the skilful, the abode of purity;

i. e., let those who are wise show by their actions, by the practical results, that they attain unto and become possessors of, or have cognizance of, the divine intellect manifested in Vohû-Manô, so that a portion of it passes into them, and let him who attains a knowledge of the truth, show in his works and conduct, the effects of the divine wisdom, show his possession

of true knowledge by sagacious conduct of affairs (civil or military), and that he is imbued with and actuated by the true faith and religion.

Vohû-Manô "hastens afar" from those who know not purity, because he is the divine intellectual power, and that divine spirit from which all the spirits of men emanate, and from it receives all sagacity, acumen, astuteness, aptness, quickness of comprehension, discrimination of the true from the false, capacity to learn, perspicacity, clear-sightedness, discernment, wisdom, reason, judgment, genius, inspiration, prudence, discretion, keen-sightedness, and thoughtfulness, all ability, talent, cleverness, dexterity, skill, military capacity, statesmanship, tact, ingenuity and shrewdness. These and the like are the "gifts" and "the good things" of Vohû-Manô. "The understanding of Vohû-Manô" is these intellectual gifts to men, which, though in them, are still his, manifested in them, like rays from an unseen source. It is, of course, "through Vohû-Manô" that men know what is for their real and permanent benefit, what is good and true, as distinguished from the merely expedient. The kingdom (the dominion of the true faith) prospers to Ahura through Vohû-Manô, because it is the divine intellect in man that comprehends and understands it, and prefers it to the falsehood. Ahura is the Father of Vohû-Manô, because the latter issues and emanates or flows out from Him, and is not a creation out of nothing, but, as it were, both generated and produced by Him, and the worshipper sees Ahura with his eyes, in the visible and material results achieved by the intellect and skill and wisdom which their spirits receive from Vohû-Manô.

This divine intellect is also the creative word [the *Logos*], uttered by the Holy Spirit [the Holy Ghost], through and by which Mazda created the world, religion and human understanding, and clothed the pre-existing souls and vital powers [*animæ*], with bodies, and "created deeds," i. e., the material universe, everything actual and cognizable by the senses, and fashioned the cattle and made ways for them.

These intellectual gifts are that "fullness of good" that Mazda gives, and by them comes that "certainty," that implicit faith and confidence, "which comes from the kingdom that belongs to the blessings of Vohû-Manô," i. e., the pre-eminence and supremacy of intellectual knowledge of the truth. "The good things nourished by Vohû-Manô" and which are prayed to be "in the kingdom" of Ahura, because "he is wholly wise who ever brings profit to such as you," are, I think, the same intellectual gifts, one of the most valued whereof was military skill. Zarathustra prayed that all these might be possessed by himself and others in power, in the Aryan land, the kingdom of Ahura, for He reigned where His faith prevailed, and only there—Añra Mainyûs reigning in the lands of the unbelievers.

And the reason given for asking this is, that it is only the wise who can serve well the Aryan cause, and so be of profit to Ahura.

"What is your Kingdom?" it is asked by Zarathustra (*xxxiv.* 5), "for to you, O Mazda, I belong." (I devote myself, the meaning is, to extending your Kingdom.) "And what your desire for works?" (and I will labour to effect the purposes that you have at heart), for immediately it is added, "with purity and good-mindedness will support your poor," i. e., I will, with the aid of the true faith and with zeal and earnestness protect and defend the Aryan common people, impoverished by the oppressor.

xxxv. 19. The wise Ahura rules with true-spoken words, who has power in His tongue

21. Mazda Ahura created fullness [abundance, plenty] and immortality [long life], the fullness of Vohū-Manō for him who through heavenly deeds is his friend [the prosperity which is the consequence of wise councils and good government].

These are the "heavenly deeds" that make Vohū-Manō the friend of those who rule and lead. For, we read:

22. Manifestly both of these are to the wise [king or ruler], to him who knows through his soul.

"Heavenly deeds" are, in many passages, acts of religious worship. The "heavenly" is the intellectual, the word "heavenly" always being a mis-translation. Often, also, the "good things" of Vohū-Manō seem to be the prayers and Maṇthras, the outflowings of the divine intellect, and themselves the producers and givers of benefits and blessings.

Of course it is difficult, and may always be impossible, to know the exact meaning of such phrases. I have, no doubt, mistaken the sense of many. In Yaçna *xxxiv.* it is said:

'I come to your adoration, O Mazda So offer we Myazda May all good things which are nourished by Vohū-Manō be in Thy Kingdom, for he is wholly wise who ever brings profit to such as you.'

Here the word "profit" probably means the fruits that human labour produces. But what the "good things nourished by Vohū-Manō" are, and how they are to be in Ahura's Kingdom, and what that Kingdom is, it is difficult to say. The first may much depend on the meaning of the word rendered "nourished." Vohū-Manō does not nourish the productions of the earth; and therefore the reference cannot be to the offerings; and probably intellectual blessings are meant, faith and devotion, or perhaps prayers and Maṇthras.

"Be in your kingdom" may mean "be in the Aryan land," or "be in your power or belong to you, or be offered to you." Perhaps the key to

the meaning is in the following line, "for he is wholly wise who ever brings profit to such as you," and the former line may by it be shown to contain an aspiration for the extension of the worship of Ahura throughout all the land.

Without repeating further what is said in the Gâthâs in regard to Vohû-Manô, I shall refer briefly to a few of the most important passages.

Mazda Ahura, they say, "rules through Vohû-Manô." His law is not the enactment of an arbitrary and omnipotent will, but of His infinite wisdom. The two are in equilibrium; although to our finite reason it would seem that an omnipotent will cannot be controlled, and that, on the other hand an infinite wisdom is inconsistent with any free exercise of will, since it renders wrong-doing impossible, and does not permit the deity to decree or act unjustly.

Ahura rules, also, over the land where the Ahurian faith prevails; and it is through Vohû-Manô, that men know the True Faith, and receive the efficacious prayers and Mañthras. The overcoming and extension of the Faith are due to that wisdom, and that military skill and capacity, which come from Vohû-Manô, are of his substance, indeed, and emanate from him. The unbelievers are friends and creatures of the Daevas, revolted from Vohû-Manô, because they prefer Akô-Manô, unreason, to him, error to the truth, and are of perverted understanding, neither wise nor reasonable, "removing themselves from the understanding of Ahura Mazda and from the true faith."

The weightiest lie [it is said in Yaçna *xlvii.*], is the destruction of Vohû-Manô [by which was, perhaps, meant the abandonment of the true faith by the conquered Aryans].

To whom [it is asked], arrives the wisdom of Vohû-Manô? They are the profitable of the regions, who take to themselves contentment through Vohû-Manô, with the works of Thy teaching, O Mazda, these are created as adversaries against the will

The last word of the original is unintelligible. The meaning, however, is plain. In all these Gâthâs which were composed during the great struggle of the Aryans under Zarathustra and his captains for liberation from the galling yoke of Scythian, Tâtar or Turanian bondage, which is described as to the last degree oppressive and degrading, intellectual capacity and endowments, in generalship and in civil affairs are set very far above mere personal deeds of prowess; and success and victory are attributed to the power of the true faith and of prayers and Mañthras. All these, the faith or religion, the prayers and the Mañthras, are the "good things" of Vohû-Manô, the gifts and fruit of the intellect. Vohû-Manô, Asha-Vahista, Khshathra and Çpênta-Armaiti are the champions, actually engaged, of the Aryans on the battle-field, as Mars and Minerva

and the other Olympian Gods, even Venus, were of the Greeks and Trojans: while the infidels were creatures of Aîra-Mainyûs, Drukhs and Daevas—wicked, of course, because of a different religious faith.

The belief that God fights on one side or the other of every war, and that in the efficacy of faith to win victories, have been always common to the Semitic and Aryan races. Israel was liberated once by “the sword of the Lord and of Gideon;” and great things are ascribed to faith by the eleventh Chapter of the letter of some unknown person to the Hebrews. Faith, we are assured, divided the waters of the Red Sea, that the people of Israel, running away with the borrowed jewelry, at whose loss, no doubt, all Egypt was indignant, might pass dry-shod; and by faith the walls of Jericho fell down, and Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephtha, David, Samuel and the prophets subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness [purity?], waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Cromwell’s Ironsides were strong through the faith, and praised God devoutly when they clove down a godless malignant or unbelieving Irishman. Masses and thanksgiving always celebrate victories, and parsons who in time of Civil War steal the plate of the communion service from rebellious churches and convey it northward, thank God very devoutly for victories in war and triumphs achieved by means of all possible scoundrelisms in elections.

Of course we must still have the old Aryan notion of the vast efficacy of prayer, or we should not be willing to pay a larger aggregate tax to those who pray for us, than to those who govern us.

“The wisdom of Vohū-Manô” is not only genius, capacity and sound judgment, in civil and military affairs, but *faith*. “To whom,” it is asked, “does this wisdom come?” For all wisdom, truth and intellectuality, according to the Zarathustrian conception, came from Ahura Mazda through Vohū-Manô. “They are the profitable of the regions [the men who are serviceable to the Aryan land], who take to themselves contentment through Vohū-Manô,” i. e., who, by means of their judgment and ability secure for the districts over which they rule, peace and content.

The “works of Mazda’s teaching” are the successes achieved and the good effected by the genius and wisdom of those inspired by Vohū-Manô. And those thus gifted and endowed, are created as adversaries against the invaders.

If we now look back to verse 7, we find that those “created for the bringing up of Vohū-Manô,” for that pure pleasant thing which the holy man should know, are invoked to expel the fierce haters of the Aryans, so that the country may become Mazda’s country: for “this creation” means simply “this Aryan country.” If we knew what meaning “bringing-up”

had to the translator, we could be more certain as to the meaning of the sentence. I conjecture the meaning to be:

Ye who are created to be instructed by, to be the pupils of, Vohû-Manô, that instruction and consoling faith, without which no man can be holy.

In the General Epistle of James (1: 17), it is said:

Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. Of His own will He begat us, with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of His creatures.

What is the changeless "Father of Lights," but Ahura Mazda, source of the Amêsha Çpêntas? and what is the "word of truth," but Vohû-Manô? "God," Paul said to Titus,

Hath in due times manifested His Word, through preaching, which is committed unto me.

The letter to the Hebrews says:

'God has in these last days, spoken to us by His Son by whom He made the worlds; who, being the brightness [the outshining radiance!] of His Glory, and the express image of His person, and sustaining all things by the word of His power, etc. The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the hearts.' [Paul said to the Roman Christians, that Jesus was] 'Declared to be the Son of God, with power, according to the Spirit of Holiness.' 'The righteousness [purity?] of God,' [he said], 'is revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, the Just [the pure] shall live by faith.' [But the anger of God, he said was] 'revealed from Heaven' [against the ungodly], 'because that which may be known of God is manifested in them, for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things [i. e. His Invisible Very Self] are clearly seen since the creation of the world, being understood through the things that are made—His eternal potency and divinity.' [This is the very doctrine of the tablet of Emerald of Hermes]: 'What is above equals what is below; the visible is the measure of the invisible.'

[The Zarathustrian 'purity' is precisely that] 'righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all those who believe.' 'The earnest expectation of the creature' [Paul says again], 'waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all. But the manifestations of the Spirit are given to every man to profit withal: For to one, the Word of Wisdom is given by the Spirit; to another, the Word of Knowledge, by the same Spirit; to another, Faith, by the same Spirit; but that single and same Spirit works all these, dividing to every man severally, as he will.'

It must be confessed, also, that with Zarathustra as with Paul, the principal requisite and chief merit was to *believe*. For those who believed fought for their faith, and this was the most meritorious and acceptable service. Little is said about the practice of the virtues and the doing of good deeds:

The gifts and callings of God [Paul said to the Christians of Rome], are without repentance If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God has raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: For with the heart, men believe unto righteousness [purity], and with the mouth confession is made to salvation A man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness, without works.

So, to the Christians of Corinth:

We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery. The hidden, which God [*προώριστεν*] produced by limitation (or definition) before the ages, to our glory God has revealed unto us by His Spirit, for the Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God No man knows the things of God, but the Spirit [*pneuma*] of God knows them which things also we speak, not in the words that human wisdom teaches, but which the Holy Spirit teaches. . . . You are the Temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you The Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power Your body is the Temple of the Holy Spirit in you, which you have from God. . . . To us, one God, the Father, from whom all things, and we in Him. . . . The earth is the Lord's and its abundance.

To the Christians of Galatia:

It pleased God to reveal His Son in me and they glorified God in me.

And when he says, "I was taught it by the revelation of Jesus Christ," he means that Christ was revealed in him, as Vohū-Manō was said to be in Zarathustra, and not that Christ revealed the Word to him. This is plain from the expression:

'He that worked efficiently in Peter, the same was potent in me' [and], 'Because ye are Sons, God hath sent forth [out of Himself by emanation] the Spirit of His Son into your hearts.'

To the Christians of Ephesus:

That God, the Father of Glory, may give you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him, the eyes of your understanding being illuminated We are His workmanship, created in Jesus, the sanctified, unto good works, which God has predestined, that we should walk in them The mystery, which from the beginning of the ages has been hidden in God, who

created all things That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith One God and Father of all, who is above [or in or present with] all things, and through all things [i. e., who inheres in and permeates all things] and is in all of you The Shield of Faith the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God It is God which works in you, both to will and to do, of His good pleasure.

To the Christians of Colossus:

Who is the Image of the Invisible God, the first-produced of the universality of created things: For in Him [*ἐν αὐτῷ*] all things were created [or fabricated] that are in Heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things were created through and in Him, and He is before [prior to, or in the van or lead of] all things, and in Him all things [*τα πάντα*, the universe] consisted [i. e., were contained] the mystery that has been hidden from ages which is Christ in you, the hope of glory the mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ; in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge For in Him abides all the plenitude of the Divinity, bodily, and you are included and contained in Him, who is the head of all Empire and Power. . . . Let the word of Christ abundantly abide in you, in all wisdom, instructing and advising each other, gratefully singing in your hearts to God, in psalms, hymns and spiritual odes.

Writing to Timotheus, his first letter, he says:

The King of kings and Lord of lords, the only one who has immortality, inhabiting the unapproachable Light, whom no man has seen or can see.

And John says:

The Life was manifested, that Eternal Life, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all. . . . Ye shall continue in the Son and in the Father.

I need not specify the points of identity between these ideas and those of the Avesta. They are too evident and striking not to arrest the attention, and whatever sense may have been ascribed to them by the church in later days, there can be no doubt as to their original meaning. And, if themselves understood, and not mere phrases without meaning, they will assist those who understand them to comprehend also the obscure and enigmatic utterances of both the Veda and the Avesta: for they all had their origin in the Aryan and not in the Semitic intellect.

ASHA-VAHISTA.

The Second Amēsha-Çpēnta is Asha-Vahista. He is addressed, in the Amshaspands' Yasht of the Khordah-Avesta, as "Asha-Vahista, the Fairest Amēsha-Çpēnta."

Asha means pure, and *Vahista*, best. And this best-pure or best-purity is said to be the Genius of Fire. But that expresses an entirely inadequate notion of this emanation.

The Yasht Ardibehest commences thus:

To Asha-Vahista, the fairest, to Airyama Ishya, to strength, created by Mazda, to Çāōka the good, endowed with far-seeing eyes, created by Mazda, pure, be satisfaction, etc. Asha-Vahista, the fairest Amēsha-Çpēnta, we praise. Airyama-Ishya, we praise. Strength, created by Mazda, we praise. Çāōka the good, endowed with far-seeing eyes, created by Mazda, pure, we praise.

Throughout the residue of the Yasht, Asha-Vahista alone is named, it bearing his name, and so being devoted to him, and it is a question whether the other names are not appellations of the same emanation, expressive of its different phases or offices. So we find, in the Amshaspands' Yasht, the same passage, substantially, twice repeated, in the same:

(9) Asha-Vahista and the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, we praise; and (10) strength, the well-created, beautiful, we praise. Victory, created by Mazda, we praise. The smiting which comes from above, we praise.

In the Sirozah, also, Asha-Vahista, Airyama Ishya, the Good Strength created by Mazda, and Çāōka are twice named together, in the verses entitled Ardibehest.

In the Gāthās, Asha-Vahista gives long life, and that reward which the Aryans most desire [which men most covet], liberation. His will and that of Ahura are the same, and he is coupled with Ahura much oftener than Vohū-Manō is, because the purpose of these hymns was to arouse military ardour, and thereby conquer and expel the infidels, and Asha, God of weapons, was God of war. It is into his hands that the Drukhs are delivered; and "the wise chiefs bring help through Asha," i. e., become auxiliaries or captains of Zarathustra, with their armed clansmen.

This help they brought through Asha: for all human power and might, in war especially, was deemed to be the Divine Power or Strength, Asha-Vahista, acting in man.

The Aryan land is the good dwelling of Vohū-Manō, of Mazda and Asha; and what Ahura in spiritual way (by communication through His emanation), through the fire and Asha, gives as strength (Spiegel has

"Wisdom;" but *khratu* is not "wisdom," but "power, might, strength,"—Greek *κράτος*), for the warriors, as perfection for the intelligent, that Zarathustra prays Mazda to make known to him and his followers, that they may learn it, by (or from) the tongue of his mouth [Vohû-Manô], that he may teach it to all the Aryans. The "Intelligent" are, probably, the military leaders: though as the Mañthras are called "perfections," the phrase may mean the true teachings or devotional compositions for the poets, to which victory was deemed to be owing.

Ahura is "very friendly with the shining Asha," i. e., is in intimate connection or union with him, as the source with its emanation, and "the precept of Asha is known in the Kingdom of Ahura." And elsewhere "the laudable sayings of Asha" are spoken of. These and some other passages caused me at one time almost to believe that Asha Vahista was the Divine Truth, and Strength only because Truth is omnipotent. The struggle in which Zarathustra was engaged, was but one form of war between Light and Truth on one side and Darkness and Falsehood on the other; and in it also the Divine Truth was the Great Champion of the Aryans. That may originally have been the meaning of the name; as Reph-Al (Raphaël), the name of one of the Hebrew Archangels, originally meant the Healing of God; and Maik-Al (Michaël), the image or likeness of God; while Auri-Al (Auriel) was the light or radiance of God.

But what Asha Vahista was conceived to be by Zarathustra is ascertainable only from the texts, if there are such, which show what action, in what scenes, was ascribed to him.

That a great struggle was in progress, is clear. It was not what Haug and Spiegel supposed it to have been, one against the Daevas or Evil Spirits, like the Holy War of Bunyan; except so far as the Daevas were deemed to conspire and act by the human enemies of the Aryans.

"Tradition," in regard to the Gâthâs, means simply the guessings and silly notions of the Parsis. It produces only misinterpretation. The contest was one against human enemies; whom many Aryan Chiefs assisted, by an ignominious submission. These Zarathustra denounced, in endeavouring to awaken and arouse the people. Ahura Mazda, he cries, has decreed evil fortune to those who by their advice prevent others from serving the cause of the true faith and Aryan freedom and independence; to those who, professing friendship, destroy our herds, and to whom food is dearer than the true faith; the Karapas among those who seek to establish over all the land the power of the infidels.

Those Aryans who tamely permitted the infidels to despoil them, as well as those who really and effectively aided the despoilers, by dissuading the people from resisting or revolting, he stigmatized as themselves infidels.

Whoever was in any way serviceable to the patriots, by devotional services, or by arms, or by the cultivation of the soil or raising of cattle, "finds himself," he said, "in the service of Asha and Vohû-Manô." Those who did not, were "despisers of relationship," of their ties of blood and kindred. "Relationship" is the consanguinity of the Aryan race; and "despising" this was being false to the obligations it imposed, and siding with or submitting to the infidels.

The third Yasht [*Kh. Av. xix.*] is the Yasht Ardibehest, devoted to Asha-Vahista, "the fairest Amêsha-Çpënta." The first two verses of it are thus translated by Spiegel and Bleeck, except one adjective:

1. Ahura Mazda spake to the most noble Zarathustra: 'As to what then belongs to the assistance of Asha-Vahista, O most noble Zarathustra (so is he) Psalmist, Zaôta, Praiser, Reader, Offerer, Lauder, Celebrator of Good, effecting that the good lights shine for the praise and adoration of us, Amêsha-Çpëntas.'

2. Then spake Zarathustra: 'Speak the words, the true words, O Ahura Mazda, how are the succours of Asha-Vahista become as Singer, Zaôta, Praiser, Reader, Offerer, Lauder, Celebrator of Good, effecting that the good lights may shine to the praise and adoration of you, Amêsha-Çpëntas?'

Then follow the "words," in laudation of Asha-Vahista. These verses are therefore simply prefatory, intended simply to declare that the praises that follow were communicated or dictated, *ipsissimis verbis*, by Ahura Mazda Himself, to Zarathustra.

The text cannot mean that Asha-Vahista was, or was to become Singer, Zaôta, Praiser, etc.; for these were the various persons who officiated at the offerings and sacrifices, and they are spoken of here as such. "As to what then belongs to" the assistance or succours, must mean, "in regard to," or "upon the subject," or "in the matter of," the championship of Asha-Vahista. And the first verse must be read, I think, after that phrase, thus:

'O Most Noble Zarathustra, be thou Singer and Zaôta, etc., and Celebrator of the benefits conferred by him, causing the bright lights of the sacrificial fires to shine for the praise and adoration of us, the Amesha-Çpëntas;' [or else it should read], 'Let the Singer, Zaôta, etc., cause the bright lights, etc.'

And the second verse must read, "Speak the true words, O Ahura Mazda, as Singer, Zaôta, etc." (i. e., as if Thou wert the Singer, etc.; or, as they must be spoken by the Singer, etc.), telling how the championship of Asha-Vahista has been manifested; "causing [or, when they cause], the bright lights to shine, etc."

The manifold, included in the Divine Unity *becomes*, when evolved in being and act, in time. The aid or patronage of Asha "becomes," when his potencies are exerted in actual help.

Asha-Vahista is then praised as "the helper of the other Amēsha-Çpēntas" (the efficient agent who executes their purposes), "whom Mazda protects through good thoughts, works and words." These invariably mean devotional compositions and observances, and the meaning cannot be that, by *them* Ahura *protects* the Amēsha-Çpēntas or Asha alone. Either the word rendered by "protect" must mean "give power to," "energize," "enable:" or else the meaning is that Asha is the adjuvant or coadjutor of the other Amēsha-Çpēntas, *for* these [the Aryans], whom Ahura protects.

Asha "smites" all the Sorcerers and Pairikas, belonging to [issue of] Añra-Mainyûs, through the best of the Mañthras, Airyama Ishyo [Farg. xx. 26-28. Yaç. liii.]. He is the great physician, who heals with all manner of remedies; and sickness, death, the Daevas, oppositions, Ashemaõgha the impure, and unbelieving hostile men flee before him. The progeny of serpents and wolves flee, contempt, haughtiness, fever, cruelty, quarrel-someness and the evil eye; false speech, Jahi allied to sorcerers, the infidel harlots, the wind straight from the north; all these flee, and he smites thousands of them.

Añra-Mainyûs laments that Asha-Vahista will smite these his beings; and that the Drukhs will be ruined, perish, flee from the Aryan land, disappear, "go away to the north to the world of death." And therefore, "for the sake of his fullness and brightness" [i.e., on account of his abundant benefits and much success and glory], Asha-Vahista is praised.

Here we find Asha-Vahista in the new character of healer; but this is natural enough, for health is strength; and sickness is debility, and unfitness for war or labour.

And, in the passage, "To Asha-Vahista the fairest, to Airyama Ishyo, to strength created by Mazda, to Caõka the good, endowed with far-seeing eyes, created by Mazda," found also in the Sirozah, we find named and personified the attributes of Asha Vahista. In Fargard xxii., the Mañthra-Çpēnta and Airyama "the Desirable" are also addressed by the name or epithet "Caõka:" Spiegel translates the name Airyama into the name "obedience," and renders "Caõka" by "profit."

Caõka, we see, is gifted with far-seeing eyes, and so is Çpēnta-Ârmaiti. No case of sickness is unknown to or unseen by the divine healing; no case of want is hidden from the ken of the divine munificence.

As to the name of the Third Amēsha-Çpēnta I have already spoken. I am not satisfied that *Vahista* means "best." There is a Sanskrit word *Vas*, the original form of *Ush*, the infinitive of which, *vastavê*, is found in the *Rig-Veda*, i. 48. 2. It means "to shine." From it comes *vasu*, "a ray of light," confounded with *vasu*, "sweet, dry." *Vasu* also means

"wealth, gold, a gem and water,"—all probably, as "shining, brilliant." [Gold, we know, has always been the metal of the sun.] From this old verb probably came *vasishtha*, the name of a Rishi; for the *Seven Rishis* were *Ursa Major*; and the name probably meant "most brilliant or most radiant;" which may be, and I think is, the meaning of *Vahista*. The Sanskrit *s* becomes *h* in Zend; but *h* in Sanskrit *never* is *h* in Zend. From the same verb, probably, are *vásara*, "a day;" *vásanta*, "vernal;" *vásu*, a name or epithet of Vishnu; *vásava*, a name of Indra, the Light-God, and even *Vohú* may be the Zend equivalent of this *Vásu*. *Ush* means "to burn" (from the *light* of the fire), whence *Ushas*, "the dawn" = *vas+as*; and the Zend *Usha-hina*; *usṛa*, i. e., *vas+ra*, "a ray of light;" and, fem. *usrā*, "a cow;" *usar*, i. e., *vas+r* (*r* for *n*, and originally for *vasant*, identical with *ushas* for *vasant*), fem., "dawn, morning."

According to this derivation, *Vahista* would mean "most radiant," "most brilliant," *ista* and *istha* being superlative terminations. And this perfectly corresponds with *Asha*, from *Ash* or *As*, "to shine;" and with the character of *Ahura* as the Primal Light, whereof the Amēsha-Çpēntas are the outshinings.

KHSHATHRA-VAIRYA.

Khshathra-Vairyā [sometimes *Vohu-Khshathra*], formerly known to us in the writings on the Persian religion, as *Shahrevar*, is said to be the lord and protector of the *metals*; and the care of the *poor* is said to be entrusted to him. The care of metals is not a natural function of a Divine effluence or emanation.

Bopp gives us, in the Zend, *Csathra*, “King.” It is the same word, and in the Sanskrit, *Kshatrya*, “caste.” From these comes the Russian Imperial name, *Czar*, and very probably the title *Tarshatha*, “Viceroy,” found in the book of Nehemiah. In the Veda, *Khshatra*, means “dominion.”

Therefore, I have concluded that *Khshathra-Vairyā* is the Divine Sovereignty or Dominion, the *Malakoth* or tenth *Sephirah (Regnum)* of the Kabalah. Bopp says *Vairyā* means “strong.”

In Yaçna *xliv.*, it is said (7):

Immortality is the wish of the Pure [the word rendered ‘immortality’ meaning ‘health’ and ‘long life’]; strength, which is a weapon against the wicked; the kingdom, whose creator is Ahura Mazda.

The “wicked” are the foreign infidels; and “the Kingdom” means “rule, dominion and sovereignty.” And the strength and kingdom are Asha-Vahista and Khshathra-Vairyā.

In Yaçna *xxix.*, where the soul of the bull is represented as asking an absolute Ruler, it says:

Give, O Ahura Mazda, to this one [the Ruler], for help Asha and Khshathra, together with Vohû-Manô, that he may create good dwellings and pleasantness.

To secure to the people comfortable homes and the enjoyments of peaceful living, was, in those better days, the function of the monarch.

And, in Yaçna *xlix.*, in which this rule of Zarathustra is spoken of, it is said in verse 3:

:There is to the man, O Mazda, Purity as a portion, which Khshathra together with Vohû-Manô imparted to him, who through the power of holiness seeks to increase this nearest world, in which the wicked takes a share.

“Nearest” is, probably, “adjacent,” and the “nearest world” the adjoining conquered country, or that still contended for, in part still held by the unbelievers.

“The man,” I take to be Zarathustra, who, by that divine strength which true piety is, strives to extend the Aryan rule in this new territory.

To him, as his especial endowment, is given the true faith, or to him its guardianship and protectorate is entrusted, by the Divine Wisdom, which befit and qualify him to perform the high mission so entrusted to him.

"The power of Holiness" may mean the potency of religious worship; but rather, I think, the fervour of religious zeal and patriotic ardour, inspiring the chiefs and soldiery, and enabling them to do great deeds, to meet bravely all dangers and make all needful sacrifices, whereby the Drukhs might be deprived of their share in the fertile lands coveted by the Aryans, and the Aryan dominion be increased.

[In verse 4 it is said], 'So will I praise you with laudation, Mazda Ahura, together with Asha and Vohû-Manô and Khshathra, that he may stand on the way of the desiring. I give open offerings in Garô-nemâna.'

"That he may stand on the way of the desiring," I have already endeavoured to explain. The "desiring" are those engaged in some undertaking, endeavouring to effect some purpose, which here was the overthrow of the infidel power. Their "way" was, probably the course upon which they sought to advance and conquer. And that he might "stand" on it meant perhaps that he might hold it and not be forced back.

Garô-nemâna is literally, "the mountain of worship." I think there must have been sacred places on the summits of certain lofty peaks, to which the people ascend, and there sacrificed at sunrise. The Sun was the body of Ahura Mazda, and there he became visible earlier than in the valleys. His first rays kissed their tops, and we find them regarded with an especial veneration.

[In Yaçna xxx. we find], 'The men who would defile the world [desolate the Aryan country], joined themselves to Aeshma [rapine]: To the other [the Aryans] came Khshathra, together with Vohû-Manô and Asha.' [And, verse 8], 'Then puts himself at thy disposition, O Mazda, Khshathra, together with Vohû-Manô, whom Ahura commands, who give the Drujas into the hands of Asha,'

(into the hands of the Aryan armies). Ahura "commands" Vohû-Manô i. e., Vohû-Manô is the expression of His Sovereign Will.

In Yaçna xxxiii., are the invocations:

10. May I increase through Vohû-Manô, Khshathra and Asha, in happiness for the body. 12. Give me at my supplication, through Asha strong power, through Vohû-Manô fullness of good; [and Khshathra is named with them again in the phrase, 'And Asha who furthers the world, and Khshathra and Vohû-Manô.'

[In Yacna xlvi. 14.] 'What thou, O Khshathra, hast commanded from purity, will I encourage the heads of the doctrine, together with all those who recite thy Mañthras.'

Here Zarathustra, addressing Ahura, applies to him the name Khshathra and I think the meaning is:

With the sovereign power which thou, as Khshathra, hast given me, I will encourage and assist the priests of the faith, and all who recite the Maṇthras, to extend the true religion.

[In Yaçna *xlivi.* 7]: Tell me, Ahura, who has created the desired wisdom, together with the kingdom?

xlvii. 11. When will Mazda, Asha, together with Armaiti come, and Khshathra, the good dwelling with fodder, who will command peace to the rude wicked. [Spiegel says, 'The good dwelling seems here personified as a genius.']}

But the meaning of the passage is, simply, when will Mazda, etc., establish the dominion of the true faith in the land, with peaceful and safe homes and abundant grain or pasturage?

Khshathra Vairyā is several times named, with the other Amēsha-Çpēntas, in the Çrōsh-Yasht, but without anything to show his peculiar functions of special individuality.

In Vispered *xxviii.* 1, we read,

The Vohū Khshathra we praise. Khshathra-Vairyā we praise, the metals we praise.

It is from this, perhaps, that he is called by the Parsees the Lord of Metals. But these are simply the weapons of war, forged of the metals, by which victory and sovereignty are won; and it is for this reason only that they are praised together with Khshathra.

In Fargard *xx.* of the Vendīdād, it is said that Thrita, the first of men skilled in medicine, desired as a favour from Khshathra-Vairyā, to withstand sickness, death, pain and fever-heat. For to restore the sick to health, and save them from death, is not a function of the divine intellect nor of the divine strength; but of the divine sovereignty.

In the Sirozah we find, "To Khshathra-Vairyā, to Metal, to the charity which feeds the beggars;" and again, "Khshathra-Vairyā, the Amēsha-Çpēnta, we praise. The Metals, we praise. The charity which feeds beggars, we praise." And in the Amshaspands' Yasht (2) the same sentence is found. The "charity that feeds the beggars" must mean the distribution of food to those impoverished by the wars, a work too great, no doubt, for private charity, and therefore considered as an appropriate function of the divine sovereignty incarnate in Zarathustra.

Kshi, whence *Kçhatra*, Sanskrit, means "to possess and to rule." In those patriarchal days, it was the "possessors" of wealth in herds and afterwards in lands, who were the rulers. Every such head of a family or clan or tribe, had and maintained a large number of dependents. These

"possessors," we have seen, were deemed of much greater value, individually, to the land, than the poor, because upon the occupation which they gave, and their bounty and liberality, the poor depended for food; and therefore the bounty or munificence which fed the poor and even the beggar was deemed a prerogative of the Ruler, a high duty, and even a constituent portion of the royalty with which, it emanating from the Deity, he was invested.

Vairya is said to mean "strong." Several Sanskrit words resemble it: *Vara*, i. e., *vri+a*, "better, best, precious, beautiful, a boon, blessing, favour, privilege;" *varishtha*, "greatest" and others: but I think it comes from *Vaira*, "heroism, prowess;" whence are *Vairaya*, "to fight, to act heroically;" *Vairin*, "heroic;" the root of which is *vri* and *vri* (which verb probably comprehends two verbs originally different, the original signification of one of which seems to be "to guard by covering," and that of the other, "to choose"). From the former comes also *vira* (probably for original *vâra*), "heroic, strong, powerful, eminent, etc.", and *virâyâ*, a denominative, meaning, "to show one's heroism;" and finally, *viryâ*, "strength, power, fortitude, heroism, dignity, splendour."

I am convinced that the meaning of a Zend word will be most correctly ascertained by means of the *original* meaning of its Sanskrit equivalent. In the original condition of the Aryans, the Ruler was one who by his heroism protected his people. As Ruler, he was especially and emphatically protector, guarding and defending his people by heroism, against their enemies.

And therefore I conclude, finally and with entire confidence, that Khshathra-Vairyâ meant, when it was first adopted as a divine name, "Protecting and Heroic Sovereignty."

ÇPĚNTA-ÂRMAITI.

It is difficult to determine from the texts, what divine attribute or potency was intended by this female Amēsha-Çpěnta. Spiegel says, in note to Vispered *ii*:

Çpěnta-Ârmaiti, is 'Perfect Wisdom,' as well as the Genius of the Earth. In both capacities she is feminine.

Let us first quote those passages of the Gâthâs, in which she is named.

I. *xxviii.* 3. May Ârmaiti, tō grant gifts, come hither at my call! [On which Spiegel remarks], 'Ârmaiti, as has been already remarked, is sometimes the genius of the earth, and sometimes wisdom personified.'

Here she is mentioned with Asha-Vahista, Vohû-Manô and Ahura Mazda.

7. Give, O Asha, that reward which men desire! Give them, O Ârmaiti, his wish to Vistâcpa, and also to me.

xxx. 7. Ârmaiti gave strength to the body, continual.

xxxi. 9. To thee (Ahura) belonged Ârmaiti. [To 'belong' always means 'to be related to, the issue or descendant of'.] With thee was the understanding that fashioned the cow, when Thou, Mazda Ahura, the Heavenly, createdest ways for her.

xxxii. 2. The perfect Ârmaiti we teach you to know. 'May she be ours!' [This the hearers reply.]

xxxiii. 11, 12, 13. Ahura Mazda, Thou who art the Most Profitable, and Ârmaiti, and Asha who furthers the world, and Khshathra and Vohû-Manô, hear me, and pardon me all whatever it may be! Purify me, O Ruler! Through Ârmaiti give me strength Teach us, O Çpěnta Ârmaiti, the law with purity.

xxxiv. 11. For both serve thee (Ahura) for food; Hâurvât and Amérêtât, the realms of Vohû-Manô, Asha, together with Ârmaiti's increase. Let strength and power belong to them, then Thou, O Mazda, art without hurt.

iii. *xlii.* 1. That I may be able to maintain purity, give me that, O Ârmaiti; kingdom, blessing, and the life of Vohû-Manô.

6. Ârmaiti teaches them, the leaders of Thy Spirit, whom no one deceives. ['Here,' Spiegel says, 'the singular changes abruptly to the plural, which, however, is easily understood, since the singular is used collectively. The construction is, 'Ârmaiti the leader, etc.'']

But who then are those whom Ârmaiti teaches? For the three lines that precede these speak of only *one* person, "He through whose deeds the world increases in purity," i. e., the true faith extends more and more in the Aryan land. In verse 1, I think that which Ârmaiti is asked to give is the power and strength mentioned in the preceding line, and not the Kingdom and blessing and life of Vohû-Manô. At any rate, Zarathus-

tra asks one or the other, that he may be able to maintain purity, that is, to establish the true faith. Spiegel thinks that the life of Vohû-Manô may mean earthly life; and Zarathustra might well ask for long life, with kingdom and blessing. But the life of Vohû-Manô is not the animal vitality of man. It is the life of the Divine Intellect, with which Zarathustra asks to be gifted.

If the lines in verse 6 can be understood at all, that is only possible by careful consideration of the whole verse, and that which precedes it. They are as follows, in the translation:

5. For the Holy One I held Thee, Mazda Ahura, when I first saw Thee at the origin of the world, as Thou effectest that deeds and prayers find their reward. Evil for the evil, good blessings for the good, at the last dissolution of the creation through Thy virtue.

6. At this dissolution there will come to Thy Kingdom, O Holy, Heavenly Mazda, through goodmindedness, he through whose deeds the world increases in purity. Ârmaiti teaches them, the leaders of Thy Spirit, whom no one deceives.

In verse 8, Zarathustra says:

Since manifest torments are desirable for the wicked, so may I suffice for strong joy to the pure [i. e., so may I be able to secure contentment and happiness to these of the true faith].

The subject of the whole Gâthâ is the struggle between Zarathustra and the Aryans, on one side, and the foreign invaders, aided by the native tribes, on the other, the punishment of the latter and the reward of the former; and I very much doubt whether there is any reference to either of these in another life. I have already commented on much of this Gâthâ, concluding that the rewards to be given were grants of lands in the adjoining country or province, which had been held by the infidel.

"When I first saw thee at the origin of the world" certainly does not mean that Zarathustra saw Ahura at the moment of creation, nor, I think, does "the last dissolution of the creation" mean the end of the world. "The origin of the world" is, I think, the first possession by the Aryans of the country occupied by them. That country is continually called "the world;" and the beginning of this world was the emigration of the Aryans into it and their conquest and occupation of it. Deeds and prayers then had their reward, in the lands then divided among the faithful. These were the good blessings of the good. Upon the evil, that is, the conquered native infidels, of course evil fell.

Now the Aryans were conquering and about to populate an adjoining country. The Aryan people were the "creation," the aggregate of the "creatures" of Mazda; and the "dissolution" of this creation, about to come, was the division of the people, by the removal of a part of them

to the conquered country. Zarathustra himself is meant, I think, by him "through whose deeds the world increases in purity," i. e., the dominion of the Aryan faith is extended; or "He" may be a pronoun of multitude, and mean, as it often does, "those." The "leaders of thy spirit" must mean the chiefs, guided and directed by Ahura, or inspired by him and the instruments of His spirit. That Ârmaiti teaches them, perhaps means merely that she prompts their removal—in other words, that they desire to cultivate the fertile lands of the new province—she being certainly the Divine Productive Power, to whom is owing all of life and growth in the world, and the birth and being of animals, as well as the fertility of the earth.

16. May the corporeal be holy, the vital powers mighty; may the Sun be beholding in the kingdom of Ârmaiti, may they give blessings for works through Vohû-Manô. [The 'corporeal' is the 'corporeal world,' very often mentioned, and always meaning the Aryan land or country. The prayer is, simply], May the Aryan land prove fertile and its productive power great: May the sun look warmly upon the realm of production and growth; and may the sun and the powers of vitality give abundant harvests, in return for the service rendered to the true faith by these inspired by Vohû-Manô.

For, as I have said, warlike skill was deemed to emanate from Vohû-Manô, and thus warlike exploits were his "deeds." In verse 12, Zarathustra, after speaking of being commissioned and instructed to preach the faith, says, "So command me not that which will not be heard [listened to, heeded, and obeyed], so that [since in that case] I lift myself up [stand up to teach, or announce myself, or engage in the work], before for me has arrived obedience united with great blessing [before the time comes when I can gain followers and disciples, and thereby secure success for the faith], which will turn your pure gifts [prayers and Maithras] to profit for the warriors."

We must always bear in mind that devotion, worship, prayers and Maithras were deemed to be the direct causes, the productive causes, of victory in war. So Moses, when his arms were held up, by prayer, gained a great victory for Israel; and faith caused the walls of Jericho to fall down.

Verse 13 explains other words. "Give me a long life [length of life], as no one obtains from you [larger than any others obtain] among the desirable of creation who are named in Thy Kingdom." "The desirable of creation, named in Thy Kingdom" are the chiefs or leading men among the people of the land wherein Ahura is worshipped; i. e., of the Aryan land. The "creation" always means the Aryan people; and the Aryan land is always Ahura's Kingdom.

Another enigmatical passage, yet easily explained if I have indeed found the keys of interpretation, is in verse 15. "When it [this] came to me [into my mind] through Vohû-Manô [through the Divine Intellect in me], and gave tokens for the understanding [and guided my own understanding]; swift thought [prompt decision] is the best; a perfect man shall not seek to make a bad man contented [an Aryan should not endeavour to gain to the support of his cause the unbelieving natives]; then become all the bad to Thee as Holy" [act without them, relying on yourselves, and success will enlist them all on your side]; or, it may mean, "If you enlist on your side the unbelieving natives, by concessions made to them, you put them upon the same footing as if they were true believers." I prefer the first interpretation, because, as the reader may remember, the same phrase, "from the bad as holy" is found in the Gâthâ Vohû-Khshathra (*l.* 6), where I read, that he who is so described, is not to be requited until the final division of the conquered country.

xliii. 6. Does Ârmaiti increase Purity through deeds? Does the Kingdom belong to Thine, on account of their good-mindedness? For whom hast Thou made the going cow [cattle driven to graze], as a beneficent gift?

To "increase purity" here, means to make prosperous the land of the true faith; and the "deeds" of Ârmaiti, by which this is done, are the harvests that through her are produced.

xlii. 4. Mazda knows, who created him, the father of the good effective spirit [of the divine productive spirit]; his daughter is Ârmaiti, the well-doing [the beneficent, or who makes prosperity, or who causes production].

10. I desire to draw near to him, with the offering of Ârmaiti [with offerings of meat or grain, productions of Ârmaiti]; to him who is called with name as the wise lord.

xlv. 12. Which [Purity, the True Faith] increases the world [makes the Aryan land prosperous], through the activity of Ârmaiti.

The "active" are the husbandmen and herdsmen. "The activity of Ârmaiti" is the labours of these; she, by means of these labours, causing production.

16. There, where Ârmaiti is enthroned with Asha [in the Aryan land].

xlii. 2. With the hands of Ârmaiti he performs pure deeds, through His own Wisdom is Mazda the Father of Purity.

It will be seen hereafter that the labours of the husbandmen were deemed highly religious, and the equivalent of worship. They could therefore fitly be called "the works of faith;" which is the meaning of "pure deeds."

6. Through the fire [by which the metals are forged into arms], he gives decisions for the combatants, through the greatness of Ârmaiti and Asha.

As Asha means the strength of the soldiers, supposed to be the Divine Strength manifested in them, the greatness of Ārmaiti may mean abundant supplies, for without these that strength will fail, and they are indispensable to effective service in the field.

xlvii. 7. May good kings rule, may bad kings not rule over us, with deeds of good wisdom, O Ārmaiti [with such a policy and such acts as good sense dictates; by which reference is intended here to the encouragement of husbandry]. For the cattle is it laboured, the diligent us this for food.

"Purity" is said in the preceding line to be "the best thing for man after birth." And by "purity" here is meant the labour of the husbandman, elsewhere, as we said, declared to be equivalent to religious worship. It supplies food for cattle and men.

This has to us brightness [prosperity], this has to us strength, might, given [has given us prosperity, strength and power], according to the desire of Vohū-Manō. So too it made trees [plants] grow with purity for Mazda [by means of labour] at the birth of the first world [at the occupation and settlement of the Aryan land].

l. 2. That which belonged to you first, Mazda Ahura and Asha, and to thee, Ārmaiti, give me as the kingdom desired.

4. Where does one attain to Asha? Where is Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti found?

In Fargard *ii.* of the Vendīdād, when Yima cleft the earth with his golden plough (or spade) and bored into it with the spear, he said, "With love, O Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti, go forth and go asunder at my prayer, thou supporter [bearer, mother] of the cattle, of the beasts of burden, and of mankind." Here the earth, as producer, is called by the name of the Divine Attribute of Productiveness. And in Fargard *iii.* we find: "When one labours on this earth, etc., he will be thrown from off this Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti into darkness;" where, again, the name is applied to the earth.

Fargard viii. 60. Ahura Mazda and Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti defend us from our foes.

xviii. 108. Then will he speak to Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti, Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti, this man I give to thee, etc.

125 to 128. A third of the water he makes dry Of a third of the trees he destroys the increase a third of the covering of Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti he destroys a third of the pure men he destroys.

Here again the name is applied to the Earth. Its covering is the herbage or grain growing upon it.

xix. 45. Praise Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti, the fair daughter of Ahura Mazda.

Vispered iii. 21. I desire Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti and those who are thy females, O Ahura Mazda.

Ormuzd-Yasht: Kh. Av. xvii. (1). 37. Here is Vohū-Manō, my creature, O Zarathustra; Asha-Vahista, my creature, O Zarathustra; Khshathra-Vairyā, my creature, O Zarathustra; Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti, my creature, O Zarathustra; here my

Hâurvât and Amérêtât, my creatures, O Zarathustra, which are a reward for the Pure who attain to incorporeality.

39. To strength, the well-created, beautiful, and the victory created by Mazda, and the smiting that comes from above, and Çpēnta-Ârmaiti.

40. O Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, smite their torments, surround their understanding, bind their hands, summer and winter smite, restrain the hinderers.

43. Then spake Zarathustra; I come to you, the eyes of Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, who annihilate what is desert in the earth, to hunt the wicked.

44. Wisdom I praise. Çpēnta-Ârmaiti I praise.

The eyes of Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, which annihilate what is desert (make the desert lands productive), must be the sun and moon.

Amshaspands' Yasht. Kh. Av. xviii. (2). 3. To the good Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, to skilfulness, the good, gifted with far-seeing eyes, created by Mazda, pure [repeated, 8]. [In the Sirozah, 5]: To the good Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, to the good liberality, gifted with far-seeing eyes, created by Mazda, pure.

Vispered ii. 10. He who holds fast Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, namely, the Mañthra of the profiting [on which Spiegel says, 'Çpēnta-Ârmaiti is Perfect Wisdom, as well as the Genius of the Earth. In both capacities she is feminine. In this verse the former meaning must be adopted. By the 'Profitable' Çāošhyantô, is meant a kind of prophets, or persons who have devoted themselves particularly to the Zarathustrian doctrines.]

Now, in Fargard *iii.* of the Vendîdâd, beginning at 76, we read as follows:

76. Who fourthly rejoices this earth with the greatest joy?

77. Then answered Ahura Mazda; He who most cultivates the fruits of the field, grass and trees [plants], which yield food, O Holy Zarathustra.

78. Or he who supplies waterless land with water, or gives water to the waterless land.

79. For the earth is not glad which lies long uncultivated.

80, 81. If it can be cultivated, then is it good for a habitation for these [the Aryan people] . . .

96. Creator of the Corporeal World, Pure One.

97. What is the increase of the Mazdayaçnian Law [the extension of the Mazdayaçnian Faith and Creed]?

98. Then answered Ahura Mazda: When one diligently cultivates grain, O Holy Zarathustra.

99, 100, 101. He who cultivates the fruits of the field cultivates Purity [the true Faith]. He promotes the Mazdayaçnian Law abroad.

105, 106, 107. When there are crops, then the Daevas hiss; when there are shoots, then the Daevas cough; when there are stalks, then the Daevas weep.

108, 109. When there are thick ears of corn, then the Daevas flee; there are the Daevas most smitten in the dwelling-places where the ears of corn are found.

110. To hell they go, melting like glowing ice.

Thus *Laborare est orare*, "to work is to pray," is a literal reading from the Zend-Avesta. To extend the Aryan faith was the work of colonization,

and for that and for success in the continual struggle against the native tribes, the cultivation of the soil was indispensable. Upon conquering a country, it was parcelled out among the Aryan warriors, and, when these had chosen their lands, among the converted native tribes. Continually exposed to inroads of the unbelieving nomads of the North, and the predatory forays by mountain tribes, the cultivation of the land by the colonist was not only stronger proof of his faith than prayer or sacrifice, but it was, in fact, the most earnest and emphatic and persistent of prayers, for the extension of the Aryan power and Mazdayaçnian faith. For what is prayer, but a desire or wish expressed, and what can more strongly express a wish for a given result, than continual labour to effect it?

Returning to Vispered *ii.*, we may understand the lines:

He who holds fast Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, namely, the Mañthras of the profiting, through whose deeds the worlds of the pure increase.

The worlds of the pure are the countries inhabited by the Aryans, probably, Bactria and Margiana. These "increase" by the labours of the "profiting" or "profitable," the workers, the husbandmen. These are the Çāshyantô. And Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, the productiveness of their fields is their Mañthra, their prayer, "the Mañthra of the profiting."

In the *Âtas-Behrâm-Nyâyis. Kh. Av. xi., 2*, we read:

Purify me, O God! Give me strength, through Ârmaiti. Holiest, Heavenly Mazda, give me at my prayer, in goodness, strong power, through Asha, fullness of blessings, through Vohû-Manô. To teach afar for joy, give me certainty; that from the kingdom, O Ahura, which belongs to the blessings of Vohû-Manô, teach, O Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, the law with purity. Zarathustra gives as a gift, the soul from his body. The precedence of a good mind, O Mazda; purity, in deed and word, obedience in rule.

By this, Zarathustra is represented as devoting his life and intellect to the propagation of the true faith, as a missionary in a distant region. His first prayer is for an abiding faith. "Purify me!" he cries, and asks, at the same time for bodily strength, through the sustenance to be supplied by Ârmaiti; for strong power through Asha, and intellectual power through Vohû-Manô, by which to make abundant converts. The strength asked through Ârmaiti, is the strength of health. "Give me certainty," he says, i. e., enable me, to teach at a distance, for Thy contentment—to teach that which is from the kingdom that belongs to the gifts of Vohû-Manô; to teach, O Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, the faith and creed with that zeal which is born of an ardent faith. For the "precedence of a good mind," I think, is the pressing forward of an impetuous zeal and earnest purpose.

In *Yaçna* *xiii.*, 3 to 10, we read, in the translation, as follows:

3. To Ahura, the Good, endued with good wisdom, I offer all good.
4. To the pure, rich, majestic.
5. Whatever are the best goods, to him, to whom the cow, to whom purity belongs [of whom and from whom the cattle are, and the true faith is], from which arises the light, the brightness which is inseparable from the lights [the luminaries of the sky].
6. I choose Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, the Good; may she belong to me.
7. By my praise [worship], I will save the cattle from theft and robbery, (will keep off) hurt and affliction from the Mazdayaçnian clans.
9. I promise to the heavenly [those of the true faith], free course, dwelling according to their desire [license to journey unmolested, and to have homes wherever they may choose].
10. That they may dwell on this earth, with the cattle. [That they, with their herds, may hold and inhabit this land.]

In *Yaçna* *xvii.*, 16 and 53, we find:

The good Çpēnta-Ârmaiti we praise; we praise thee, dwelling-place, Çpēnta-Ârmaiti [which Spiegel here renders 'earth']. We praise Thee, Lord of the dwelling-place, Pure Ahura Mazda.

The dwelling-place is the Aryan country, and hence it has been supposed that Çpēnta-Ârmaiti here and elsewhere, means the earth and the genius of the earth. "Dwelling-place" *may* mean "homes" or "homesteads."

And, in *Yaçna* *xxxi.* 9, we find Çpēnta-Ârmaiti connected with the production of the animal creation, in the sentence:

To thee [Ahura Mazda] belonged Ârmaiti, with thee was the understanding which fashioned the cow, when Thou, Mazda Ahura, the Heavenly, createdst ways for her.

Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, it is plain, is that which the Egyptians understood by *Isis*, *nature*, the great *mother*. Not nature, in our sense of the word, as the material universe, but that divine productive womb, as it were, of which the material universe is born. "Creation," in all the old cosmogonies and theogonies, was a *begetting*. The Hebrew word *bara*, which in our version of the Book *B'rashith* or *Genesis* is rendered "created", meant "to beget" and "to produce," for the divine author and source both begets and produces, as the Indian Aryans imagined Brahm dividing *himself* as male and *herself* as female. The divine *itself* contains both sexes. Brahm became himself, and Maya, urged by the desire to beget and create, and self-impregnating and impregnated, became father and mother of the universe. In the Hebrew cosmogony, the vital spirit of God brooded upon the dark chaos of matter and *begat* the universe. We shall find precisely the same idea, of the generative potency brooding upon matter,

in the later Veda, and when the philosophic notions of the Orient became familiar at Alexandria, to Philo, and afterwards in Asia Minor, to the writer of the Greek book, entitled, "The Gospel According to Saint John," Yesous, the Anointed or Consecrated (for *Christos* is simply the Hebrew word *Massayah*, Messiah, translated into Greek), was styled "The only-begotten Son of God."

The Deity, according to the creed of Zarathustra, is the source of all that is. He does not *create* something from nothing, by merely willing it to be. Nature, or the universe, is not his handiwork, but his production; and Čpěnta-Ārmaiti is the Deity as producer, as the teeming and prolific source, the cause of all birth and pregnancy, of the animal and vegetable world.

With this, I think, the meaning of the name agrees. *Ram*, in Sanskrit, means, "to have sexual intercourse with," and its perfect participle *rata* means "coition, copulation," and *ramya* is the semen virile. *Rama* is "a husband, lover and the Deity of love," i. e., of the sexual impulse and desire. Everywhere, the incentive to creation was deemed to have been, not love, but concupiscence. *Ramā* is "a wife, mistress, a name of Lakshmi, wife of Vishṇu and Goddess of prosperity," and *ramati* is "love, paradise and time." Probably *ar* was the stock form, as Dr. Muir remarks that the Greek *αργυρός* and Latin *argentum* are nearer the original than *rajata*, "made of silver," in the Sanskrit. In Zend, *rajata* becomes ērēzata, and *arama* (rest) in Sanskrit is *raman* in Zend.

As *aiti*, suffixed, forms nouns of action from verbal roots, *Aramaiti* or *Ārmaiti* would mean "the producer," by birth, and regarding the material world as proceeding from the Deity, and productiveness, as belonging to Ahura, exercised through nature; *Ārmaiti* with Čpěnta (selfness), would mean the productive potency of Ahura, as manifested and revealed and acting, in the material world, or, in other words, what we express by "mother-nature" in which phrase we personify the capacity of material natures to produce.

There is another possible derivation of Čpěnta. In Sanskrit, the verb *çvas* means "to breathe," causative "to create," whence *çvasa*, "breathing, breath, air, wind." If from this root, Čpěnta would mean, perhaps, "what is out-breathed by the Deity, i. e., what emanates, an emanation, effluence, out-flowing."

It may be from the Sanskrit *Svanta*, as I have said heretofore. Benfey makes this = *sva+anta*, mind, but this seems to me a forced explanation, *sva* meaning "own, one's self," and *anta*, "end, terminus, boundary." I should rather think that *Svanta* was itself from *çvas*, "to breathe," and that it meant "mind," if at all, as that which is breathed forth, from the Deity into man.

HÂURVÂT AND AMËRËTÂT.

Hâurvât and Amérêtât, the last two Amësha-Çpëntas are almost always named together.

Bopp (*Comparative Grammar*, p. 221), speaking of the dual of nouns, says, "Thus we read in the *Vendîdâd Sâdé*, (p. 225), *tôi ubaê hurvâoścha amérêtât-âoś-cha*, the two Hâurvâts and Amérêtâts." And in note to this, he says:

The two Genii, which Anquetil writes *Khudad* and *Amerdad*, appear very frequently in the dual, also, with the termination *bya*, and where they occur with plural terminations, this may be ascribed to the disuse of the dual, and the possibility of replacing the dual in all cases by the plural. Thus, we read (*l. c. p. 211*), *Haurvatât-ô* and *Amérêt-aś-cha*, as accusative, and with the fullest and, perhaps, sole correct reading of the theme. We will, however, not dwell on this point any longer here, but only remark that *haurvatât* is very frequently abbreviated to *haurvât*, and the *â* of *Amérêtât* is often found shortened, whence (*p. 104*), *haurvâtbya*, *Amérétaḥbya*. Undoubtedly, in the passage before us, for *hurvâoścha* must be read either *haurvatâoścha* or *haurvatâtâoścha*, or *haurvatatâoścha* The two twin Genii are feminine, and mean, apparently, 'entireness' and 'immortality.'

In Note at page 223, he gives, from the *Vendîdâd Sâdé*, page 23, *haurvâta Amérêtâta*, "the two Haurvâts and Amérêtâts."

[In Note to page 229, he says], The Genii *Haurvât* and *Amérêtât*, although each is in the dual (in the *Vend. Sâdé*, pp. 80 and 422), still are, together, named *śpēnistâ manyû mazdâ tevîshî*, etc., 'the two Most Holy Spirits, the Great, Strong.' As Genii, and natural objects of great indefinite number, where they are praised, often have the word *viçpa*, 'all,' before them, it would be important to show whether 'all Amshaspants' are never mentioned, and the utter incompatibility of the Amshaspants with the word *viçpa* would then testify the impossible duality of these two Genii. If they are identical with the celestial physicians, the Indian *Açwinen*, then 'entireness' and 'immortality' would be no unsuitable names for them.

In Pânini, we find (*p. 803*), the expressions *Mâtarâ-pitarâu* and *pitaramâratâ* marked as peculiar to the Vedas. They signify "the parents," but literally, they probably mean, "two mothers, two fathers" and "two fathers, two mothers." For the first member of the compound can here scarcely be aught but the abbreviated dual *pitarâ*, *mâtarâ*, and if this is the case, we should here have an analogy to the conjectured signification of *haurvât-a* and *Amérêtât-a*.

[At page 1135, he says]: In the Veda dialect there is a suffix *tâti*, which is used for the formation of denominative abstracts of the feminine gender, just as much as *tâ*.

Among these, in Sanskrit, he gives *Sarvātāti-s*, "allness, entireness, the whole," from *Sárva*, "every, all," and in *Note*, he says,

On this *Sarvātāti* is based the above-mentioned Zend *Haurvatāt*, which I there, without knowing its Sanskrit prototype, and especially the Vedic suffix *tāti*, have translated 'entireness,' and, in fact, for this reason, because I thought I recognized in its suffix, as also in that of *Amérētāt*, an affinity to the Sanskrit *tā*, Greek *r̄n̄t̄* and Latin *tāt̄*, regarding which, however, I had no occasion at that place to deliver my sentiments more closely, because this circumstance belongs to the doctrine of the formation of words As, according to Pāṇini, *Sarvātāti*, has the same signification as its primitive *Sárva*, we may regard the 'entireness,' 'totality,' as tantamount to 'the all,' 'the whole.'

[At page 1137, he says], The abstracts in *tāt̄*, which have hitherto been discovered in Zend, are, besides the frequently mentioned *haurvatāt*, 'entireness,' and *Ameretāt*, 'immortality,' *uparatāt*, 'superiority,' from *upara*, *superus*; *drvatāt*, 'firmness,' from *drva*, 'firm,' Sanskrit, *dhruvá*; *paourvatāt*, 'anteriority,' from *paourva*, 'anterior,' Sanskrit, *pūrva*; *ustatāt*, 'greatness,' from *usta*, 'high, great,' Sanskrit, *uttha*, 'standing up, raising one's self,' for *utstha*; *Vanhutāt*, 'riches,' Sanskrit, *Vasūtāti*; *yavatāt*, 'duration,' from *yava*, 'lasting,' *arstāt*, perhaps the Vedic *ariṣṭātāti*; *raçanstat*, according to Anquetil, *droiture*, of uncertain derivation, whence the signification also is uncertain.

In *Note* to this passage, Bopp says, "I regard *amérē*, as = Sanskrit *amara*, 'immortal'". The word, therefore, in Vedic form, would be *amarātāti* or *amaratāt*. So in Sanskrit, *amritavām*, from *amrīta*, means immortality.

But also the Zend root *Khar* = Sanskrit *svar*, means "to shine;" from which, *Kharēnō* means "lustre" or "radiance." The Latin *Aurora* is from the same root, and it is noteworthy that in the Semitic languages *h'aōr* means "the Light."

It is impossible that any Divine emanation could have been called by a name signifying "Entireness," or "The All" or "The Whole." Will the passages in which these emanations are named, help us to ascertain what they really were or were conceived to be?

[Spiegel says, *Note i. to Yaçna i.*]: Haurvāt and Amérētāt are almost always named together. The former is the Lord of the Waters, the latter, of the Trees. According to the Sadde-Bundehesh, it is they who afford what is profitable and agreeable in food. Their opponents (creatures of Añra-Mainyûs), are *Taric* and *Zaric* (*Taura* and *Zairica*).

Yaçna xlivi. 17: O Ahura, when shall I attain to the dispensation which proceeds from you for your completion, which is the wish of my words? That Haurvāt and Amérētāt may be rulers, according to this Mañthra, which is the gate that proceeds from purity.

In the preceding verse Zarathustra had asked Ahura to make manifest to him (to furnish him with) a wise Lord for the creatures in both worlds, (a wise ruler or commander, for the Aryans in the countries or divisions

of the country), and prayed that through the good spirit, he who should be so commissioned by Mazda, might be obeyed.

And in verse 17, Zarathustra desires to know when that which it is the object of his teaching and apostolate to effect will take place, the complete establishment over the whole country and with all the people, Aryan and native, of the Mazdayaçnian faith; the rule of Haurvât and Amérëtât, "as is prayed by this Mañthra, which is an expression [out-flowing], of faith and religious zeal."

18. How shall I, by religious zeal, make myself worthy of reward? Ten male horses and one camel, which Haurvât and Amérëtât have promised me, that I may offer both to Thee.

So much we have of certainty, in this Ancient Gâthâ Ustvaiti. When there is profound peace, and unbelief disappears, and the true faith rules throughout the country, and all the people are content under the rule of the Aryan Chief, Haurvât and Amérëtât will be rulers, and it is they who promise horses and camels to him who desires to sacrifice to Ahura.

xliv. 5. Now I will say to you, what the Holiest has said to me: A prayer which they shall recite, the best for men; he who, therefore, renders me obedience, and teaches it farther [in distant regions], to him come Haurvât and Amérëtât, through the deeds of the Good Spirit, Mazda Ahura.

10. He who preaches Him, with faith and zeal, to him will Haurvât and Amérëtât in the kingdom [the Aryan realm], continually give power and strength.

vii. 18, 19, 20. All the creatures of the Creator would we, together with the created lights of Ahura Mazda, keep. Praise to thee, Fire, of Ahura Mazda, mayest thou come hither to the greatest of affairs. Give us, for great friendship, for great delight, Haurvât and Amérëtât.

Vispered x. 20 to 25. (Haōmas) for the strong Yazatas, for the Amēsha-Çpēntas, those endowed with good rule, wise, ever-living, always beneficent, who dwell together with Vohû-Manô, and the women likewise. To our Haurvât and Amérëtât, to the body of the bull, to the soul of the bull, the fire with praised names, to the abode provided with holiness, with fodder, provided with food, enduring, be praise for sacrifice, adoration and praise.

[In *Yaçna* xxxiii. 8, we have]: 'Teach me to know the offering of Thy equal, Mazda [what offering is fitting for Him, suitable, corresponding to His Majesty?]; then your laudable sayings, O Asha, which were made by you as help for Amérëtât, as reward for Haurvât.'

xxxiv. 10, 11. But all that, O Mazda, may they drive out from Thy Kingdom: For both serve Thee for food, Haurvât and Amérëtât, the realms of Vohû-Manô, Asha, together with Ârmaiti's increase, let strength and power belong to them, then Thou, O Mazda, art without hurt.

The "both" must relate to Haurvât and Amérëtât; for nothing precedes it, to which it has relation. Of course, the punctuation is only guessed at, in the translation. "All that," Spiegel says, "refers to Añra-Mainyûs and his companions." "The Daevas and perverted men" had been spoken of

in verse 5, and "renounced;" also those who were mighty "there" (in the adjoining region or province, recently conquered and "annexed"), as deceivers, the oppressors of the law of Ahura, and those who think not purity (do not hold the true faith), and who destroy the Holy Wisdom, with evil deeds, from ignorance of Vohû-Manô. "From them," it is said, "purity flies far away." Then verse 10 urges the wise to announce the laying hold on Vohû-Manô with the deed; him who knows the Holy Wisdom, the skilful, the abode of purity, and to drive "all that" out of the Aryan country: i. e., to expel all unbelievers, the natives not converted. The laying hold on Vohû-Manô with the deed may mean the use of the Mañthras and prayers, which emanate from Vohû-Manô, with observance of ceremonial of sacrifice. The Holy Wisdom, the Skilful, the abode of Purity, may be Çpênta-Ârmaiti, and it may be she and Vohû-Manô who both serve Ahura for food, i. e., through whom Ahura gives the land food.

At all events, it is said that if strength and power belong to Haurvât and Amérêtât, and to the realms of Vohû-Manô and Ârmaiti which Ahura is asked to increase, then Mazda will be without hurt, i. e., his faith and his "creatures," the Aryan people, will prosper. If "both" relates to Haurvât and Amérêtât, the passage is very incoherent. Afterwards, in verse 14, "Works of Vohû-Manô" are asked for those who labour with the cattle, the wisdom of Ahura, efficacy of the soul that furthers purity. So that it seems quite certain that it is the productiveness of the land that is prayed for, abundant food, through Haurvât and Amérêtât, the rule or dominion of Vohû-Manô, and increase of that "realm" and the realm of Ârmaiti.

Yaçna lxx. 56. Haurvât, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise. Amérêtât, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise.

[In the *Amshaspands' Yasht*, we have]: To Haurvât, the Lord, to the yearly good dwelling, to the years, the Lords of Purity, to Amérêtât, the Lord, to fullness which concerns the cattle, to the corn which belongs to horses, to Gaökérêna, the Strong, created by Mazda.

9. Haurvât, the Amêsha-Çpênta, we praise. The yearly good dwelling, we praise. The years, the pure Lords of Purity, we praise. The Amêsha-Çpênta Amérêtât, we praise. Fatness which belongs to the herds, we praise. Fodder which belongs to the horses, we praise. Gaökérêna, the Strong, created by Mazda we praise.

The *Yasht-Khordât*, *Kh. Av. xx.* (4) is devoted to the praise of Haurvât. It begins by reciting the passages just quoted. Then what follows we quote as follows:

1. Ahura Mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: I have created for the pure men, these rejoicings, purifyings, peculiar properties of Haurvât.
2. He who against these Daevas, utters the name of Haurvât, of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, he smites the Naçu, he smites the Hashi, he smites the Bashi, he smites Çäeni, he smites the Buji.

The remainder of the Yasht says nothing of Haurvât. The only hint that we gain from it is that rejoicings and purifyings, or the latter alone, are "peculiar properties" of Haurvât: Whence, perhaps, the notion that he or she is the Genius of the Waters.

In the Sirozah we have the passages of the Amshaspands' Yasht repeated,—Haurvatât the Lord being named with the yearly good dwelling, and the years, and Ameretât, the Lord, with the fullness that concerns the herds, the corn-fruits that belong to the horses and Gaökérëna the Strong, created by Mazda. *Gaökérëna* we have found mentioned in Fargard xx. 17, where it is said that Ahura Mazda brought forth tens of thousands of healing trees (plants), "round about the *Gaökérëna*;" "which", Spiegel says, "is expressly explained in the Huzvaresh Translation, as the White Hom or Haöma."

In *Yaçna* iii. 61: I wish hither with praise, Myazda, food, Haurvât and Amérêtât, the well-created cow, for the satisfaction of Çraösha.

iv. 2. These Haömas, Myazdas, Zaöthras, this Bâreçma, bound together in holiness, Haurvât, Amérêtât, the well-created cow, the well-created flesh, the Haöma and Para-haöma, wood and fragrance.

vi. 51. Haurvât and Amérêtât, we praise. The well-created cow, we praise. Çraösha, etc., we praise.

vii. 66 to 69. The pious good blessing, we praise. The strong, mighty Yazata, the highest in wisdom, we praise. Haurvât and Amérêtât, the well-created cow, we honour. Haöma and Para-haöma, we praise. Wood and fragrance [incense], we praise. Praise to the pious good blessing.

Connected, in these passages, with the flesh, the bundles of twigs, the consecrated water, used in the sacrifices, Haurvât and Amérêtât are supposed to be Lords of the Water and of the Trees.

I have already spoken of the derivations of these names, and have since found nothing to add, of much importance. I am sure that Haurvât does not mean "wholeness," nor "wholesomeness," nor "entirety." The Sanskrit *Sarva*, Benfey says, is probably *sat+ra+va*. That does not seem to me a fortunate conjecture. *Sa* means, originally "one;" whence, as former part of compound nouns, "with, the same, like, equal;" *tra* latter part of compound words, "protecting," and *Va*, an adverb, "like, as."

Sarva means, "all, every, whole, entire." Benfey gives from it, as Vedic, *Sarvatati*, ολότης "wholeness, totality," and derives from it the Latin words *Salvus*, "safe"; and *Salus*, "health, safety, salvation." Haurvât must, therefore, mean either "health," or "peace, safety, security."

ÇRAÖSHA.

I have already spoken of Çraösha as devotion or worship. Perhaps a more accurate designation is the devotional sentiment.

Çraösha was not an Amësha-Çpënta; and this with reason, because devotion is not a divine attribute, nor an effluence, outflowing or emanation of the divine nature. In much later times, and when the philosophical conceptions of Zarathustra had ceased to be understood; and the divine emanations had become lords or genii of the fire, metals, the earth, waters and trees, Çraösha became the seventh Amësha-Çpënta.

Spiegel says (Note 1 to Yaçna *i*.) that "the Yaçna begins with an invocation to Ahura Mazda, as the Supreme God, and the first of the Amësha-Çpëntas. But I do not find him represented as one of the Amësha-Çpëntas, there, or anywhere else. He is the source from which they flow, and they are his creatures, everywhere."

In the Gâthâ Ahuna Vaiti, Yaçna *xxviii. 5*, it is said:

Asha, when shall I behold thee and Vohû-Manô with knowledge? The place which belongs to Ahura Mazda, the Most Profitable, which is shown by Çraösha. These Mañthras are the greatest things; we teach them to those of evil tongue [to the unbelieving native tribes].

In the same Gâthâ, Yaçna *xxxiii. 4, 5*, we have:

I curse, O Mazda, disobedience against Thee, and the evil-mindedness, the despising of relationship [community of Aryan blood], the Drukhs nearest to the work, the disdainer of obedience, the bad measure of the fodder of the cattle. I, to thy Çraösha as the greatest of all, call for help. Give us long life in the Kingdom of Vohû-Manô, unto the pure paths of purity in which Ahura Mazda dwells.

By these verses, Zarathustra invokes Ahura Mazda to punish those who, being of the Aryan faith, failed to give aid in the struggle against the infidels, and those who were ill-disposed or disloyal; those who disregarded the ties of the common relationship of all the Aryans to each other, as creatures of Ahura Mazda and descendants of Gayô-Marathan (the first man); also "the Drukhs nearest the work," who are, I have no doubt, the hostile unbelievers residing near the Aryan settlements; and "the disdainer of obedience, the bad measure of the fodder of the cattle," which is explained by what is said in verse 3, that he who, through obedience cares for the cattle with activity, is a servant of Asha and Vohû-Manô. It is his opposite, upon whom punishment is invoked, the unfaithful hireling, who, herding the cattle lazily or faithlessly, gives them insufficient food. Invoking calamity for these, Zarathustra calls for aid upon the Çraösha of Ahura Mazda, as the greatest of all. Spiegel considers the word Çraösha

here, to mean "obedience." I have no doubt that it means "worship," and that the line means, simply, "I rely for aid and assistance upon thy worship, O Ahura, the most exalted worship," i. e., the worship of the most exalted being, of all. And Ahura is therefore invoked to give to the Aryan people long life in the kingdom of Vohû-Manô, in the true faith, or until the complete triumph of the pure faith, which makes the land in which it prevails the abode of Ahura Mazda.

It is only in this Gâthâ, of all that precede the Çrosh Yasht, that Çraösha is named at all; and it is quite evident that in neither of these two passages is the word used as the name of a deity. In the first, worship or devotion "shows" the place, points the way or conducts to the place that belongs to Ahura Mazda; and the second, looking for help to the Çraösha of Ahura Mazda, as the greatest of all, absolutely excludes the idea that by that name a deity was then understood. It is at least certain that in Zarathustra's theory, Çraösha was not one of the Amësha-Çpëntas.

The Çrosh Yasht is Yaçna *lvi.*, and is composed of thirteen sections. It is prefaced thus:

Khshnaöthra for the praise, adoration, satisfaction and laud of the holy Çraösha, the strong, whose body is the Mañthra, whose weapon is uplifted, the Ahurian.

[Haug says that] Çraösha is the personification of the whole divine worship of the Parsees. This Yasht [he says] is to be recited at the commencement of the night-time.

Elsewhere than here, Spiegel translates *Khshnaöthra* by "contentment" or "satisfaction," "because it is the technical expression for a particular kind of prayers." I find no Sanskrit word from which those meanings can be derived. *Kshana* (probably for *îkshanya*, i. e., *iksh+ana*), means "a moment, leisure, opportunity, festival." *Kshayadâ* is "night." There is no other word from which it can come. *Iksh* means "to look, behold, perceive;" and *ikshana*, "sight, care, superintendence, and the eye."

I have some curiosity to know what the two original words are, one of which Mr. Bleek renders by "praise" and the other by "laud;" since these two are equivalents.

Çraösha's *body* being the Mañthra, he is the *soul* of prayer or worship. And "his weapon is uplifted," because the Aryan imagination, deeming victory due to their religious devotion, figured that devotion or worship to themselves as a warrior, fighting for them against their infidel oppressors. The same idea produced the legend of the cross that appeared in the sky to Constantine, having on it the words, *In Hoc signo vinces*, or rather in Greek 'Εν τούτῳ νίκα.

I shall quote only such portions of the sections of this Yasht as directly speak of Čraošha, there being otherwise nothing new in it to be commented on.

1, 2, 3. We praise Čraošha the holy, beautiful, victorious, the pure, lord of purity [*H* ∴ the sincere, the beautiful, the victorious], furtherer of the world [*H* ∴ who protects our territories]; who first among the creatures of Ahura Mazda, with Barečma bound together offered to Ahura Mazda.

ii. 1-3. Čraošha, etc., we praise, who first bound together the Barečma, three, five, seven, nine twigs.

In the third section, he is said to have been the first to sing the five Gâthâs of the most noble, pious Zarathustra, as holy prayer, as text, together with commentary and *imprecations*.

H ∴ According to their stanzas and their sentences, distinguishing their high and low tones.

The word which Spiegel renders by "imprecations," is *paiti-fraçao*. The Huzvaresh Translation explains it by *nerang*, i. e., magical incantations.

The Sanskrit *p* changes regularly into *f*, in Zend. In Sanskrit *praç*, as the second part of a compound word, means "asking" or "inquiring after;" and *prâça*, i. e., *pra+aç+a* means "eating," and *prâçitra*, "the part of a sacrifice to be eaten by a Brahmana." As what was offered was offered as a meal, and was not burned as a sacrifice, but after being shown, was eaten by the offerer, *fraçao* in Zend means "offerings of food."

iv. Čraošha is a firm, well-chambered dwelling for the poor men and women, after the rising of the sun.

I cannot conceive of any other meaning for this than that expressed in the Hebrew writings, in the phrases that the Lord is a rock or refuge, and a strong fortress. It must mean that he is for them a secure place of refuge, a strong fortified place against the Drukhs. For it is said immediately after, that he smites Aeshma with a blow that strikes him down and with a severe wound; and in smiting him breaks his head for him who holds his power in small respect.

In Section *v.*, he is strong, swift, mighty, terrible, heroic, very deadly, and goes forth from all battles, victoriously smiting.

In Section *vi.*, he is the strongest, firmest, most vigorous, swiftest, among youths, and first among them accomplishes deeds (performs heroic feats). The Aryans are exhorted to desire (to strive to accomplish it), that for the offering of Čraošha, the pernicious vexers of the land may be driven away; and it is said that in whatever home Čraošha receives nourishment, there the man is pious, and thinks, speaks and does much good.

He slays the Drukhs, and makes the land prosper; he watches over the faithful when they sleep; the prayer Ahuna-Vairyà is his weapon, the victorious Yaçna Haptanhaiti and all the Yaçna; through his power, victory, good stroke (*haōzanthwa*) and knowledge, the Amēsha-Çpēntas are over the Aryan land. He is law-giver for the laws; four horses bear him; he smites the Daevas with the axe of a wood-cutter. He and Arsti are worthy of adoration.

Ar represents *ri*. *Rishti* is "a sword," and "a spear;" and *rashtra*, "a realm, empire, kingdom." I have no clue to the meaning of *Arsti*.

All this is very different from the simple and sublime conceptions of Zarathustra, and belongs in great measure to a much later age. Part of it must be considered as the mere vagaries and antics of an unbridled fancy and diseased imagination. It is hardly possible to conceive of any explanation of the dwelling on the mountain, and the four horses and their hoofs which I have mentioned before.

After all, however, it only carries out into elaborate details, notions no more *outré* than many contained in phrases now in common use, and to which we are so accustomed as to see in them nothing extravagant or absurd. Milton makes his fallen angels manufacture cannon, powder and ball, and from triple batteries launch the missiles against the ethereal hosts led by the Archangel Michael. Elaborate in its details the stanza:

Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
But, Error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshippers;

and you may rival the adorers of Çraošha.

Some other passages in which this personification is mentioned may be worth quoting; since these are very ancient. The following are from the Vendîdâd:

xviii. 33. Zarathustra asked, 'Who is the Çraošha-Varëza of Çraošhâ, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, the steadfast?'

34. Then answered Ahura Mazda: 'The bird who bears the name of Parôdars, O Holy Zarathustra.'

35. Upon whom evil-speaking men impose the name of Kahrkâtaç [the cock, of course].

36. This bird lifts up his voice at every godly morning dawn:

37. Stand up, ye men, praise the best purity, destroy the Daeva.

38. There runs up to you the Daêva Bushyança with long hands.

39. This sends to sleep again the whole corporeal world when it is awakened.

48. For the third third of the night, the fire asks the holy Çraošha for protection, 'O holy Çraošha, beautiful.'

51. Then this holy Čraošha wakes up the bird which bears the name of Parôdars, O holy Zarathustra.

52. When evil-speaking men call Kahrkâtaç. Then lifts up this bird his voice at every divine dawn; 'Stand up, ye men, etc.'

70. The holy Čraošha with club uplifted, asked the Drukhs

71. To him answered this Drukhs; Čraošha, holy, beautiful!

A long conversation follows, in which these sentences are again and again repeated. I shall return to these, when I inquire into the moral code of the Avesta.

xix. 50, 53. Zarathustra gave me for answer; I praise Čraošha, the holy, beautiful, who holds a weapon in his hands against the head of the Daevas.

133. The holy Čraošha, when he is praised, is content, and accepts with love. Beautiful and victorious is the holy Čraošha.

137. Praise the holy Čraošha.

138. May Čraošha smite the Daeva Kunda, Baña and Vibaña.

139. He who seizes the sinful life of the men who belong to the Drujas, the godless Daeva-worshippers.

Which shows that the Drukhs are, as I have said, the unbelieving non-Aryan tribes.

The following passages are from the chapters of the Yaçna that precede the Gâthâs:

iii. 36. I wish hither with praise for Čraošha, the holy, worthy of adoration, victorious, advancing the Aryan land.

iv. 4. To Ahura-Mazda and the holy Čraošha, to the Amêsha-Çpêntas, to the Fravashis of the pure, etc.

27. Then we make them known; to the holy Čraošha, the sublime, victorious, advancing the Aryan land.

50. Then we make them known; to Čraošha, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, who has a strong weapon, who originates from Ahura, as Khshnaöthra [a particular kind of prayers], for praise, for adoration, satisfaction and laud.

vi. 20. Čraošha, the holy, well-increased, victorious, promoting the Aryan land, pure, lord of purity, we praise.

51. Čraošha, the holy, beautiful, victorious, furthering the Aryan land, the pure, lord of purity, we praise.

vii. 1. . . . of the holy Čraošha, the sublime, victorious, advancing the Aryan land.

52. For the satisfaction of Čraošha, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, the mighty, Ahurian, who has a renowned name, the worthy of adoration.

xvi. 8. May Čraošha be here, for praise for Ahura Mazda, the most profitable, pure, gracious to us, as at first, so at last.

The following passages are from the Khordah-Avesta.

v. *Çros Vâj*.—Khshnaöthra to Çraösha, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, whose weapons are terrible, who springs from Ahura, praise, prayer, contentment and laud.

Çraösha, the holy, well-increased, victorious, the furtherer of the Aryan land the pure, lord of purity, we praise.

xxvii. (11)—*Crosh-Yasht Hadokht*. Satisfaction for the holy Çraösha, the firm, etc.

1. Çraösha, the holy, beautiful, victorious, etc., we praise. Good adoration, best adoration, O Zarathustra, for the Aryan lands.

2. This holds back the friend of the wicked [the infidels], among the wicked, this surrounds completely the eyes and understanding, ears, hands, feet, of the evil man, as well as the evil woman, and their mouth with bands; the good prayer, the unerring, not tormented, the shield for man, a cuirass against the Drujas, an averter.

3. Çraösha the holy is he who most nourishes the poor, he is the victorious, who most slays the Drujas, also the pure man [the true believer] who most utters blessings, is, through victory the most victorious; the Mañthra-Çpënta most drives away the invisible Drujas. The Ahuna Vairyä is the most victorious among prayers. The right-spoken speech is the most victorious in all congregations. The Mazdayaçnian law is, in all disputations, in all good things, in all those which spring from pure seed, manifestly the most legal, and so appointed by Zarathustra.

4. Whoso, O Zarathustra, utters this spoken word [prayer], be it a man or a woman, with very pure mind [with a devout heart], with very pure words, with very pure works, at a great water, at a great terror in a dark cloudy night, at the bridge [or ford], of flowing waters, at the cross-ways, in the Assembly of the Faithful, at the congregation of wicked [unbelieving] Daeva-worshippers.

5. At every bad hap, as [when] one fears a misfortune from the bad, there will not on that day or in that night, an oppressor, a tormentor, an afflicter [hostile infidels or robbers], be seen by him with the eyes; the plague of the numerous thieves [predatory bands] marching along will not reach him.

14. Çraösha, etc., who watches over the treaties of peace and the compacts of the Druja, and the holiest in regard to the Amësha-Çpëntas over the land that consists of seven Kareshvares, who is the lawgiver for the law; to him has Ahura Mazda, the pure, taught the law.

15. Çraösha, etc., whom Ahura Mazda the pure created as an antagonist of Aêshma with terrible weapons. The victorious peace we praise, and the Antagonist not smitten, not coming to shame.

18. Çraösha, etc., the first, uppermost, middle and foremost, through the first, uppermost, middle and foremost offering. Wholly and entirely do we praise Çraösha, the holy, strong, whose body is the Mañthra, etc. [According to the Parsi Translation, these 'offerings' are different portions of the Avesta.]

This is evidently a mere random assertion of ignorance. The terms used are not in the least applicable or relevant to different portions of the Avesta, a Yasht, the Vispered, the Hadokht and the Duazder Hamâçt. And, besides, they are applied to Çraösha, as well as to the "offering."

If the words "first, uppermost, middle and foremost" are words of time, they all would equally apply to Çraōsha, the devotion or worship expressed by the offering or sacrifice; and I have no doubt that sacrifices at different times of the day, month or year are meant. The reference may be to the Solstices and Equinoxes.

20. All dwellings protected by Çraōsha we praise, where Çraōsha, beloved as a friend, receives, where the pure man [the true believer] especially thinks purity, especially speaks purity, especially does purity [in thought, words and actions shows forth the faith].

The fourteenth verse proves that the "Drukhs," "Drujas" or "Druja" are, everywhere, the hostile northern people who had invaded the Aryan land, and the unconverted and faithless native tribes. I shall have somewhat to say as to this shortly. It also proves that treaties and compacts were from time to time made with them, and that these were considered as having a religious sanctity; which indicated that they were confirmed by oaths.

I have referred to all the passages in the Avesta, in which Çraōsha is named, and I find nothing to warrant one in saying that he was even considered as an Amēsha-Cpēnta.

RASHNU AND ARSTÂT.

Neither Rashnu nor Arstât is named in the five Ancient Gâthâs. They are intellectual conceptions of a date much later than the time of Zarathustra.

The following passages are from the Vispered:

viii. 12. · Rashnu-Râzista we praise. [On which Spiegel says, 'Rashnu-Râzista is the Genius of Justice. Bopp gives *Rasnus*, 'straight-forward, true;' and *rasanât*, 'uprightness, *droiture*.' *Rasans*, he says, is a participle present, according to the form, and signifies, perhaps, 'shining,' and its abstract, 'lustre' (shiningness). In Sanskrit, *rašwi* is 'a beam of light.' The root of *rasnus*, he says, is *raz*=Sanskrit *rij* (from *raj*), whence *riju*, 'direct.' *Rashnu*, therefore, is 'justice, righteousness, uprightness, truth.]

Râzista I do not find in Bopp, but its derivative and meaning are plain enough. It is the superlative in *ista* of the same word *râz*. In Sanskrit, the root *râj* means "to excel, to shine." Whence *râj*, "king;" *râjas*, *râjan*, "sovereign, ruler." The Zend changes the *j* into *z*, as it does the same and other letters, in many other words, e. g., in *Vazanta*, from *Vahantâ*; *Azis*, "snake," from *Ahis*; *erêzu*, "direct," from *riju*; *bâzu*, "arm," from *bâhû*; and *mazas*, "greatness," from *mahat*, "great." Thus *Râzista* means "most royal," or "most sovereign."

In the same chapter, Verse 10, we have: "*Arstât* [which Spiegel renders 'Probitiy'], we praise." Of the meaning of this word or name, Bopp is uncertain. Perhaps, he says, it is the Sanskrit *Arishtatâti*, "invulnerable."

xii. 18. To Rashnu, the Most Righteous.

xix. 2. The descendants of the fire, the Yazatas, we praise, the descendants of the fire, those sojourning in the (dwelling) of Rashnu.

The following passages are from the Yaçna:

i. 23. To Rashnu the Most Just, and Arstât who promotes and extends the Aryan domain.

ii. 29. And Rashnu, the Most Just, I wish hither with praise. 30. And Arstât, who advances and increases the Aryan domain.

lxiv. For that I pray thee, O Rashnu, Most Righteous.

lxix. Of Rashnu, the Most Righteous.

The following passages are from the Khordah Avesta:

Mihr-Yasht. xxvi. (11.) 79.—Mithra, who gave a dwelling to Rashnus; to whom Rashnus, for long friendship, brought a dwelling place. [These words, Spiegel says, are obscure and doubtful.]

81. Mithra, who gave a dwelling to Rashnus, for whom Rashnus, out of long friendship, prepared a place.

126. On his [Mithra's] right side rides Rashnu, the most upright, holiest, most grown-up: on his left side rides the Rightest Wisdom, the gift-bringing, pure.

Crosh-Yasht-Hâdôkht. xxvii. (11.) 21.—The body of Rashnu, the most just, we praise The body of Arstât, who furthers the world, increases the world, is the profit of the world, we praise.

Rashnu-Yasht. xxviii. (12.)—Khshnaôthra to Rashnu the Most Just, and Arstât who furthers the world, increases the world, to the right-spoken speech which furthers the world.

5. We invoke and praise Rashnu the Strong: against the enemies I call him hither to this uplifted good, hither to the fire and *bâregma*, etc.

6. Then will Rashnu, the Great, Mighty, come to my help, to this uplifted good, etc.

7. O pure Rashnu, most just Rashnu, holiest Rashnu, wisest Rashnu, most chosen Rashnu, most far-seeing Rashnu: thou, O Rashnu, who most helpest the victorious, thou who most smitest the thief.

8. Unoffended, armed, thou most pernicious of the thieves and robbers in this circle in which the circles of the world are clothed [The rest of this difficult verse, Spiegel says, is quite unintelligible.]

The Yasht then invokes him, as, in succession, at the Kareshvares Arezahê, Çavahê, Fradadhafshu, Vidadhafshu, Vouru-barsti, Vouru-jarsti, and Qaniratha the high; at the Sea Vouru-Kasha, and the tree Çäena which stands in the middle of it; at the waters of Rañha and the steppes of Rañha ("probably," Spiegel says, "the Jaxartes"); at the ends of the earth, the bounds of the earth, everywhere in the earth; at the Great Hara (the Mountain Hara-bërezaiti), the lofty Hukairyâ, the high Mountain Taêra; at the Stars Vanant, Tistrya, Haptöiringa and others; at the moon, sun, lights without beginning, the best place of the pure, and the shining Garonemâno.

Sirozah. 18. To Rashnu, the justest, and Arstât, who furthers the world, increases the world; to the true-spoken word which furthers the world.

26. To Arstât who furthers the world. [Here Spiegel renders the name in parenthesis, by 'truthfulness.']}

ii. 26. Arstât, which furthers the world. [And here it becomes, in parenthesis, 'capability of self-defense'.]

If Rashnu means "justice," the divine justice, it seems strange that the epithets "just," "most just," and "righteous" should be so often applied to him. Such expressions as "the most just justice" would be, are not found in the Zend-Avesta. What is there that makes it peculiarly the function of Arstât to promote and extend the Aryan domain?

Again, how did Mithras give a dwelling to Rashnus, and Rashnus, for long friendship bring to Mithras a dwelling-place or prepare it?

What peculiar connection is there between Mithras and justice, that causes Rashnus to be represented as riding on his right side, while the rightest wisdom rides on the left? Is this latter Arstât?

So Rashnu and Arstât have bodies also. The Sun is the body of Ahura. What are the *bodies* of Justice and Truthfulness? Rashnu is far-seeing also. What is this "circle," in which the "circles" of the Aryan land are "clothed"?

Rashnu visits the various Kareshvares, also, and the Stars Vanant and Tistrya and the Great Bear, and is at the bounds and confines of the Aryan country, on the mountains, at the Sea Vouru Kasha and the waters and Steppes of Raiha.

Originally, these deities were probably two luminaries, which, becoming abstract conceptions at a later period, still continued to be connected or associated, in the popular idea, with the bodies of which they were originally the names. It is perhaps a curious coincidence that Tsadûc or Tsadyk, the Phœnician Sydyk, Just, is said to have meant the Planet Jupiter, and Malakai-Isadik [Melchizedek], King of Salem, is supposed to have been a priest of that Planet-God.

I find no certain derivation for these names in the Sanskrit, and they may have been aboriginal names of Jupiter and Venus.

I find in Benfey, that *rasana* and *raçanâ* are the same word, perhaps akin to *raçmi*. They mean "sounding, tasting, a woman's girdle, the tongue." *Ras* means "to sound, roar, ring, praise," and another verb, *ras*, "to taste," and, perhaps, "to love." *Raçmi* means "a rein, a ray of light, an eye-lash;" while *Ushña-raçmi* and *tigma-ragmi* mean "the sun," and *Çita-raçmi*, "the moon." *Rasa*, probably from *ram* (to rest, rejoice, love, have sexual intercourse with), means "taste, pleasure, enjoyment, charm, inclination, juice, essence, water, the semen virile, passion, love, etc." *Rasna* means "a thing;" *rasya*, "blood."

I do not think that *Rashnu* is derived from this source. But there is in Sanskrit, a verb, *raksh*, meaning: "To preserve, spare, guard, keep, tend, govern, protect." From this are *raksha*, "one who guards, preserving, guarding, protecting, protection;" *rakshaka*, "a protector, guardian;" *rakshana*, "preserving, protecting;" *rakshin*, "who or what guards;" and *rakshna*, "protection."

The termination *nu*, in Sanskrit and Zend, forms oxytone adjectives and substantives. (Bopp. §948, where many examples are given.)

In Sanskrit *ksh* becomes *sh* in Zend, in *dashina* for *dakshina*, "right (side or hand)," *tash*, for *taksh*, "to fabricate, beget;" *chasman* for *chakshu*, "eye." *Rashnu*, therefore, means "guarding, protecting, guardian, protector, warder, sentinel." He was, probably, at first, the Morning Star, anciently characterized as masculine.

Arch, Sanskrit, means "to beam, to shine" (*Rigv.* 1. 85. 2 and 92. 3). Afterwards it came to mean "to worship, to honour." Thence, *archi*, "flame;" *archis*, "a ray of light," and *rich*, which is the same verb, (whence

archya, archaya, archila, etc.) also means "to shine, praise, honour;" whence *riksha* or *Arksha*, "a Star," the Greek *αρκτος* and Latin *Ursus*, "a bear."

I find no other derivation for Arstât. The resemblance between it and the Phœnician *Astarat* (*Astarte* or *Ashtaroth*), Venus, is curious, but I give it no significance, coming, without it, to the conclusion that Arstât, feminine, was originally the Evening Star, and afterwards the Planet Venus, and Love; which last meaning may have been ascribed to it on account of its supposed derivation from *ram* or *raç*. As Goddess of Love, i. e., of sexual desire and passion, Arstât was, of course, the furtherer, promoter and increaser of the Aryan land, as causing the begetting of animals and men.

Of these two Deities, Jupiter and Venus were the "bodies," and they rode, one on one side, the other on the other, of Mithra, after he became the Sun. In their circuits, orbits or paths in the sky, the Aryan land is included.

At last, no doubt, Rashnu came to be the abstract idea of Divine Justice or rightwiseness, and Arstât of the Divine Truth or Truthfulness, and the latter to be called "The Rightest Wisdom," and the "True-spoken Word."

Still Rashnu continued to "find" and to "prepare" a dwelling-place for Mithra; for he continued to be both "The Protector" and "The Sentinel" of the morning, leading the way for the sun to rise above the summits of the eastern mountain-range, which were his shrines, and upon which homage was paid to Ahura Mazda and His Son, the Fire.

It is surely a thing worthy to be noted, that the ancient names of these stars, "Guide, Sentinel or Warder," and "Radiant One," should at length have come to mean the Protecting Justice of the Deity, and the Divine Truthfulness, and that it was the post-Zarathustrian doctrine that these would give prosperity, increase and extension to the Aryan domain. But these conceptions may be of the age of Zarathustra. For we have, in the Gâthâs, a very small portion only, of the teachings of that soldier and king. The later writings, amid additions, interpolations, corruptions, excrescences and paraphrastic nonsense, contain unmistakable fragments of his instruction, and have preserved for us many of his thoughts and conceptions. He may not have personified justice and truth as Rashnu and Arstât, but he undoubtedly called them by those names, and used figurative expressions in regard to them, out of which the later conceptions grew, and we may be sure, I think, that the potency of these virtues, to make prosperous and magnify a land, was no new idea, foreign to his teaching.

It is pleasant to know that there was a time once, seven thousand years ago, perhaps, when those of our blood and kin believed, contrary to the modern faith, that nations do not prosper by wrongdoing, nor truly greater by lies.

Haug (*Essays*, 165), gives as the meaning of *Rashnu-razista*, "the rightest righteousness;" and says that he "is believed to preside over the

eternal laws of nature as well as morality," corresponding to the idea of Themis, Goddess of Justice, among the ancient Greeks:

He is everywhere, and represents to a certain extent the omnipotence of the Divine Being. He is particularly distinguished by firmness and the greatest hatred of disorder, and immorality of any kind.

The conceptions of the Irano-Aryans were by far more distinct and clear, and more philosophical and respectable than those which Dr. Haug imputes to them.

As to *razista*, it is from the Sanskrit *rāj*, "to shine, to beam," probably identical with *rañj*, "to dye, color, to glow, redder;" whence *raj*, "shining," and means "most radiant or brilliant."

And also we may well and justly be gratified, that our Aryan race owes its code of morals, as little as it owes its theosophy, religion and philosophy to the Semitic race. Zarathustrianism was not only monotheism, but the monotheism of philosophic Christianity, the belief in an incorporeal, spiritual Deity, as little cognizable by the intellect as by the senses. It was the monotheism of The Absolute, and not anthropomorphism, like the Hebraic faith in Yehuah prior to the captivity at Babylon. The Hebrew Masayah was to be a king and conqueror. The idea of the Logos and of emanations came from the Indo- and Irano-Aryans. And the moral teachings of the Aryan religions needed nothing of Semitism to make them complete. Jesus taught the morality of the Rabbis; Paul, that of the Gentiles.

ASHIS-VAṄUHI.

We find *Ashis-Vaṇuhi* spoken of in the Gâthâ Vohû Khshathra, but in Chapter *li.*, which is neither written in verse nor in the same dialect as the preceding chapters, and is evidently a later addition. She is named also in Yaçna *lv.*, which, Spiegel says,

Seems to be an introduction to the Çrosh Yasht; and which is certainly of a much later date than the Gâthas.

The passage in the Gâthâ Vohû-Khshathra, is:

- li.* 3. Ashis, the Coming, the long wished for.
4. The everlasting female companion, the self-attaching, the ever-lasting female companion, the instructing,
5. Who brings hither all remedies for the water, cattle and trees.
6. Who torments all the tormentings of the Daevas and men [punishes all their acts of violence and cruelty],
7. So that they do not wound this dwelling, the Lord of the dwelling.

Of "the coming, the long wished for," Spiegel says: "We do not know what these praises signify." Of the "self-attaching" he says: "literally, who clings close to, of herself."

In *lv.* 5. May hearing here have place for the praise of the good waters, as the male and female good Amêsha-Çpêntas, the Good Rulers, the Wise, for praise to the good things of Ashis-Vaṇuhi, who is bound with purity [connected with the ceremonial observances of religion], for our perfection and uplifting.

The following passages are from the Yaçnas that precede the Gâthâs:

i. 43. I invite and announce to, Ashis-Vaṇuhi, the good wisdom, the good righteousness, the good Raçançtât, the brightness, the Utility created by Mazda.

The beings here invoked, Spiegel says, are merely abstract personifications. But I am inclined to think that "the good wisdom" and "the good righteousness" are designations of Ashis-Vaṇuhi, and the brightness and utility, of Raçançtât. Bopp gives, *Rašanštât*, "uprightness," *droiture*.

ii. 57. Here, with the Zaôthra and Barêcma, I wish hither with praise; Ashis-Vaṇuhi, Kshnôithni, the great, strong, beautiful, enduring; the brightness created by Mazda, I wish hither with praise; the profitable created by Mazda, I wish hither with praise.

iii. 57. I wish hither with praise: for Ashis-Vaṇuhi, for the good Wisdom, the good Erethé, the good Raçançtât, for the brightness, the profit, created by Mazda.

The passage from Yaçna *i.* is repeated at *vi.* 47, and there it is said in the note, that Khshnôithni, "the great, strong, well-increased, enduring," is "the shining" or "the dwelling," according to the derivation of the word. It is praised, we see, with Ashis-Vaṅuhi, and the brightness and profit created by Mazda.

vii. 48. With purity I offer it: to Ashis-Vaṅuhi, to the good Çiçti, to the good Erethré, the good Raçançtât, to the brightness, the profit, created by Mazda.

x. 3. May Ashis-Vaṅuhi hasten hither, may Ashis-Vaṅuhi rest here [remain here], in this Ahurian dwelling of the Haöma, born of faith.

xiv. 2. The Lord of women I invoke, the Mazdayaçnian Law, Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the Parendi.

In *Fargard xix.* 131: 'I praise Ashi-Vaṅuhi; I praise the Right Wisdom.'

The following passages are from the Khordah Avesta:

Crosh-Yasht Hadökht: *xxvii.* (11) 16. The friends of Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the friends of the Good Wisdom, the friends of the Most Right Wisdom.

Farvardin-Yasht: *xxix.* (13.) 107, 108. The Fravashi of Karaçna, the Son of the daughter of Zbaurvâo, the pure, we praise, the strong, whose body is the Mañthra, who possesses a strong weapon, the Ahurian. In whose dwelling, Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the fair, shining, steps forward with the body of a maiden, a fair one, very mighty, beautiful, girt-up, pure, noble as to her shining countenance; who at the non-departure of sleep most procures with her arms amplitude for bodies, who at the non-departure of sleep, most with her arms combats the foe. [The word rendered 'arms' means the limbs of the body that are called so, not weapons].

xxxiii. 17. is the Ashi Yasht:

Satisfaction to the Good Ashi, the Good Wisdom, the Good Justice, the Good Uprightness, to the Majesty, the Profit, created by Ahura.

1. We praise Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the shining, great, beautiful, very worthy of honour, *with her shining wheel*, the strong, the bestower of profitable gifts, the healing, provided with many men, the bold.

2. The daughter of Ahura Mazda, the sister of the Amêsha-Çpëntas, who confirms all the profitable with forward-going understanding, and bestows the heavenly understanding as a gift. To him who calls for help, near as well as afar, who offers to Ashi with gifts, she comes.

3. For her brightness, for her majesty, I will praise her with audible praise, I will offer to her with well-offered offerings to Ashis-Vaṅuhi. We praise Ashis-Vaṅuhi.

6. Ashi, thou art fair; Ashi, thou art beaming, with pleasure comest thou hither, out of the beams. Ashi, thou art the giver of much brightness to the man whom thou, the sweet-smelling, followest. The house gives forth fragrance, in whose house the strong Ashis-Vaṅuhi places her feet with friendly mind, for long friendship.

Then follow descriptions of those to whom she joins or attaches herself: Men who rule kingdoms, cooking much, bestowing great portions, provided

with swift horses, with lightning-wheel, with *pliant* dagger, much-producing, food-bestowing, sweet-smelling, where the house is prepared, and other shining blessings.

It is a description of the wealthy magnates among the Aryans, who have many dependants and followers, keep bounteous tables, and dispense of their food to many retainers; are rich in horses and swift chariots, with daggers of tempered metal, make great crops and dispense much food, and who dwell in well-built houses and are surrounded by comforts and luxuries.

Their dwellings are solidly built, and they stand armed, rich in purity, possessing long assistance.

Whether the buildings or their owners are meant by this, is uncertain. I think the latter, and that "they stand armed," means that they are always ready to repel an attack or make one, and "possessing long assistance," that they have a large force of retainers and auxiliaries. "Rich in purity" may mean that they are of abundant faith, or that owing to it they are rich and powerful.

9. Their thrones are well-spread, well-clothed, well provided with coverings, and also the feet with golden coverings;

i. e., their couches for reclining, or seats, are handsomely made, ornamented, and have rich coverings and the footstools have coverings embroidered with gold.

On these seats or couches their beloved wives sit, who are the inmates of their houses, with heels bound, ear-rings hanging down and golden necklaces, waiting for the lord of the house to come, and anxious to know by what means they should minister to his bodily wants and give him pleasure. Their maidens also sit there, adorned with anklets, slim waists, with renowned body, long toes, as beautiful in body as is the wish of those whom they are to marry.

Their horses are swift, far-snorting, drawing the chariots strongly, harnessed for those going after the word [followers of the true doctrine], and bearing along the worshippers mighty in war, who are armed with long, sharp-pointed lances and flexible arrows, wary when in pursuit of the foe, slayers of men when face to face. Their camels are strong-backed, "let themselves be guided with pure mind," move with springy step and are tractable.

To these, she brings silver and gold from other countries, garments and shining girdles.

The whole picture is one, not of the time of Zarathustra, nor of ages immediately following, but of the time when Persian luxury had succeeded Median simplicity and frugality.

Following this, Ashis, the High One, is invoked to come, and look on the worshipper with charitableness, and she is thus apostrophized:

16. Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the greatest of the Yazatas, the best of the Yazatas. Thy mother is Ćpēnta-Ārmaiti; thy brother, the good Čraošha, the Holy, and Rashnus, the high, strong, and Mithra Thy sister is the Mazdayaṇian law.

17. Praised by the Yazatas, not held back by the Justest, Ashis-Vaṇuhi, the High, placed herself on a chariot, saying thus with words: 'Who art thou who offerest to me, whose speech I have heard as by far the fairest of the praying?'

18. Then thus spake the most noble Zarathustra, who was the first among men to praise Asha-Vahista, and to offer to Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Ćpēntas; at whose birth the waters and trees rejoiced and were increased, and Añra-Mainyûs fled from the broad, round and extensive Aryan land, saying, 'It is not all the Yazatas that drive me out against my will, Zarathustra alone constrains me against my will. He strikes me with the Ahuna-Vairya, with a weapon like a stone, the size of a Kata; he makes me hot by Asha-Vahista, like as metal in a furnace; he most effectually forces me away from this land and compels me to depart.'

Thereupon she invited him to come near her, and he approached her chariot, and

22. She stroked him with the left hand and the right, with the right hand and the left, saying to him, 'Thou art fair, O Zarathustra! well-created, with fair calves and long arms. To thee are given majesty for the body and great piety for the soul.'

[In verse 15, Zarathustra had said to her]: 'Thou art well-created, of good descent, free-will, mighty, majesty, created for the bodies.' [So also the epithet 'well-created' is elsewhere applied to the cattle, and to various beings, material and spiritual. Everywhere it means belonging to the creation of Mazda.]

Now follow seven legendary sections, of which I will speak more particularly under the head of "Legendary." I quote only enough here to show what powers are attributed to Ashis.

24, 25, 26. To her offered Haōshyaṇha, the Paradhâta, on the summit of the high mountain Then prayed he her for this favour: 'Grant me, O Ashis-Vaṇuhi, Thou High One, that I may smite all Mazanian Daevas Ashis-Vaṇuhi, the High, ran round, came up—Haōshyaṇha, the Paradhâta, obtained this favour.

28 to 31. To her offered Yima, the Eminent, with a numerous people, from the high Hukairyā. Then he prayed to her for this favour [that he might bring fat herds and long life to the Aryan people, and remove or avert from them hunger and thirst, old age and death, hot wind and cold, for a thousand years]. Ashis-Vaṇuhi, ran round, came near: Yima, etc., obtained this favour.

In the same manner are recited the offerings, in succession, of Thraētaōna, Haōma, Huçrava, Zarathustra and Vistâçpa, with the same concluding formula in each case.

54. Then spake Ashis-Vaṇuhi, the High: Let there not obtain of these my gifts, which one bestows me, among men, a man who has no more seed, nor a harlot who no longer has her courses, no child under age, unsought maiden, because foes follow me with swift horses very youthful.

55. Then I hide the body under the foot of a valiant steer, who protects his burden; then shall the youths under age, the maidens unsought amongst men, hide me, because the foes follow me with swift horses very youthful.

56. Then I hide the body under the throat of a ram, a valiant one, a hundred-fold active. Then shall the youths, etc. [as in former verses].

Spiegel says that the meaning of this is: "When the Kingdom is invaded, the warriors are to fight, whilst the women and children, and all who are unable to fight, are to hide away all the valuables, so that in case of defeat the enemy may find little booty. How they are to hide them under the foot of a steer, and the throat of a ram, he does not explain, nor what Ashis-Vaṇuhi has to do with the hiding."

Next, three weepings of Ashis are recited: 1. Because of a harlot who bears no children. "Set not thy foot to her," she says: "Sit not down in her house." 2. On account of the harlot who bears a child, one begotten by another man, and exposes it on the highway. 3. For the worst act which selfish men do, when they will not marry maidens long unmarried, and without bridegrooms. Each recital ends with the phrase:

What shall I do on account of them? Shall I ascend to the sky or crawl on the earth?

Ahura replies: Fair Ashis, created by the Creator, do not ascend up into the sky, do not creep upon the earth, go thou hither in the midst of the dwelling of a fair King.

And Zarathustra declares that he will offer unto and praise her, and says:

Offering, praise, strer gth, might, I vow to Ashis-Vaṇuhi, to the good wisdom, justice, equity, the brightness, the profit, created by Mazda, Ashem-Vohû!

The Astâd Yasht which follows this, is a continuation of it. Ahura tells Zarathustra that He created the Aryan majesty (the pre-eminence and supremacy of the Aryan race), abundant herds, wide rule, with much glory, with wisdom and wealth well-earned, as an adversary against Azi, and the evil-minded (i. e. the infidels, creatures of Añra Mainyûs), and that this Aryan superiority inflicted defeat on Añra Mainyûs, Aêshma, Bushyańcta, the yellow, epidemic diseases, the deadly Apaōshô, and the countries not Aryan. Then He says:

3. I have created Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the High, who goes forward to the abode [the land where this majesty abides], to the midst of the domain of the handsome, who has collected himself a kingdom, provided with all herds, all capability of self-defence, all understanding, all majesty. Ashis, possessing much brightness, unites herself to him, to this man who contents the pure, through offerings [secures the faithful peace and content by means of his offerings]. She sets one foot in his dwelling, and goes forward in the midst of the kingdom.

5. He has a thousand horses, a thousand herds, and descendants of divine nature [or inspired by the divine intellect]. He unites himself [becomes the adherent or worshipper of] with Tistrya, the shining majestic star, the strong mind, created by Mazda, the Aryan Majesty, who are like unto him. They bring thriving to all tops of the mountains, in all depths of the valleys, to all the vegetable creation, growing, fair, golden-hued. They banish the epidemics, and drive away the deadly Daeva Apaōshô. [I am quite sure that 'he,' here, is wrong.]

In the Tistar-Yasht, the eighth (*Kh. Av. xxiv.*), Ahura Mazda accompanies Tistrya, with the Amēsha-Çpēntas, and Mithra,

'over many ways. Behind Him, sweeps Ashis-Vaṅuhi, the Great, and Pârēndî with swift chariot' until he has reached, flying, the shining mountain on the shining path.

It ought to be possible to determine what was meant by a Deity of whom so much is said, and to whom functions so varied and important are ascribed.

The daughter of Ahura and Çpēnta-Ârmaiti, sister of Çraošha, Rashnus and Mithra, must, it would seem, be a spiritual being, or some personified attribute or potency of Deity or nature, and not a luminary. Her sister, also, is the Mazdayaçnian law, and this is equally and utterly inconsistent with the idea that she is a heavenly body.

[She is] the everlasting [inseparable] female companion, the one who of herself clings close to, the instructing; she is connected with or in the service of, religion; she sets foot in homes, with friendly mind for long friendship, and brings silver and gold, garments and girdles; she takes the form of a fair young maiden; she confirms all the profitable with forward-going understanding, and bestows the Heavenly understanding as a gift. She is sweet-smelling, and the house into which she comes, to remain, gives forth fragrance. She attaches herself to [becomes the intimate associate of] those who cook and bestow much food.

She is grieved on account of those who bear no children, of those who expose them, and of men who will not marry, and consults Ahura whether she shall ascend to the sky or creep or crawl on the earth, on account of them. She goes to the country of the Good King, and remains in the midst of it. It is she, and not he, who, uniting with Tistrya, the star of rain, with the wind, and with the Aryan supremacy, all which are like unto her, makes to thrive the tops of the mountains and the recesses of the valleys.

If Çpēnta-Ârmaiti is productiveness, the productive capacity of the deity, her daughter must be production, by birth and growth, causing

abundance and increase of population and wealth. This complies with the requisites of what we have here grouped together. It is, as it were, the thought of productiveness, uttering itself in word and deed. Can it be made to agree with other phrases, with which, to be correct, it *must* agree. It bestows profitable gifts, in the crops which are its deeds: it is a female companion, that attaches itself to the earth and men, causing the spontaneous growth of herbage and the increase of animals without man's intervention. It brings remedies for water, cattle and trees, by causing the means of irrigation to be preserved, the cattle to be cared for, and trees (or plants and grain) to be cultivated. What, on this hypothesis, is meant by its confirming the profitable with forward-going understanding, and bestowing heavenly understanding as a gift? I think, that production and consequent abundance assist to extend the true faith and its teachings, and encourage emigration by the chiefs of the people, to the new acquisitions that were being made to their possessions.

It is difficult to know what is meant by the word "understanding" in the various places where it occurs in Bleek's translation, especially when we do not know whether it always represents the same word of the original text. As the hardships, distress and impotence for war that are the consequences of scarcity of food and poverty of means are hostile either to bold or wise counsel in grave emergencies, and as Zarathustra and his successors undoubtedly regarded timid counsels, hesitation, indecision and fear of consequences as lack of wisdom and understanding, the abundance of production might fitly be said to bestow understanding as a gift.

Food for the people and armies, and forage for their cattle and horses were, in that day, what money is now, "the sinews of war." Therefore we have found Ârmaiti invested with warlike attributes, and represented as smiting the Druks and Daevas. And so we find Ashis (though taking at times the form of a fair maiden, appropriate to her peculiar season, the blushing spring with her rare jewelry of flowers and garnishing of leaves) punishing the Daevas, and protecting against them the Aryan homes. She is "bound" with purity, because production furnishes the means for offerings and worship. She is "brightness," or creates it; for the word so translated means prosperity; and "majesty," because to her supplies victory and the consequent supremacy were owing. She is "well-created," because she is the manifestation in act and effort and result, of a potency emanating from Ahura Mazda.

"At the non-departure of sleep," i. e., while the husbandman sleeps, her work of growth proceeds unimpeded, incessant, giving amplitude to bodies, i. e., increase of size to all that the earth produces, and the animal young, born and unborn; and it is her "arms" that are imagined to do

this because she unites her action with the toil of the human arms that cultivate the soil. So, with her arms, as a warrior, she is imagined to combat the infidels.

She is "fair and beaming," for production displays itself in beauty and rejoices in the light; and she "comes hither out of the beams," because it is the sun's rays that impregnate the earth and cause it to produce. Her "shining wheel" (or orb), is the sun which ministers to her.

She enters the household, and graciously makes women fruitful, and her grace in that respect lasts long, like a constant friendship. By affording the means, not only for barter and traffic, but for those who dig in the mines and ply the loom, to subsist, she furnishes silver and gold, garments and girdles. She is created for the bodies, of men and animals, to sustain them by food. She has free-will, for much production is spontaneous, and much capricious, sometimes rewarding the idle and disappointing by scanty crops the diligent.

The foes follow her with swift young horses; because the infidel horsemen destroyed the growing grain, prevented ploughing and sowing, and swept away the cattle and their young, and also slew the husbandmen, and so lessened the power of the land to produce.

Verse 54 can hardly mean that, under any circumstances, an old man who can no longer beget children, a woman who can no longer bear a child, or a tender maiden, should have no food. I take it that the mode of the verb rendered by "obtain" has been mistaken, and that the meaning is that they *may* come to want food, because, or in case, the infidels should ravage the land; and that, in such case the means of sustaining life, and of re-production must be found in steers and rams, who hindered by neither feebleness nor the care of young, but active on foot, can be driven out of reach of the marauders by the non-combatants, while the men make head against the raid, or are absent among the soldiery.

She is healing, because there can be no recovery from sickness without viands. She is provided with many men, because many are employed in her labours. She is sweet-smelling, for no perfumes are like those of the flowers, of the fields, and the meadow-hay freshly mown; and her fruits, stored in the houses where she abides, give forth fragrance. She especially frequents those homes of the great, where much food is cooked and much dispensed, and to maintain whose homes in splendour, and their wives and daughters in luxury, large production of food, cattle, horses and camels is necessary, to supply the means of exchange and purchase.

Çraošha is her brother, because devotion and worship increase production, by protecting the producer who worships, and because all prosperity is the part of piety. For the same reason the Mazdayaçmian law (religious teachings) is her sister. Rashnus, justice and righteousness, is

also her brother, since only the just and righteous prosper; and Mithra, because he is either the light or the sun, and, as either, essential to production.

The expression "Ashis-Vaṇuhi, the high, ran round, came up," caused me for a long time to believe that she was originally a planet. If these words correctly represent the original, I cannot explain them. The meaning may be, that as the season, revolving, returned, production manifested itself by the springing up of vegetation. And, if she was a planet, the expression, "ran round, came up," applied to it, would be simple nonsense, and would express no idea for the entrance of which into, or its origin in, any one's brain, it would be possible to account.

She laments over women that by their fault do not bear, or that, bearing, expose their children; and over men that do not marry marriageable girls, and so cause them to produce. And, in regard to them, she asks what she shall do, return to the sky, or creep upon the earth, showing no growth above it, and either way causing non-production, and punishing by famine the land in which such things were permitted.

By advice of Ahura, she abandons the land in which such derelictions of the duty to "increase and multiply" afflict her, and repairs to the realm of Zarathustra. There, uniting with the Star Tistrya, which causes rain, with the strong beneficial wind (which one "created by Mazda" must be, the hot and cold ones being creatures of Añra-Mainyûs), and with the Aryan Supremacy, which compelled or caused production as the only means of its existence, and they being like unto her, she and they caused the land to produce, from the summits of the mountains to the deepest recesses of the valleys, plants and trees bearing fruit; and by furnishing wholesome food, and medicinal plants, caused diseases to disappear, and drove away the deadly Daeva Apaōshô.

Apa, Sanskrit, is a particle of negation, when prefixed to another word, in a compound. It means "away from, without." *Oshadhî* is a plant, a medicinal herb. *Apaōshô*, therefore, is "barrenness." This I regard as conclusive of the correctness of my interpretation of the deity in question.

Çiçti, *Raçançtat*, *Eréthê* and *Kshnoithni*, are used, as we have seen, in connection with Ashis-Vaṇuhi, and are either epithets applied to her, or the names of subordinate or assistant deities or potencies.

Çiçti is from the Sanskrit verb *cvi*, "to swell, to increase," whence are, in Sanskrit, *çicu*, "the young of any man or animal;" and *çicna*, "the penis;" *çicuka*, "a child," and *çicuta*, "childhood." The Zend termination *ti* forms the present participle, "swelling, increasing," which become abstracts, as "the swelling," "the increasing," and nouns, as *Çiçti*, which means "pregnancy."

I have already mentioned what Bopp says as to Raçançtâ or Raçanstât. The termination *tat*, in Zend, forms abstracts and nouns. (*Bopp* §832.) The Sanskrit root, *ras*, means "to taste," and "to live," whence *rasa*, "pleasure, enjoyment, love, juice, essence, the semen virile;" and *rasana* is also written *raçanâ*. *Rasans* is the same as the old form *rasant*, of the present participle; and thus *Raçanstât* means "the act of generation," or "generation as a deity." The change of *s* to *ç*, is common, there being abundant instances like *raç* for *ras*, "to sound, to cry."

Artha, i. e., *ṛi-tha*, Sanskrit, "desire;" *ṛitu*, "the menstrual discharge, the season approved for sexual intercourse." *Erēthē* no doubt means "carnal desire."

Khan, Sanskrit, "to dig, to dig up;" whence *Khâta*, "a ditch;" *khânya*, "to cause to be dug;" *khanitri*, "a digger," *khanitra*, "a spade." *Khnoithrri*, no doubt means "cultivation, as by digging and ploughing."

As to the name of the goddess herself, *Vanhu*, in Zend, means "good," and *vanhutât*, "riches." *Vanh*, "to put on clothes," from the Sanskrit *vas*. For *vanhutât*, see *Bopp* §832. *Vanhu* is the Sanskrit, *vasu*, "wealth, abundance." *Ashis* is the nominative feminine of a noun from *as*, "to be," "to exist," and therefore means "being, existence, entity." And the whole name must mean, literally, "abundance, being," i. e., "the production which creates abundance."

The word rendered "high" coupled with her name, is *bērēzaiti*, supposed to be from the Sanskrit, *bark* or *varh*, "to be pre-eminent."

PÂRENDI.

"The Good Pârendi" is praised in Yaçna 38. In the Tistar Yasht, Ashis-Vañuhi the Great and Pârendi with swift chariot are praised.

In the Sirozah, Pârendi with light chariot is invoked, with Ashis-Vañuhi and many other personifications. And in Vispered *viii.* 13,

The friendly Pârendi, who is rich in friendly thoughts, words and deeds, who makes the bodies light.

According to a remark in Neriosengh, "The Pârendi is the Goddess who presides over hidden treasures." According to the Yashts, Spiegel says, "she must be a star" (which I fail to see). According to Anquetil's MS. note, she is the "Protectress of Mankind."

As will be seen by the table of substitutions of letters, at page 92, in the ancient language *l* changes in Zend into *r*, and *ph* often into *p*. Dr. Haug says that,

in the ancient language, *l* seems not to have existed at all, and in Sanskrit is later than *r*, though found in the Vedic dialect.

Bopp (§ 45) says that,

the *l* is wanting in Zend. The consonants *p* and *f* are labials, and *ph* is only an aspiration of *p*. The Sanskrit *p* becomes *ph* or *f* in Zend, only when followed by *r*, *s* or *n*.

"Originally," Bopp says (§49), "i. e., standing for itself, and not proceeding from the *p* by the influence of these letters, *f* is of very rare occurrence."

Now, in Sanskrit, *phal* means "to burst, to produce, to bear fruit, to be fruitful;" whence *phalita*, "fruitful, bearing fruit;" *phulla*, "blown, expanded," (as a flower): Caus. *phâlaya*, "to open;" *phala*, "fruit;" *phalin*, "having fruits;" *phalina*, "bearing fruit." The verb *phal* sprang from the original *spar*, which also became *sphar*, and then *sphur*, meaning, among other things, "to break forth, spring up, flash, shine, sparkle;" whence *sphuṭa*, "opened, expanded, spread;" *sphuṭana*, "opening, expanding" (as a flower); *sphati*, "swelling;" *sphant*, "to open and expand, as a flower;" *spharita*, "spread, large."

The initial *s* was early dropped in words of this kind, and *sphaç* became *paç*, *pash* and *pas*; *stan* "to sound," *tonitru* and *tonare* in Latin, and *tan-yatu* ("thunder") in the Veda; *sthag*, "to cover," *tegere*, in Latin, and *dakjan*, in Old High German; *snar* "to bathe," *ναπος*, *νιπτω* in Greek, and *naeddre* in Anglo Saxon.

I have no doubt that *Pârendi* is from this root, and personified either germination and growth, flowering or fruit-bearing. She is therefore, properly, always named with Ashis-Vañuhi.

THE YAZATAS.

The current notion in regard to the Yazatas, is thus expressed in *Guigniaut, on Creuzer* (Vol. i. Part i. p. 325):

The Izeds, inferior genii, were created by Ormuzzd, to shed blessings on the world, and watch over the people of the pure Each of the Amshaspands has his train of Izeds, who serve him as the Amshaspands themselves serve Ormuzzd. The Izeds are some male and some female. Among them, figure Mithra or Meher, who gives the earth the benefit of daylight, and independently of him, Khorschid, the sun.

And in *Volume i. (Part ii. p. 704, note)*, he gives the names of twenty-eight Izeds, of whom, he says, Plutarch knew but twenty-four,

no doubt because he restricted them to those, who, with the Amshaspands, presided over the days of the month.

These names it is not worth while to repeat.

The Sanskrit root *yaj*, Zend *yaz*, means "to pray." (*Bopp*, 1217.) Hence, in Zend, *Yaçna*, *Yâzanê*, "offering;" Sanskrit *yajna*, and Zend *yaçno*, "venerating," "adoring." Spiegel says (*Note 5 to Fargard ii.*), *Yazata*, in Sanskrit, *Yajata*, "worthy of honour," is the modern Persian *ized*, plural, *yezdan*.

Vendidad ii. 42. The Creator, Ahura Mazda, produced a congregation, the heavenly Yazatas, the renowned in Airyana-Vaêjâ, of the good creation.

44. To this congregation [that of Yima, of the best men], came the Creator, Ahura-Mazda, with the heavenly Yazatas.

Mâh Nyâyis: *Kh. Av. ix.* 6. Yazatas, endowed with much brightness, Yazatas, very health-bringing; may greatness be manifest from you, manifest from you the benefits which follow [flow from] the invocation. Great! be ye manifest in reference to splendour for the offerers.

Qarshet-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxii.* (6.) 1. The sun, the immortal shining, with swift steeds, we praise. When the sun shines in brightness, when the sunshine beams, then stand the heavenly Yazatas, *hundreds, thousands*. They bring brightness together, they spread abroad brightness, they portion out brightness, on the earth, created by Ahura, and advance the world of the pure, and advance the body of the pure, and advance the sun, the immortal, shining, having swift horses.

4. Who then offers to the sun he gives satisfaction to all heavenly and earthly Yazatas.

5. For if the sun does not rise, then the Daevas slay all which live in the Seven Kareshvares. Not a heavenly Yazata in the corporeal world would find out defence nor withstanding.

Atas-Behrâm Nyâyis: *Kh. Av. xi.* 3. Praise be to thee, Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, Giver of Good, the Greatest Yazata Holy Fire, Warrior, Yazata with much Majesty, Yazata with many healing remedies.

8, 10. Praise to thee, Fire, of Ahura Mazda, Giver of Good, Greatest Yazata.

Nirang-Ātas: *Kh. Av. xii.* 1. Praise to thee, O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, Giver of Good, Greatest Yazata, Ashem Vohū.

Mihr-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxvi.* (10.) Mithra who as the first announcer promotes strength amongst the creatures of Ćpēnta-Mainyûs, he, the well-created, greatest Yazata, when he illuminates the body, as the self-illuminating moon shines.

Bahrām-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxx.* (14.) 1. Who among the heavenly Yazatas is the best armed? Then answered Ahura Mazda, Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura.

Zamyad-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxxv.* (19.) 35. We praise Mithra, the ruler of all regions, whom Ahura Mazda created as the most majestic of the heavenly Yazatas.

Vispered xix. 1, 2. The Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda, we praise here. The descendants of the Fire, the Yazatas, we praise, those sojourning in the dwelling of Rashnu.

Amshaspands' Yasht: *Kh. Av. xviii.* (2.) 4. To Mithra, who possesses wide pastures, has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, who has a named Name, the Yazata.

The Amēsha-Ćpēntas themselves are Yazatas:

[Thus] *Vispered ix.* 2. Together with the good Yazatas, the Amēsha-Ćpēntas, who have a good empire, good wisdom.

3. With fifty, with hundreds, with thousands, with ten thousands, innumerable, with yet more than these.

And, finally, Ahura Mazda Himself is a Yazata.

Yaçna xvii. 1, 2. Ahura Mazda, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise, the Wise, Greatest Yazata, the Useful, Furtherer of the world.

3. The Creator of the good creatures.

4. With this offered Zaōthra, with right-spoken speech, we praise all heavenly Yazatas.

6. With these offered Zaōthras and right-spoken speeches, we praise all pure earthly Yazatas.

Ashi-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxiii.* (17.) 16. Thy father is Ahura Mazda, the Greatest of the Yazatas, the Best of the Yazatas. Thy mother is Ćpēnta-Armaiti.

Yaçna xxii. 32. Of all Yazatas, the pure, heavenly and earthly. .

33. . . . of the Yazatas with renowned name.

xxiii. 3. The Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, of the Amēsha-Ćpēntas, together with all pure Fravashis of the heavenly Yazatas.

xxv. 23, 24. All pure heavenly Yazatas, we praise. All pure earthly Yazatas, we praise.

But the Yazatas are not named in the Ancient Gâthâs. In the Ćrōsh-Yasht they are mentioned, and two or three times in the chapters of the Yaçna that follow it.

Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Çpēntas being Yazatas, and the number of these innumerable, and they being both earthly and heavenly, the current notions in regard to the "Izeds" must be abandoned. The word must mean either "a Spirit," or it is merely an appellative, according to its derivation, an adjective used substantively, and meaning "a being that is to be adored, worshipped, or venerated." I do not doubt that it means, simply, "an adorable," or, "a worshipful one."

And in *Yaçna iii. 67*, this is, I think, plainly shown. It reads:

For all good created Yazatas, the heavenly and the earthly, who are worthy of praise and worthy of adoration, on account of the best purity.

About the derivation of the word there is no manner of doubt. *Yaj*, in Sanskrit, means "to sacrifice, to worship;" whence *yajata*, "an officiating priest at a sacrifice;" *yajatra*, "adorable;" *yajana*, "sacrificing, worshipping." *Yajati* is the third person singular present, and as a noun means "a sacrifice;" *yājya*, "a sacrificer," and "to be sacrificed;" *yaji*, "sacrifice, a sacrificer;" and *yajata*, past participle passive, means "adored, adorable, sacrificed unto, worshipped, worshipful."

MITHRA.

Mithra, also, important as he became in the later religion, is not even once named in the Gâthâs. He became at last the divine model of every Parsee. He became God's Very Self, producing himself in human form. So it has been in all mythologies and religions. If the younger God does not dethrone the elder, he is always magnified into his equal or superior. The Very Deity, the inaccessible absolute is too remote from human sympathy and human interests, to satisfy the innate human craving for a divine object of worship that may also be loved on account of its sympathies with humanity.

Mithra or Mithras is everywhere considered to be the sun, the counterpart of the Grecian Apollo. Whether he was or represented the sun, must be determined from the texts.

In *Fargard iv.* of the Vendîdâd, the word *Mithra* is used in the sense of "contract."

4. Creator, how many are these Thy Mithras, Ahura Mazda?

5, 6. Then answered Ahura Mazda: Six, O pure Zarathustra; the first takes place with the word: 7. The second by joining hands.

13. The word makes the first Mithra.

36, 37. Creator! he who breaks a Mithra in words, what is the punishment for it? [Literally, 'He who lies to Mithra.' 'Strictly speaking,' Spiegel says, 'Mithra is the divinity who presides over contracts,' so that 'to lie to Mithra,' and 'to break a promise or contract,' are identical. In the Gujerat translation, the original term meaning 'breach of contract' is given as *Mehr-daruji*, and the Yasht devoted to Mithra is called the *Mihr-Yasht*. In the note of Spiegel, however, to verses 24, 25, the original of 'a broken contract,' or 'breach of contract,' is given thus, *Mithrô aiwi draôkhtô*].

Yaçna lx. 12. To withstand, to drive away those who harm Mithra, lie to Mithra.

lxiv. 49. Mithra with wide pastures.

lxv. 6. With purity, I give to Mithra, who possesses wide pastures, has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, a renowned name, the worthy of honour, to Râma-Qâctra.

lxvii. 46. Râma-Qâctra, pray I for this region.

60. Praise to Mithra, who possesses many pastures.

61. Praise to the sun, who is endowed with swift horses.

62. Praise to the two eyes of Ahura Mazda.

It is clear from these verses that Mithra was not the sun.

lxix. 10. The (creatures) of the holy Çraôsha, of Rashnu, the most righteous, of Mithra, who possesses wide pastures.

Vispered i. 24. I invite and announce to: Mithra, who possesses much pasture, Râma-Qâctra, the Pure, Lord of Purity. [Mithra is often spoken of in connection with Râma-Qâctra, the genius, who bestows relish to food. *Spiegel.*]

ii. 26. I wish hither with praise, Mithra, who possesses large pastures. I wish hither with praise Râma-Qâçtra.

Fargard iii. 5. Mithra with his broad territories, I will invoke, and Râma-Qâçtra.

Mihr-Nyâyis: *Kh. Av. viii.* 2. To Mithra, who possesses broad pastures, has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, and a well-known name, and to Râma-Qâçtra

3. Mithra, who possesses broad pastures, we praise; the truth-speaking, gathering, thousand-eared, well-formed, provided with ten thousand eyes, great, possessing a wide watch, strong, not sleeping, vigilant. Mithra, who is within the regions set over the regions with these regions over the regions, below before behind, the regions, we praise. The stars, the moon and sun, we praise. Mithra, the Lord of all regions, we praise. For his brightness, for his majesty, I will praise him with audible praise Mithra, who possesses wide pastures, we praise; the pleasant abode, the good abode for the Aryan provinces. May he come to us for protection, joy, profit, benevolence, healing, victory, purifying, sanctification; strong, very mighty, deserving offerings, praiseworthy, not to be lied to in the whole corporeal world, Mithra, who possesses wide pastures. This mighty, worthy of honour, strong, most profitable Mithra of created beings, I will praise with gifts.

4. Praise, adoration, strength, might, I pray for Mithra, who possesses wide pastures, has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes, who possesses a named Name, who is worthy of honour, to Râma-Qâçtra.

The same phrases are repeated in the *Gâh hávan*: *Kh. Av. xvi.* 2, 7, 8, 11. A "named name," *aökhtô-nâmanô*, is, Bleeck says, a renowned name, or perhaps, the phrase may signify that he is invoked by name.

The *Mihr Yasht* (*Kh. Av. xxvi.* 10), is very long (145 verses). That Mithra had wide pastures, many pastures, a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes is repeated in it, again and again. I shall extract only so much of it as may tend to enable us to determine what he was.

Ahura Mazda says to Zarathustra:

When I created Mithra, I created him as worthy of honour, as praiseworthy as I myself.

He bestows swift horses, if one does not lie to him. He is great, with wide watch-towers, strong, sleepless, increasing.

The lords of the regions praise him at early dawn, when they advance against the hostile squadrons, in the fight in the war for the regions.

When one sacrifices to him for increase for the soul [for abundant means of living], out of the believing mind [with true faith and confidence in him], he comes with wide pastures, with victorious winds, with the oath of the wise.

The warriors on horseback praise him, asking his aid against the enemy.

As the first heavenly Yazata, he rises over Hara before the sun, the immortal, with swift steeds, who first, with golden form, seizes the fair summits, then surrounds the whole Aryan land, the most fertile.

He marches into all the Kareshvares as a heavenly Yazata, bestowing brightness, bestowing rule, and increases the victory of those who offer to him.

[Spiegel says that] from the passage that describes him as rising over Hara, it appears that he was typified as the first sunbeams that illumine the mountain-tops, and that he then became separated from the sun, and hastened in front of him, like the Indian Aṣvins.

He punishes the Mithra liars, turns back the lances and arrows of his opponents, or the wind turns them aside. When not lied to, he takes men out of trouble, and saves them from destruction.

His body is the Maṇthra. He is a strong warrior, smiting the Daevas and Pairikas, and giving strength and victory to the region.

He supports the pillars of the lofty-built dwelling, and gives it a multitude of men and cattle.

He is prayed to for kingdom, strength, victoriousness, knowledge of holiness, the Victory created by Ahura, the blow that springs from above—themselves, as we have seen, personified as Deities created by Ahura, and thus he is invested, as it seems, with the Vice-gerency under Ahura Mazda.

44. Whose dwelling, as broad as the earth, is fast set in the corporeal world, large, unlimitedly high, broad, affording wide space [evidently the sky that rests, all around, upon the earth, or the expanse between the earth and the sky].

45. Whose eight friends sit spying for Mithra on all heights, on all watch-towers, spying out the Mithra liars, watching the paths of those for whom the Mithras liars desire, the evil [infidels] who openly slay the pure. [Respecting the meaning of this word ('eight'), I am as doubtful as Windischmann. *Spiegel.*]

If he had given us the original word, it would have been more satisfactory. How could he be at a loss to know the meaning of a Zend numeral? But if he is at a loss to know *who* are meant by the eight "friends" who sit as his warders or sentinels on as many heights and watch-towers, I share his uncertainty. They may be eight stars that rose together or nearly so, perhaps the five great Stars in Orion, with Capella and Aldebaran, the Stars of the Spring, twenty-five hundred years before Christ.

47. Whom famous golden horses with broad hoofs carry to the hostile hosts, to those armed for battle in the battle of the lands.

50. For whom Ahura Mazda has created a dwelling on Hara-bērēzaiti, the far-reaching lofty [mountains].

51. Which the Amēsha-Çpēntas have made, who all have the same will with the sun, towards the believing mind out of memory. [So, in Yasht 13, 47, 'When one first offers to them with believing mind, out of remembrance.']}

So that the meaning of the principal text is that the Amēsha-Çpēntas unite with the sun to reward (by abundant harvests?) the labours of those who have faith and sacrifice through grateful remembrance of former blessings.

Who on the high mountains comprehends the whole corporeal world [has the whole Aryan country in his field of view].

The next Chapter (13) is exceedingly significant.

53. Mithra, with uplifted hand wept to Ahura Mazda, saying thus:

54. I am the protector of all creatures, the skilful. I am the ruler of all creatures, the skilful [or, 'the Lord,' as the Parsees usually translate the word. *Spiegel.*] Yet men do not offer to me, by name, as they offer to the other Yazatas, with offerings by name.

55. For if men would offer to me with offerings by name, as they offer to the other Yazatas with offerings by name, then would I come to the pure men at the appointed time, I would come at the appointed time of my own life, the shining, the immortal.

So, in the *Tistar-Yasht. Kh. Av. xxiv. (8.)* 10, 11. The Star Tistrya says to Ahura:

When men will offer to me with offerings by name, as they offer to the other Yazatas with offerings by name, then will I come to the pure man at the appointed time, at that appointed in my own life, the bright, immortal, I will come hither, on one night, on two, or on fifty, or on a hundred.

[So], 15. Who will now offer to me here, with offerings of Haōma and flesh, to whom shall I give manly blessings, manly adherents, and for his own soul purifying? Now am I to be praised, now am I to be worshipped by the corporeal world, for the best purity.

In Verses 17 and 19, the star asks the same question, promising cows and for the soul of the worshipper, purification: horses, camels and purification.

23, 24. Men now do not honour me with offerings by name as they honour the other Yazatas with offerings by name. If men will, etc., then shall I have brought to me the strength of ten horses, ten bulls, ten mountains, ten flowing waters.

And, in Verse 25, Ahura Mazda offers to him, with offerings by name, and brings him such strength.

And in the *Mihr-Yasht*, verse 74, Mithra says again:

If men would offer to me, etc., then I would come to the pure men, at the set time and times, at the set time of my own shining heavenly life, I would come.

Which passages show clearly enough, I think, that the worship of Mithra and the stars was either entirely new, or the old nature- and star-worship which had been abolished by Zarathustra, revived after his time, probably against much opposition. It is evident that the new Gods grew into favour only by degrees, and the establishment or revival of their worship may have been due to the influence of the native tribes with which the Irano-Aryans intermingled, and from whom, in all likelihood, the names of the stars were obtained; while Mithra, or the Mitra of the Veda, was an old Aryan name and deity, invested by the Iranians with far other attributes and powers.

Mithra is the disposer of gifts and pastures; he is the upright-standing, watchful warder, the mighty gatherer, who advances the water, listens to the call, makes the water run and plants grow, prepares a circle, is prudent, gifted with strength, unerring, with much might, wise.

The "Gatherer" means, I think, the founder and peopler of new colonies, and the reference to water means that he causes the construction of works and canals for irrigation. "Who prepares a circle," Windischmann translates, "who directs the furrows," while Spiegel thinks that "circle" means a "congregation." Referring to Yima's "circle" in the second Fargard, I think that the "circle" is a settlement of Aryans, i. e., the country or portion of land which such a settlement occupies. For it is added that "he does not oppress the working peasant, but protects him against oppressors."

His face is directed to all the Seven Kareshvares. He rides in a chariot made in heavenly way, with high wheels, from the Kareshvare Arezahê to the Kareshvare Qaniratha, lofty, with fitting wheels, and with the majesty and victory created by Ahura. Ashis-Vaňuhi guides the chariot, and the Mazdayaçnian law accompanies his path, of itself. The horses draw him swiftly with heavenly wills, when the oath of the wise meets him in good manner. Before him all the heavenly Daevas and the Varenian, wicked, are affrighted.

All which evidently enough means that he gives the Aryans victory and dominion over all the Aryan land, and propagation of the Zarathustrian faith, when the leaders of the Aryans promise him worship and obedience.

Before him Véréthraghna goes with the good body of a boar, with iron feet, hands, weapons, etc. [i. e., courage, as displayed by armies of Aryans].

He gave a dwelling to Rashnus; "to whom Rashnus, for long friendship, brought a dwelling-place." "These words," Spiegel says, "are obscure and doubtful." They are repeated in the next subdivision.

Mazda gave him a thousand strengths, and ten thousand eyes for seeing. With these, he sweeps away the Mithra-harmers and Mithra-liars. The lords of the clan and dwelling, and the poor, robbed of his gifts, call on him for aid. The straying cattle call on him to restore them to their stalls. Ahura gives him rule over the worlds which behold him as Lord and Master among the creatures of the world.

95. He advances at sunrise, broad as the earth, sweeps both ends of the earth, and surrounds all that is between heaven and earth. [What is it of which this can be said, but light?] He holds a club, with a hundred knots and edges, bound with brass, etc., before which Añra-Mainyûs, Aêshma, Bushyança and the invisible Daevas, and the Varenian Daevas are affrighted.

He is the mightiest, strongest, most famous, swiftest and most victorious of the Yazatas. Čraošha marches on his right hand, and Rashnus on his left.

Ahura Mazda created him as ruler and overseer of all living nature, and, sleepless, he watchfully protects and guards the creatures of Ahura Mazda.

His long arms grasp forward here with Mithra-strength, what is in Eastern Hiñdvô, he seizes, and that which is in the Western, he smites, and what is on the Steppes of Rañha, and what is at the ends of this earth. [Spiegel says, 'Eastern India is, no doubt, the country which we call by the same name. Western India, may, perhaps, be Babylonia. The Steppes (plains) of Rañha, i. e., the Jaxartes, seem to be regarded as the boundary towards the north—the southern boundary is, naturally, the sea.]

Professor Spiegel does not give us the original word, which he represents by "India." Dr. Haug does. The word does not mean India. It is Eastern and Western Bactria that is meant.

"His long arms grasp forward, *here*," i. e., in the Aryan mother-country. "There," when used in like texts, means the newly acquired country, province or colony. Mithra's might extends over the mother country. The infidels of Eastern Bactria he subjugates, making them vassals; those in Western Bactria he smites and slays in battle, as well as those on the plains of Rañha, and at the extreme edge of the Aryan land.

I notice the word rendered by "India," hereafter. If it meant India, it would follow that this Yasht must have been written in the Indus country. But that is not possible, because it tells us of an irrigated country, and because the inhabitants of the land of the Seven Rivers could not have known anything of the Steppes of the Jaxartes. And even if this Yasht was written or composed in Media, the people of that country cannot be supposed to have known anything about Eastern and Western India. It is nonsense to suppose that Babylonia was intended by "Western India." If the translation were correct, the reference would have to be taken as being to India on the Ganges and on the Indus. To avoid this *reductio ad absurdum*, recourse is had to the more absurd notion that Babylonia is spoken of. As well have said America.

He wears a silver helm, a golden coat of mail, and is armed with a dagger; is Lord of the Clan and a warrior.

Once conceived of as aiding the Aryans in their struggle, he became a warrior, a leader of men, and the quick and alert and fertile Aryan fancy at once invested him with the arms and clothing of a soldier. The Grecian sculptor who carved the statue of Mars or Minerva, cuirassed and helmeted, with shield and spear or sword, or that of Apollo or Diana with the bow, only embodied in marble the kindred Aryan fancies already embodied in verse by the Grecian poets.

His ways are manifest, when he comes to the region where, well-honoured, he makes the deep plains into pastures. He is Lord over the dwellings, clans, confederacies, regions, and high priest.

High priest, because when the light of dawn comes, making visible or revealing as green pastures the deep dark plains below the eastern mountains, it presides, as it were, over the morning sacrifices, which greet it as an emanation from Ahura Mazda.

Ahura Mazda offered to him, in the shining Garo-nemâna [on the radiant Mountain of Adoration]. With arms uplifted, he marches to immortality [he advances, spreads, is diffused everywhere, giving new life to the land and to its people. For He is 'the Light that is the *Life of men.*'] From Garo-nemâna, the shining, he rides on a beautiful chariot, one alike strong, of all shapes, golden. To this chariot are yoked four white horses of like colour, who eat heavenly food and are immortal. Their fore-hoofs are shod with gold, their hind-hoofs with silver, and they are all harnessed to the same pole, which is curved above, bound with split, firm, inlaid clasps of metal.

On his right rides Rashnu; on his left, the Rightest Wisdom, For the protection of the chariot, there stand by a thousand bows and as many arrows, lances, knives and clubs, and one men-smashing club, with a hundred knobs and edges; all to smite the Daevas—after smiting whom, and overthrowing the Mithra-Drujas among men, he rides over the several Kareshvares.

As the first announcer [preacher of the true faith], he promotes strength among the creatures of Čpënta-Mainyûs, he, the well-created, greatest Yazata, when he illumines the body, as the self-illumining moon shines. His countenance shines like the Star Tistrya.

The translation here cannot be correct. What is the "body" which the light illumines? It may have been supposed that the moon shone by her own light, self-illuminated, but then how would she shine as the light illumines the body? How could it be said that either the sun or the countenance of the sun or of light, shines like the Star Tistrya? I venture, in view of these absurdities, to suggest as a reading:

The moon is his body and he illuminates, or shines by, this body, when the moon, revealing his very self in her light, shines. As the Star Tistrya, his countenance shines, i. e., the star is, as it were, his visage, which as such star shines. He is the strongest of the strong, the mightiest of the mighty, the most understanding of the Gods, victorious, united with majesty.

And, finally, it is said:

145. Mithra and Ahura, both great, imperishable, pure, we praise. The stars, the moon, the sun, in the bareçma-bearing trees, Mithra, the sovereign of all regions, we praise.

We may positively and with certainty say that Mithra was not the sun, when these parts of the Zend-Avesta were composed. We know that at a much later day he was so. That he was the first sunbeams which rose over the eastern mountains to illuminate their summits, and that, being such beams he became separated from the sun, and hastened in front of him, is

a conceit that hardly deserves a word of refutation. The *beams* of the sun, as separate and distinct from himself, never could have been personified as a Deity.

Mithra seems to have been entirely unknown to the Zarathustrian Creed, but in after days to have taken precedence, as the revealing of the essential light, both of Vohû-Manô and Khshathra-Vairyâ, and also to have assumed most of the attributes of Asha-Vahista. He was the patron of the Aryans, the protector of their country, the defender and propagator of their faith; with Ashis-Vâruhi, Çraôsha and Rashnus for his Lieutenants and Aides, and the rightest wisdom, clad in white, in the similitude of the Mazdayaçnian law, as his companion. That law, the royal majesty or splendour, victory, strength and the smiting from on high, all were in his service or united with him.

Yet he preserves, in many respects, traces of his original character, when he was the universal light, and especially the light of morning personified. He comes before the rising of the sun, and stands in glory upon the summits of the eastern mountains. His white horses are shod before in the gold of the sunrise, and behind with the silversplendour of the moonlight.

He "possesses wide pastures," for he floods all the level plains and meadow lands and grain fields, and the wide grassy steppes with his beneficent radiance. He has ten thousand eyes, in the stars by which he shines. These are his eyes, as the sun and moon are called the two eyes of Ahura Mazda. He is within and over, below, before and behind the Aryan regions, and is the Lord and Ruler of all those regions, and their sleepless, vigilant, untiring guardian.

Ahura Mazda created him, as worthy of honour and adoration as himself; i. e., his immediate emanation, with the right to claim to be his equal; the divine light's very self, revealed and manifested. He has wide watch-towers, in the great mountain peaks that are gladdened by his first glow as the day approaches, and which stand as sentinels around the Aryan land.

As the first heavenly Yazata [the first divine emanation entitled to be adored], he rises over Hara-bêrêzaiti before the sun, and immortal, with swift steeds, envelopes with his golden glowings the bright summits of the mountain range, and thence flows over the whole fertile Aryan land. His habitation is as wide as the whole earth, for it is the expanse under the over-arching sky, its boundary the horizon where sky and earth meet..

He is ruler and overseer over all living nature. And by degrees other attributes were superadded, and he grew in greatness, until Ahura himself was represented as offering to him. He came to be the divine intellect and power, manifested in action. The warriors, about to engage in battle,

prayed to him, and he himself, armed, mighty and victorious, engaged in the fray and routed and slew with huge club the enemies of the Aryans.

He came from Garo-nemâna, to ride, conquering, over the Kareshvares of Bactria. This "mountain of Adoration," originally a peak of Harabérzaiti, where sacrifices were made to Ahura Mazda, became, as is said in *Fargard xix.* v. 121:

The abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amêsha-Çpêntas, the abode of the other pure [as the Jewish Holy of Holies became the abode of the Shekinah, the *Deus Cohabitans*].

At the date of the Yasht, Garo-nemâna was merely a mountain. By the time of the composition of *Fargard xix.*, it had become the home of Ahura.

Dr. Haug says, of the Mihr-Yasht, that

in it, the angel, presiding over and directing the course of the sun, who was called *Mithra*, i. e., a friend (*Mihir* in Persian), is invoked and praised. *Mithra* [he says], has several meanings, viz., angel of the sun, sun, friend and promise.

Nothing could be more unfounded than the notion that in this Yasht he is the angel of the sun. The words rendered by Spiegel, "who possess wide pastures," are *vouru gaoyaoitis*. Haug translates them by "rules over large fields."

The residence of this mighty angel [says Dr. Haug], the punisher of rascals and scoundrels, is on the Mountain Harô-bérzaiti (Alborj), where Ahura Mazda Himself has built a palace for him . . . All the devils flee from him, when he, as the ruler of the whole earth, drives in his carriage on her right side . . . Ahura Mazda paid His respects to him. He drives out from Paradise (*Garôdemâna*) in a splendid carriage, drawn by four white horses. He carries with him weapons of all kinds for the destruction of the Devas; among them is the *vazra*, the most powerful.

The "splendid carriage" in which Mithra takes his airings, carrying with him an arsenal of weapons, suggests the idea of outriders and flunkies, and the whole of this is a mere caricature, evidently not dictated by any spirit of humour.

Of the *Vazra*, which is rendered by Spiegel by "club," Haug says, "*Gurz*, a club, battle-axe in Persian, is identical with *vazra*, i. e., thunderbolt in the Vedas, where it is Indra's weapon." Benfey gives, as meanings of *vajra*, "hard, cross, forked, Indra's thunderbolt, a thunderbolt, a diamond, a form of array," but not "a club," and suggests that the original meaning of it was probably "wedge."

Dr. Haug says, of the Mihr-Yasht:

At the end of the first section, there is a little song, by which Ahura Mazda is said to call him. It consists of verses, each of which has about eight syllables.

He gives the commencement of it in the original, with a translation, as follows:

<i>Âcha</i>	<i>nô</i>	<i>jamyât</i>	<i>avañhê</i>	<i>Âcha</i>	<i>nô</i>	<i>jamyât</i>	<i>ravañhê</i>
Hither	to us	may come	to help	Hither	to us	may come	to face
<i>âcha</i>		<i>nô</i>		<i>jamyât</i>		<i>rafnançhê</i>	
Hither		to us		may come		to joy	
<i>Ughrô</i>	<i>aiwithûrô</i>		<i>yaçnyo</i>	<i>Vahmyô</i>		<i>anaiwidrukhtô</i>	
the strong	conqueror		deserving worship	deserving praise		not to be belied	
<i>Viçpem</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>añuhê</i>		<i>açtvaitê</i>			
all	in	the life		endowed with bodies			
<i>Mithrô</i>		<i>yô</i>		<i>Vouru-gaoyaoitis</i>			
Mithra		who		rules over large fields			

This "little song" is thus translated by Spiegel:

May he come to us for protection, may he come to us for joy, may he come to us for rejoicing, the strong, rushing, praiseworthy, worthy of adoration, not to be lied to, towards the whole corporeal world together, Mithra who possesses wide pastures.

Dr. Haug also gives this commencement of another "little song," part of Section II:

<i>Dat</i>	<i>yat</i>	<i>Mithrô</i>	<i>fravazaiti</i>	<i>avi</i>	<i>hañayâo</i>	<i>khrvîshyâitîs</i>
Then	when	Mithra	drives	in the	two armies	ready for a battle
<i>avi</i>	<i>hañyant</i>		<i>araçmaoyo</i>	<i>añtare</i>	<i>danhupâperetânê</i>	
against	they	encounter	in two battle lines	in order	for the country	to fight
<i>athra</i>	<i>viaram</i>	<i>Mithro-drujañ</i>	<i>apas</i>	<i>gavô</i>	<i>darezayéiti</i>	
then	of the men	who break promise	away	the hand	he binds	
<i>pairi</i>				<i>varayeiti</i>	<i>etc.</i>	
round	the face			he covers	<i>etc.</i>	

This is thus translated by Spiegel:

When Mithra marches down to the hostile hosts, to those armed for battle, in the battle of the lands, then Mithra binds the limbs of the Mithra-lying man backwards, he hinders his sight, etc.

Mittira, Mitra, i. e., *mid+tra*, has in Sanskrit, according to Benfey, the meanings of "the sun, a friend, an ally," being also the name of a Vedic

Deity." There are two verbs *mid*, one meaning "to understand, to hurt, the rival;" and the other, "to be unctuous, to liquefy, to love, to rejoice." The former is the same as *Mith*, *midh*, and *medh*, *med*; and the latter the same as *mind*. *Mithas* means "mutually, reciprocally, with each other." *Mithuna*, "a couple, copulation, union" *mithya*, "falsely, untruly, feigned, wrong, what does not concern one, in vain."

Dru and *druh*, Sanskrit, mean "to hurt, to injure, to seek to injure or to grieve;" and *druh* means "an injurer." *Mithrô-drujam* may therefore mean "who break or violate a promise or contract, or an alliance or treaty."

But I do not think that the Sanskrit *Mitra* or the Zend *Mithra* came from either of the verbs I have mentioned. I do not see how we can get from either of them the meaning of "contract," or "promise," or that of "light, the sun or an ally." There is a verb *mih*, for original *migh*, which meant "to sprinkle, effuse or give;" whence came *mihira*, "a cloud, the sun, the moon, wind;" *megha*, i. e., *mih+a*, "a cloud;" and *medha*, i. e., *mih+ha*, "the penis, a ram." It may be that the name, derived from this verb, expressed the generative and fructifying power of light, and of the sun. *Mithra* was symbolized by the bull, and afterwards by the ram; and upon an ancient Persian monument (*Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, Pl. 17*), he is depicted as a young man, in a Phrygian cap, shedding his semen upon the ground, an emblem of the sun pouring his fructifying rays upon the earth.

Mitra is also written *Maitra* in the Veda; and *maitra*, properly *maittra*, means "relating to a friend, friendly, given by a friend, proceeding from friendship; a friend, friendship." *Maitrya* is "friendship." I am inclined to think that *Mithrô-drujam* meant those who violated treaties or alliances; and that the "Mithra-liars" and those false to Mithra, were originally, those native tribes which having once allied themselves, or made treaties, with the Aryans, violated them by joining the Drukhs or other enemies.

I cannot find any derivation for *Mithra*, as meaning a contract, promise or alliance. There is a Sanskrit verb *mâ*, meaning "to mete, to measure," participles and other forms of which are *mimâ*, *mimî*, *mita*, *meya*, *mîya*. From it, *miti*, i. e., *mâ+ti*, "measuring, determining, knowledge." We can hardly obtain from this the meaning "to contract or promise."

Benfey gives, as a meaning for which there is no authoritative reference, of *mith*, *midh*, etc., "to understand;" and *mith+as* means "mutually, reciprocally, with each other."

Rama, Sanskrit, means "pleasing," "a husband, lover;" and *râma*, "beautiful;" from *ram*, "to rest, be delighted, rejoice, to be in love, to have sexual intercourse with;" whence, participle, *rata*, "beloved, satisfied, coition, copulation;" *ramaniya*, "pleasing, agreeable;" *ramaya*, "to exhilarate;" *ramati*, "love, paradise."

Kâç, Sanskrit, means "to be visible, shine;" whence *kâçita*, "resplendent;" *kaçin*, latter part of compound, "shining like, shining on account of."

Râma-qâçtra, therefore, seems to be an epithet applied to Mithra, and to mean "shining (or resplendent), to exhilarate, gladden, or cause to rejoice." And it is possible, if not probable, that there is in this epithet or name an allusion also to the generative potency of light as the cause of growth and production. Or, why not "the light or star of love"?

Mitra, in the Veda is the Morning-Star, or Venus, the brilliant harbinger of the dawn. Perhaps that luminary bore the name before the last separation of the Aryans or the emigration under Yima or Yama of the Iranian branch. The name *meant*, probably, what *Lucifer* and *Phosphor* afterwards meant, the pourer-forth or shedder of light. *They* were light-bringers, because they *poured* light upon the earth. And perhaps Mitra came to mean "ally" and "friend," because the Morning Star faithfully precedes the sun and seems to be connected with it by some bond of amity. From the idea of alliance came afterwards the idea of contract and promise.

ÇAÖSHYAÑÇ AND AÇTVAT ĚRĘTO.

Dunlap says (*Spirit-History of Man*, 247):

The Persians looked for a prophet Çaošhyańç, and after him two others called Oschedar-Vami and Oschedar-Mâh; finally (Messias) Sosiosh will appear.

Vendîdâd xix. 16 to 19. Zarathustra said to Aûra-Mainyus I will smite the creation [men] which was created by the Daevas, I will smite the Naçus which the Daevas have created. I will smite the Pari whom one prays to (?) until Çaošhyańç is born, the victorious, out of the water Kançaöya, from the east region, from the eastern regions.

It is clear enough, from this, that Çaošhyańç was a man, a chief of some tribe in the eastern part of the Aryan country, near or beyond a river called Kançaöya.

Spiegel says (*Note 4* to this *Fargard*):

Çaošhyańç is the future participle of *çu*, 'to profit,' and denotes the king, the saviour, who is expected by the Parsees to come at the end of all things, and accomplish the resurrection, after which he will establish a Kingdom full of untroubled happiness.

I think there is no warrant in the Avesta for the notion of Mr. Dunlap, that there was to come a Sosiosch *besides* Çaošhyańç. The names and persons are one and the same.

Yaçna xxvi. 32, 33. All the good, mighty, holy Fravashis of the pure, we praise, from Gayô-Marathan to Çaošhyańç the victorious.

lxxiii. 2, 3. The good mighty, etc., from Gayô-Marathan to the victorious Çaošhyańç the victorious, we praise.

Gayô-Marathan was the first man. In the *Farvardin Yasht*, 87, we find:

The Fravashi of the pure Gayô-Marathan we praise, who first heard the mind of Ahura Mazda, and his commands, from which He (Ahura) created the race of the Aryan regions, the seed of the Aryan regions. ['According to Parsee mythology,' Spiegel says, 'the first descendants of Gayô-Marathan were Meshia and Meshiana, the parents of mankind. Their names do not occur in the Avesta itself, but are frequent in the later writings.]

Farvardin-Yasht, 98. The Fravashi of the pure Içañ Vâçtra, Urvatatar-Naro, and Hvarë-Chithra, each called the Zarathustrian, are praised; and afterwards the Fravashi of the Holy Three, the pure. Spiegel says:

'The Holy Three' are, doubtless, the three Sons of Zarathustra, who are to be born hereafter, viz: Oshedar-Bâmi, Oshedar-Mâh, and Çaošhyańç. The three first names in the verse are the sons of Zarathustra, and the progenitors of the three classes, priests, warriors and husbandmen.

All of which, I think, is marvelously apocryphal.

110. The Fravashi of the pure Açtvaṭ-ěręto we praise [after the Fravashis of several persons, sons of others, and therefore men. The same line is repeated at the end of verse 117].

128, 129. The Fravashi of the pure Açtvaṭ-ěręto we praise, who there will be Çaošhyańç, the victorious by name, and Açtvaṭ-ěręta by name. [Açtvaṭ-ěręta signifies literally 'uplifted among the corporeal.' *Spiegel.*] He is so helpful that he will save the whole corporeal world [the whole Aryan country]; he is so high amongst the corporeal, that he, endowed with body and vital powers, will withstand the destroyer of the corporeal [the slayer of the Aryan people], for withstanding the Druja of the race of the two-footed, for withstanding the torment which will overcome the faithful.

Haug translates this verse 129, thus:

We worship the Guardian Angel of Açtvaṭ-ěręto, who is called the victorious Soshyans. He is called the Soshyans (*Sosiosh*), for he conduces (*çāvayat*) to the welfare of the whole animated creation. He is called Açtvaṭ-ěręto, for he is keeping up the animated creation, guarding it against destruction, chiefly against the destruction caused by the two-legged demon Drukhs, caused by the hatred of who annihilate good things.

Zamyad-Yasht (19). *Kh. Av.* xxxv. 88 to 96.

The strong, kingly majesty, etc., which attached itself to the victorious Çaošhyańç and the other friends [those allied with him in defence of the faith], that he might make the world [the Aryan land] progressive, not growing old; immortal, not stinking, not rotten; ever living, ever profiting, a Kingdom according to wish; that the dead may rise, that immortality may come for the living. The worlds which teach purity will be immortal [the lands wherein the true faith is taught will long continue; the Drukhs will disappear at the time. As soon as it comes to the pure to slay him and his hundred-fold seed, then is it for dying and fleeing away. [The infidels will in due time disappear from the country. As soon as the Aryans become strong enough to conquer them, they and their multitude of children will be in part slain and in part flee from the Aryan land.]

That "the dead will arise" must have a meaning consistent with this plain support of this verse. Haug translates it thus:

This splendour attached itself to the hero of Prophets (called *Soshyanto*) and to his companions, in order to make the life everlasting, undecaying, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, forever existing, forever vigourous, full of power, at the time when the dead will rise again and imperishableness of life will exist, making the life lasting by itself. All the world will remain for eternity in the state of purity; the Devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the religious men in order to kill; and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.

91, etc. The strong, kingly majesty, etc. When Açtvaṭ-ěręto uplifts himself from the water Kańcuya, a messenger [envoy to execute the will] of Ahura

Mazda, son of Viçpa-taurvi, who purifies the victorious wisdom [is the minister of the true religious doctrine]. Which [kingly majesty] the strong Thraētaōno bore [possessed, was invested with], when the snake Dahaka was slain; which the Turanian Franraqê bore, when, etc., which Kava Huçrava bore, which Kava Vistâçpa bore, when he set purity before the wicked hosts [the armies of the Aryans face to face with those of the infidels], and drove these away to the Druja, out of the worlds of purity [to Toorkhistan, out of both portions of the Aryan land].

Spiegel explains Aṣṭvat-ērēto here, as “the future saviour.” It is too clear for question that he was a powerful Aryan Chieftain, beyond the river Kançuya, who took up arms, with a strong force, to assist Zarathustra. Aṣṭvat-ērēto was his name; and Çāošhyańc a title meaning “liberator.”

94. This [Aṣṭvat-ērēto] will see with the eyes of understanding, he will view all creatures, the images of the wicked seed. He will see the whole corporeal world with the eyes of fullness, beholding he will make the whole corporeal world immortal.

This is either a hopeful anticipation of the peace and security for life, which the whole Aryan land will enjoy (or a historical recital of those that it did enjoy) under the rule of this chief, in consequence of his vigilant supervision of the whole country, and his precautions against the unbelievers. He will see the whole country with the eyes of wisdom, that is, will wisely provide for it measures of good government. He will view all creatures (vigilantly discover all men), who are images of the wicked seed (who are of like faith and nature as the expelled infidels); and seeing the country and people with the eyes of fullness (restoring to them plenty and abundance), he will make the whole corporeal world immortal (i. e., will secure to the people long life, by safety and means of support).

95. The companions of this Aṣṭvat-ērēto go forward victorious, thinking and speaking good, perfecting good deeds [performing good service, achieving victories], attached to the good law, speaking no lie [uttering no false doctrine]. They have their own tongue; before them Aêshma, with terrible weapon, with evil brightness, bows himself. He [Aṣṭvat-ērēto] will smite the very wicked Drukhs, which proceeds from wicked seed out of darkness [which comes of a wicked race in the north].

96. Vohû-Manô will smite Akô-Manô; the truth smite the falsehood; Haurvatât and Amérêtât subdue hunger and thirst; the evildoer Añra-Mainyu bows himself, deprived of rule. Yathâ ahû Vairyô.

That the subduing of hunger and thirst is one of the results achieved by Aṣṭvat-ērēto, is enough of itself to show that the struggle in which he was victorious was one of this world; and that all the figurative expressions used apply to, and describe a successful struggle of the Aryans against unbelievers occupying part of their country and making property and life insecure in

the residue. Success therein secured peace, enabled the husbandman to till his lands, and the herds to be freely pastured and increase, and so made food abundant and the land prosperous. The Toorkhs, discomfited and after heavy losses, retire beyond the Oxus, and Añra-Mainyus ceases to rule in the land, and is humiliated.

Long after these words were first recited, they came to be understood to mean a final victory of the powers of light and good, over the powers of darkness and evil; and Çaošhyañç became the name of an expected Redeemer and Saviour.

That the followers of Açtvat-ěrěto have their own tongue, probably means that they were allied tribes of Turanians, converted, but yet retaining their own language.

The meaning of the phrases “*see with understanding*,” “*see with fullness*” may perhaps be illustrated by the Latin *videre*, “to see” (with the eyes), which also means “to order, provide, control and regulate.” Our word “oversee” contains the same meanings. So the Sanskrit *vid*, originally “to see,” means also “to know, consider, ascertain, etc.”

But for the phrase, three times repeated (*Verses 11, 19, 89*), “that the dead may arise,” there would be no reason at all for imagining that the passages cited above had any reference to another life or world. The other expressions abundantly show that they have not. Verse 19 and verse 9 add to what is said in verse 89, “which gives according to wish furtherance for the world,” and “which furthers the world at will.” These phrases are often met with, and everywhere unmistakably mean that the Aryan land will prosper.

That the Drukhs are *mortal* enemies is too plain to doubt. This the following passages demonstrate:

Ormazd-Yasht. 27. Such a man the points [of weapons] of the Drukhs-souled will not injure in that day or that night; not the slings, not the arrows, not knives, not clubs, the missiles will not penetrate and he be wounded.

These are certainly not the weapons of spirits, but of men; and those thus to be invulnerable, as the preceding verse shows, are the followers of Zarathustra, who march against the enemy, out of their homes, confederacies and regions, into other regions; and (*verse 28*), “on account of accepting, the same take upon themselves with names to be a support and wall against the invisible Drukhs, the Varenian wicked” (invisible, because making stealthy excursions to plunder; and perhaps because, lurking in the fastnesses of the mountains, they sally forth at night, to sweep away the herds from the valleys).

Varana, Sanskrit, is “an enclosure raised on a mound of earth; a causeway, bridge, camel and tree.” And there is no doubt that “Varenian,”

like "Mazanian," applied to Drukhs or Daevas, indicates bands of them, according to locality.

Amshaspands' Yasht (2). *Kh. Av. xviii.* 11. May the Sorcerers, O Zarathustra, smite down the Daevas and men who are in the house! Always, O Holy Zarathustra, smite every Drukhs, drive away Drukhs, till they are terrified at these words.

12. To thy body they cleave, thy priests they smite. Priest and warrior,—so that he becomes altogether disobedient through the strength of those to be driven away.

The "body" of Zarathustra, I imagine, was the realm or country, of which he was, as it were, the soul, as its ruler and teacher. Who "he" is, who becomes disobedient on account of the number and strength of the infidels that are to be expelled from the country, is not very clear. Probably it means that the native tribes became rebellious, encouraged by the large number of invading Scyths. Who the "Sorcerers" are, who are to smite the Daevas and men, and in what "house" the latter are, is hard to say. The house means, probably, the Aryan homestead taken possession of by the invaders from the north; and the word rendered "Sorcerers" is either mistranslated, or is corrupted in the original. For, in the next yasht, Asha-Vahista smites all the Sorcerers and Pairikas belonging to Añra-Mainyus by means of one of the Mañthras; and the Demon Jahi possesses sorcerers.

He will smite the Daevas, Ashēmaōgha, the hostile men, Jahi, the wind from the north, etc. [and then], 16. Ruined will be the Drukhs, will perish, run away from thence, disappear, go away to the north, to the world of death.

[In the *Yasht-Khadat*, xx. (4), 2 and 4]: The faithful, pronouncing the name of Haurvaṭ smites the Naçu, Hashi, Bashi, Çāeni and Bûji [evil spirits, Spiegel says, whose names do not occur elsewhere; infidel tribes, I think]; for the heavenly Yazatas purify the pure man [free or relieve the faithful from these], from the hosts of many foes, from the banners uplifted by many, from the men with evil hostility, from the naked dagger, from hostility to men [those who hate the Aryans], from the Pairika, Urvaṣṭa.

6. Every Druja that runs about openly, every one which is concealed, every one which pollutes, for thee every Druja, for the Aryan land I will smite away, for thee I will bind the Druja with cords, I will curse away the Druja.

Spiegel says that this verse is difficult and obscure. If by the Druja are meant demons, it certainly is so. If infidel natives, then the general meaning plainly is that Ahura promises, for the sake both of Zarathustra and of the Aryan land, to smite them, whether they ride about openly committing hostilities, or lie hidden in their fastnesses, will make them prisoners, and will expel them from the country by his curse. That

they “pollute” means, no doubt, that they devastate the land, make ruins of the dwellings and defile the country with the corpses of men and animals.

And this is made plain by verse 9, in which he promises to

smite the north region [i. e., the foes who come from there] at sunrise, and drive away the Naçu with stretched out weapons [by force of arms], with hard death.

In *Fargard vii.* these infidels are called Daevayaçnians, and on them, it is directed that the Aryan surgeons shall first experiment.

But in *Fargard viii.* directions are given for driving away the Drukhs Naçus to the northern regions. The prescription is, to lead three, six or nine times along the road

a yellow dog with four eyes [i. e., Spiegel says, having certain peculiar spots that resemble eyes], or a white one with yellow ears, a priest first walking along the road, saying ‘*Yathâ ahû vairyô*,’ with other formulas of invocation, concluding thus:

61. I drive back the Daeva-Drukhs; I drive back that which proceeds from the Daevas; I drive back what they have done and created.

The infidels were deemed to have proceeded, as their *issue*, from the Daevas and Añra-Mainyus, as the Aryans to have proceeded from Çpënta-Mainyus; and they were the “deeds” of those to whom their existence was owing, as the creatures that Ahura Mazda produces are his “deeds.” Every thing and every living being was deemed to proceed from either one or the other of the twin Deities.

62. I drive away the Daevas; begone, O Drukhs. I drive away the Drukhs that he may rush to the north; he shall not destroy the corporeal world of the pure [the land of the true believers].

Fargard xix. 1. From the north region, from the north regions, rushed forth Añra-Mainyus, he who is full of death, the Daeva of the Daevas.

Thus spake the evil witting [malignant] Añra-Mainyus, who is full of death:

3. ‘Drukhs, run up! Slay the pure Zarathustra!’

4. The Drukhs ran round [or, upon] him, the Daeva Bûti, the perishable [‘the secret promoter of death,’ *Gujerat Translation*. Of course the term *cannot* mean ‘perishable;’ but ‘murderous,’ ‘death-causing’]; the deceiver of mortals.

5. Zarathustra recited the prayer Ahuna Vairyâ, *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô . . .*

6. The Drukhs ran away from him, grieved, the Daeva Bûti, etc.

7. The Drukhs answered him; Tormentor, Añra-Mainyus!

8. I do not see death in him, in the Holy Zarathustra

16. Zarathustra informed Añra-Mainyus

17. I will smite the creation which was created by the Daevas; I will smite the Naçus which the Daevas have created.

18. I will smite the Pari whom one prays to, until Çaöshyañç is born, the victorious, out of the Water Kançaöya.

19. From the east region, from the eastern regions.
 20. Him answered Añra-Mainyus, who created the wicked creatures.
 21. Do not slay my creatures, O Pure Zarathustra.
 138. May Çraošha smite the Daeva Kunda, Baña and Vivaña.
 139. He who seizes the infidel life of the men who belong to the Drujas, the godless Daeva-worshippers.
145. This one (Zarathustra) takes away their might from the Drukhs; there the wicked Daeva-worshippers, the Naçus whom the Daevas have created, and the false lie, they consult, they run, the wicked, malignant Daevas, to the bottom of hell, the dark, the bad, the evil.

At first, I have no doubt, the Drukhs were the unbelieving Scythians or Tâtar invaders; and it is quite possible that the name yet survives in that of the *Toorkhs* or *Turkhs*. But it is equally certain that after a time it was supposed that they were, and that they came to be, demons or evil genii. They are such in several of the Fargards of the Vendidâd, in which the Drukhs Naçus are spoken of especially and with endless repetition, as demons of uncleanness, defilement and corruption, coming from the north in the shape of the filthy fly, to make dead bodies rotten, and from them flying to the living and defiling them. In *Fargard xviii.* Çraošha interrogates "the Drukhs," a female, who tells him that she becomes pregnant by cohabitation with men guilty of certain acts.

So Ashëmaõgha the unclean is an evil being or demon; and yet in *Fargard ix.* that name is applied to one "who in the corporeal world takes up purification, without having learned the Mazdayaçnian law from one who purifies;" by which I understand, one who takes upon himself to officiate as priest and sacrificer, without having studied the creed with one regularly ordained as such.

So, in the first Fargard, we find that when Ahura-Mazda has created Vaêkereta, Angrô Mainyus created in opposition to it the Pairika Khnathaiti, who attached herself to Kereçâcpa. In the notes of Bunsen and Haug it is said:

The Huzûresh translators understand the Pairikâ Khnathaiti to signify 'idol-worship.' The origin of this meaning is probably to be sought in some old reminiscence of the worship of a Pairiké. In the valley of Pishin, to the east of Segestan, Fairies, the Paricani of the Ancients, are to this day worshipped by the natives. Full details of Kereçâcpa and his amour with 'a powerful woman who did not profess the Zarathustrian religion' (the Pairika), are found in the Jeshts.

In the text of Spiegel, this Pairika's name is Khnánthaiti. No doubt she was some woman of the Turanians; but by and by the Pairikas become demons. In the Tistar-Yasht, the Star Tistrya is said to torment and drive away the Pairikas "which Añra-Mainyus set for an opposition against all constellations which contain the seed of the waters;" and there and elsewhere, the Sorcerers and Pairikas are named together.

The Zend name of "the north region" whence the Daevas issue, and to which they retreat, is *Aþâkhtara*.

As to the meaning of the words *Drukhs* and *Drujas*, Bopp gives us *druj*, "evil being," from the Sanskrit *druh*, "to hate." So that the original and real meaning of the words is, simply, "enemies."

In Sanskrit *druh* is, "to hurt, to seek to injure or grieve;" *druh*, "an injurer;" *drû*, "to go, to hurt;" *dru*, "to hurt;" *dru*, i. e., *dri+u*, "wood, a tree;" and another verb *dru*, "to run, to attack;" but this is akin to *dram*, *drâ*, its causal being *drâvaya*. Thus *Drukhs* are "injurers, enemies, riders."

As to *Ashëmaõgha*, *mogha*, Sanskrit means, "vain, useless." The word, therefore, means "vanity, uselessness, idleness," as a person or being, which suits its employment of persuading those whom the cock-crow has waked in the morning, to go to sleep again instead of rising to the day's work.

Naçus is from the Sanskrit verb *naç*, "to be lost, to disappear, to perish;" whence the causative *Nâçaya*, "to cause to disappear, to efface, destroy, extinguish." The original meaning of *Naç* probably was "to hasten," and thence "to hasten out of view, to disappear, to vanish, to perish." *Nâça* is "loss, disappearance, destruction, death;" *nâçaka*, "destroying;" *nâçana*, "destroying, removing;" *nâçin*, "perishable, removing, destroying." And thus *Naçus* is the personification of the decay, corruption and rotting which causes the corpse to dissolve and cease to be as a body.

Buiti is perhaps from *büt*, "to kill."

Bana and *Vibana*, from *Van*, "to hurt, to kill;" *vi* meaning "manifoldness, much," in compounds.

Haug gives "endowed with bodies," as the meaning of *Açtvat*; but it is from the verb *as*, "to be;" and *açti*, "being." *Açtvaiti* means "existing, being;" and *Açtvant*, of which *Açtvat* is a weakened form, means "living, existent, being."

The derivation of *ěrěto* is uncertain. *Ěrě*, in Zend, as part of a word, represents various letters of Sanskrit. Thus *ěrězata*, "silver," represents *rajata*; *měrěthyu* and *měrěta*, "death, dead," *mritu* and *mrita*; *Aměrětât*, *amara*.

Rita, means "true, truth;" *riti*, "attack" (Vedic); *ritu*, "order, right time" (Vedic); "a season," etc., *arati*, "a disposer;" *artha*, "desire, aim, advantage, wealth," *rati*, "pleasure, joy, coition;" *râti*, "war, battle;" *râti*, "gift, present."

THE FIRE

The Fire is, as we have seen, continually called the Son of Ahura Mazda. Taken in connection with the fact that Fire, Agni, is the highest of the Vedic Deities, the only one answering to our idea of God, I think we may conclude that Zarathustra found this Fire-worship in existence, and, while taking a single step further to find a first cause in Ahura, retained Fire as a manifestation of that first cause, itself originally Light.

In the *Yaçna Haptanhâiti*, which is the Second Gâthâ, *xxxvi.* (2), we find the following:

1. We approach ourselves first to Thee, Mazda Ahura, through the service of the Fire.
 2. To Thee, Holiest Spirit, who the torment requitest upon him who decrees it. [That is, who by calamity punishest him who causes calamity; the word rendered by 'torment', generally meaning the ruin and impoverishment and distress caused by war.]
 4. Happy is the man to whom Thou comest mightily, Fire, Son of Ahura-Mazda.
 5. More friendly than the most friendly, more worthy of adoration than the most worthy of honour.
 6. Mayest Thou come helpfully to us at the greatest business. ['According to the gloss, the Resurrection is here meant.' *Spiegel*. The 'greatest business' is, no doubt, the sacrifice.]
 7. Fire, Thou art acquainted with Ahura Mazda, acquainted with the heavenly [beings, i. e., the Amêsha-Çpêntas].
 8. Thou art the holiest of the same, that bears the name Vâzista.
 9. O Fire, Son of Ahura-Mazda, we draw near to Thee.
 10. With good mind, with good purity.
 11. With deeds and words of good wisdom, we draw near to Thee. [That is, with prayers and Mañthras, dictated by, and so emanating from, the Divine Wisdom.]
 14. This, Thy body, the fairest of all bodies, we invite, Mazda Ahura.
 15. The greatest among the Great Lights.
 16. That which they call the sun.
- Yaçna xvii.* 62. Thee, O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise.
63. The Fire Bérëzi-çavô (which affords great profit), we praise.
 64. The Fire, Vohû-fryâna (the well-going), we praise.
 65. The Fire, Urvâzista (the far-leading), we praise.
 66. The Fire, Vâzista (the swift), we praise.
 67. The Fire, Çpênistâ (the very holy), we praise.
 68. The pure King, the admirable Nairyô-çaiñha, we praise.
 69. The Fire, the Master over all houses, created by Mazda, the Son of Mazda, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise, together with all fires.
- Vendîdâd xix.* 134, 135. Bring Zaôthra for the fire, bring hard wood for the fire, bring different kinds of odoriferous. Praise the fire Vâzista, which smites the Daeva Çpênjaghra.

The Bundehesh, as I have quoted from Spiegel before, says that

the fire *Bērēzi-çavo* is that which is before Hormazd and the kings: *Vohū-fryana* dwells in the bodies of men and animals; *Urvāzista* is in trees; *Vāzista*, lightning in the clouds, and *Çpēnista*, that which is employed in this world.

The phrases given in the parentheses in the text are, I suppose, Spiegel's interpretation of the literal meanings of the names of fire. As to the fancies of the Bundehesh, they are an average specimen of Parsee interpretation, i. e., nonsense.

Bērēz means "to shine;" and *bērēzant*, "shining," *splendens*. If *Vazista* means "swiftest" (it is in the superlative), it is no doubt the lightning. *Çpēnista* is "Most Holy" and was probably the sacrificial fire.

In the *Ātas Behrām Nyāyis*, *Kh. Av. xi.*, which is addressed to *Atar*, "the Fire," we have (condensed) as follows:

Praise be to Thee, Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, Giver of Good, the greatest Yazata Holy Fire, Warrior, Yazata with much majesty, Yazata with many healing remedies. To the Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda, with all fires. Offering, praise, good nourishment, I vow to Thee. Mayest Thou ever be provided with offering and praise, in the dwelling of mankind. Prosperity to the man who continually offers to Thee Mayest Thou always obtain right firewood mayest Thou continually burn in this dwelling Give me, O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, swift brightness, nourishment, blessings of life, greatness in holiness, fluency of speech; for the soul, sense and understanding, manly courage, activity, wakefulness, good offspring, free of debt and manly, that will advance for me, the house, clan, confederacy, region, district.

Give me, O Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, that which teaches me now and for all times, concerning the best place of the pure, May I attain good reward, good fame, good holiness for the soul.

To all who come, the Fire looks at their hands, saying, 'What does the friend bring to the friend, the one entering in, to the one who sits alone?' If one brings wood for it, then the Fire blesses, satisfied, 'May there rise round about thee herds of cattle, etc.' This is the blessing of the Fire for him who brings it dry wood. . . .

We wish hither, O Ahura, Thy strong Fire, together with Asha,

The swift, powerful, procuring manifest protection for him who rejoices it.

But for the tormentor, O Mazda, prepare punishment with mighty weapons.

10. Praise to Thee, Fire, of Ahura-Mazda, Giver of Good, greatest Yazata.

A like passage in regard to the fire and to those who feed it, is in *Fargard xviii.* of the *Vendīdād*.

The later Fire-worship, it is plain, was a natural consequence of the expressions in regard to Fire in the Second Gāthā, in which Zarathustra himself recognizes it as divine, the Son of Ahura Mazda—the only object of worship, as a Divine Being, mentioned in the Gāthās besides Ahura Mazda and the Amēsha-Çpēntas.

Ahura Mazda, as we have seen, is the inaccessible Light, of which the visible Light is a manifestation; and the Fire is His "Son," as the Logos is the First-*begotten* or Only-*begotten SON* of God. It flows, issues or flashes forth from Ahura; and by it He limitedly manifests His Very Self. The Light and Fire are, in that sense, Ahura manifested. The Universal Light is homogeneous, and in one ray the whole is manifested. Of the Infinite, only a limited portion can be seen; but that portion reveals and discloses more than itself. The single thought, also, reveals the whole soul thinking. By and in it we see the soul, to a limited extent.

Mithra also, we have seen, is called the first created of Ahura, and the greatest of Yazatas; for the Fire contains in itself the Light, and one is revealed in the other.

VAYU: FLAME.

The *Ram-Yasht: Kh. Av. xxxi. (15)* is devoted to that which in the translation is called "the air." It would seem from verse 43, that the original word rendered thus is *Vayu*; while from the title and introductory verse the name would seem to be *Râma-Qâṣṭra*. It is to be regretted that in the stead of some of the useless notes, it had not occurred to Professor Spiegel or Mr. Bleek to inform us what the original word is and its derivation. I condense the Yasht, as follows:

Satisfaction for Râma-Qâṣṭra, for the air which works on high, which is set over the other creatures; that of thee, O air, which belongs to Çpënta-Mainyûs . . .

1. I praise the water, and the distributors. I praise peace, and each of the profits. Him [whom?] we will praise, will invoke for this dwelling . . . Against the foes of the bull, the praiseworthy, against those among the foes slaying here, we invoke the best Yazatas.

2. To it [what?], the Creator, Ahura-Mazda, offered, in Airyana Vaēja of the good creation, on a golden throne, footstool and cover, with Bareçma bound together, with overflowing abundance.

3. He [Ahura?] prayed *It* for this favour: Give me, O air, thou who workest on high, that I may smite among the creatures of Añra-Mainyûs, as one who appertains to Çpënta-Mainyûs.

There are some very puzzling things here. 1. Ahura Mazda is represented as sacrificing to the air, in Airyana Vaēja, of the good creation, the original home of the Aryan race, with the Bareçma, or bundle of twigs. It is true that he is represented elsewhere, as we have seen, as offering to Mithra. But here he prays to it that He may smite the infidels, he, as one who appertains to Çpënta-Mainyus, i. e., Ahura Mazda. There is

certainly error in the name of the offerer. And as Zarathustra is elsewhere and more than once represented as sacrificing in Airyana Vaêja, I have no doubt, in view of the heroes afterwards named as offering, that the name of Ahura Mazda has been substituted in the place of that of Zarathustra.

2. The “*It*” to which he offered was, it seems, “the air;” but this has not been previously mentioned, so that the word “*It*” refers to no one before mentioned. Water is named, and so it is in several succeeding verses; but why, one fails to see.

4. The air which works on high, granted him this favour, *as the Creator, Ahura Mazda approved this* [wherefore, it was not Ahura Mazda who *asked* it].

5. We will praise the air, which belongs to Çpênta-Mainyû, for its brightness, its majesty, the strong air, which works on high.

I wish Professor Spiegel had tried, at least, to give us some idea of the meaning of “working on high.”

To it offered Haoshyanho, the Paradhâta; Takma-Urupa; Yima; the Snake Dahaka; Thraëtaöna, Vêrêçâcpa; Aurvaçâra; Hutaoca [praying to be loved by Kavi Vistâcpa]; the maidens not yet sought by men [for wives]; all except the Snake Dahâka obtaining their wish—those of the heroes being for victory over different infidels, and in each case, ‘The air which works on high, granted this favour, as the Creator, Ahura Mazda approved of it.’

43. I bear the name air (*Vayu*), O holy Zarathustra, because I *lead away* (*vayêmi*) the creatures, both those which Çpênta-Mainyûs and those which Añra-Mainyûs created. I bear the name of ‘Leader-away,’ because I lead away, etc.

44. I bear the name ‘all-smiting,’ because I smite both sorts of creatures; the name ‘doing-good,’ because I do good to the Creator, Ahura Mazda and the Amêsha-Çpêntas.

I am called ‘the forerunner,’ etc. [giving a large number of names, among which are the pursuer, the biting, driver away of Daevas, the freeing-from-troubles, perfection, purity, the howling-speaking and the howling-spitting; having sharp lances, the sharp lances, the most majestic above all.]

These names he directs Zarathustra to invoke in battle and under other circumstances.

This air is, with horses, with men, with all, a driver-away of doubts and Daevas—

in the undermost places, in thousand-fold darknesses, it comes to whoso desires it. It is swifter, higher-girt, hastier, more contentious, with higher feet, broader breast, broader hips, sharper face than the others, who rule over regions, rule with supreme power. It has a golden helm, tuft, necklace, chariot, wheel, armour, apparel, shoes and girdle.

58. *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô!* Offering, praise, strength, might, vow I to Râma Qâçtra, to the air, which works on high, which is set over other creatures—that of thee, O air, which belongs to Çpênta-Mainyûs.

Of this Yasht, Dr. Haug says:

It is devoted to the Angel *Rām*, who is, however, never mentioned by this name in it, but called *Vayus Uparōkaṇyō*, i. e., ‘the wind whose business is above (in the sky), the celestial breath,’ or simply invoked by the names of *Apa*, i. e., who is ‘far, remote,’ and *Bagha*, i. e., ‘fortune.’ He is described as being ‘everywhere (on all sides), and as primary cause (*Akhsti*) of the whole universe.’ [And he concludes that] *Rām* represents that very fine and sublime substance which is called ‘ether,’ and to the Indian philosophers known as *Ākāṣā*.

He adds, that in Section 11 his manifold names are explained, *vayus* being traced to the root *vi*, “to go, penetrate,” and to *va*; “both,” and explained by “I go to both creatures, those of the white and those of the black spirit.”

The Sanskrit verb *vi* means, according to Benfey, “to go, to approach, to pervade, to obtain, to conceive, to grow pregnant, to desire, to love, to eat, to enjoy.” Causal, *vāyaya*, “to cause to conceive.” *Vīka*, i. e., *vi+ka*, is “a bird and wind,” as *vi* means “a bird, the eye, heaven (or the sky).”

Vā (originally *av+ā*), means “to blow” (as the wind), from which *vayu* is supposed to come, and is considered to mean, “air, wind,” which it certainly did come to mean in the post-Vedic times.

Vay means “to go,” according to Benfey; and *vami*, “fire,” (i. e., *vam+i*); but *vam* only means “to vomit, spit out, send forth.” This is suggestive of a lost root, meaning “to burn, blaze or shine;” from which probably comes *ush* and *vas*, “to burn;” *ushas*, i. e., *vas+as*, “the dawn;” *ushna*, “hot;” *usar* and *usra*, i. e., *vas+ar* and *vas+rā*, “dawn,” and “a ray of light;” and *ushman*, “heat.”

Spiegel translates *vāyemi*, “I lead away.”

Dr. Haug is evidently perplexed and puzzled by this Yasht, which begins by praising the water; says that Ahura Mazda offered to it, and then makes him address it as “O Air!”—and though called the *Rām* Yasht, is wholly addressed to Vayu.

I have placed it before the reader according to Spiegel’s translation, to ask him whether he can conceive of any man of ordinary common sense addressing such language and ascribing such powers to “the air that works on high;” and whether he does not think that such nonsense is little worth the translating?

This Vayu of the Zend-Avesta is identical with the Vayu of the Veda, who accompanies Indra, the Light, in the same chariot, and is sometimes spoken of as being the same as he, i. e., another name for him. All the Commentators call him the wind. But I think I have shown in *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans*, that he is not the wind, but the *Flame*. It is derived, I think, from *Vas*, the old form of *Ush*, “to burn,”—a derivation at length forgotten.

As the flame is a component part of the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda, and as it carried upward the smell and substance also of the oblations of the

offerers, and their prayers, its potencies were the same as those of the Fire and of worship. This we can understand; but not how those potencies could be ascribed to the Air.

I find in Sanskrit, *Kara* meaning "a ray of light," and being in its composition *kṛī+a*. *Kal*, akin to *kṛī*, forming *kalaya*, "to impel," and *kālaya*, "to drive onwards, to go." Also *kāra*, *kāru*, "working, making." *Kṛī* is "to make," etc., *kṛī*, "to pour out, cast, scatter." *Kairyo*, I think, in *uparō kairyō*, is from the latter; and that, instead of meaning "works alone," it simply means that it ascends on high. *Bagha* is the wind, and is said to create *Vayu*. It does not "create" the air; but it may well be said to create flame, since it will fan the fire not yet blazing, into a flame.

The heroes named in this Yasht could well sacrifice to the flame, as they did sacrifice to Fire, son of Ahura, and to it brightness and majesty could be ascribed, and many of the names and titles recited in this Yasht be fitly given.

So flame could be said to be a driver-away of doubts; for by the light of the flame from a torch, men could resolve doubts arising in the darkness, and dispel uncertainties, and find their way. Light is still supposed to cause evil spirits to flee away, as it was then the "driver-away" of the Daevas.

Rāma, Sanskrit, is "beautiful, black, white," and *kāç*, "to shine," whence *kāçita*, "resplendent." Thus *Rāma-Qaçtra* is an epithet, "Beautifully shining," appropriate to Vayu as the flame; which may be said to drive away doubts in the undermost places, in the thousand-fold darknesses.

To ascribe form and shape to the air, the vast, invisible, formless, limitless mass, would have been absurd. But flame takes a thousand shapes. Fancy one gravely talking to herdsmen and husbandmen about the *sharp face* of the air!

Verse 55 reads, in Spiegel (who pronounces it to be *somewhat obscure*):

Seek thou, O most noble Zarathustra, choice, selection, bareçma, for the advancing to the light, the high, the going over to the morning-dawn.

What possible connection can this have with the air? But flame has intimate relations with light, which it emits, and with the dawn, which seems to glow with golden flames.

Flame, flashing, glittering, eddying, in endless involutions and fantastic shapes, with a thousand glowing and resplendent colors, can be imagined to have helm and armour, ornaments and apparel of gold. It would have been ridiculous to speak of these as apparelling the invisible air.

And flame especially "belongs to," i. e., is related to, Ahura Mazda; for He is the Very Light, and is manifested by the flame of His Son, the Fire.

The proof that the Vedic *Vayu* is flame, is even more conclusive, and as his identity with the *Vayu* of the Zend-Avesta is undeniable, it of course completes the proof as to the latter.

AIR AND FIRE IN THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY.

The most numerous and most credible authorities agree in referring to *Thales*, the first origin of a method of philosophical inquiry among the Greeks—a commencement, however, which lies more within the domain of fable than of history. The bare mention of the Seven Sages, among whom Thales is usually reckoned, sufficiently indicates the degree of the fabulous which enshrouds his personality, and which, moreover, glimmers through all the notices of him contained in the older writers. (*Ritter, History of Ancient Philosophy.*)

Herodotus knew of him only what the popular stories told, and doubted their truth, and Plato and Aristotle, when they mention him speak only on the vague authority of tradition.

The Seven Sages at once remind us of the Seven Rishis, or Itinerant Minstrels, the Angirasao, Sons of the Ancient Rishi Angiras, who were translated to the sky, and became the Seven Stars of the Great Bear. Diogenes Laërtius says:

Now these were they who were accounted wise men: *Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, Pittacus.*

Thales was born at Miletus, and even that is uncertain, for he is said to have been of Phœnician descent, and even to have come from Phœnicia to Miletus, which was at that time the most flourishing of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. Callimachus says, as quoted by Diogenes, that Thales

did first compute the stars
Which beam in Charles's Wain, and guide the bark
Of the Phœnician sailor o'er the sea.

He maintained that *water* was the principle of all things; for it being the principle of the humid, and all things being nourished by moisture, even warmth being derived from and nourished by humidity, all things arise from and are preserved by water. And Ritter says:

The assertion with respect to the warm, that it has its origin from the moist, by which it lives, had reference, beyond doubt, to the old legend, that the sun and stars derived their origin and aliment from the sea, and were living beings, and thus Thales appears to have regarded the entire world in the light of a living being, gradually maturing and forth-forming itself from an imperfect seed-state, which, like the seed of individual beings, was also of a moist nature, or water—and likewise as receiving its aliment from the same primary substance.

So in the Veda it is said that Agni abides in the water, and is born of the water; the original meaning being, that, as Lightning, Agni abode in

the clouds and was manifested from them. Thales lived in the time of Cyrus, and prevented the Milesians from allying themselves with Croesus against him. Thus serving the Persian King, it may be fairly concluded that he met the Magian priests, and from them received the supposed Vedic doctrine of the origin of even fire from water.

Anaximenes also was born at Miletus, and though the date of his birth is uncertain it is most probable that he was a disciple of Thales. There is a general similarity of the fundamental views of the two,

notwithstanding the difference in the primary essence assumed by each. Anaximenes taught that the infinite *air* was the principle of all things, a doctrine, which in his mind, was closely allied with the notion that *air* surrounds the world, and that the earth, which he supposed to be broad like a leaf, was supported on air The primæval substance of all things must, he said, be air, for all is produced from it, and is again resolved into it, and in the same way as our soul, which is air, rules us, so too air and vapour holds within its compass, the entire world. (*Ritter.*) [And he took the *soul* to be *air*], agreeably to an olden representation of life, exclusively confined to the most obvious of its external signs—the inhaling and exhaling of air' [which is expressed by the Hebrew name of Deity, *Jod-He-Vav-He*]. 'From this analogy, Anaximenes assumed, for the whole world, a universal imperishable principle of life, which, like the principle of human life, is air.'

He said, Cicero tells us, that the air was infinite, and was that from which all things were produced or born (*gignerentur*), but that the things which issued from it were finite; earth, water and fire being first produced from it, and then, from these, all things. He made it a god (*Anaximenes aëra deum statuit*), and said that the gods and the god-like were produced from it, and that it was immense and infinite, and always in movement. This eternal motion of the air he deemed the cause of change, for transformation is only possible through motion. Rarefied, the air, in his view, became fire; condensed, wind and clouds; further condensed, water, and from this, when further condensed, earth and stones.

Diogenes of Appollonia, usually reckoned among the scholars of Anaximenes, also held that manifoldness could only have proceeded from a single first cause. The principle of life in general, is the soul, and the soul, he held, was air; because men and all other animals, he said, live and breathe by air. As the primary being, from which all is derived, he held it to be necessarily an eternal and imperishable body, in possession of all powers, but as soul, also a being endued with consciousness. It "knows much," he said, and even this "knowledge," its rational intelligence, which belongs to it as the universal soul, affords to his mind a proof that it is the primary being. From the order of the mundane system he inferred its origin from

an intelligent being, a soul, having reason, which vivifies all and knows all, because it is the first, and which alone could have formed and constituted all, because order could result from intelligence alone.

But [he continues], that which has knowledge, is what men call *air*; it is it that regulates and governs all, and hence, is the use of air to pervade all, and to dispose all, and to be in all, for there is nothing that has not part of it.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the Vedic Poets ascribed power and reason and beneficence to Agni, the Universal Fire. Diogenes regarded air as the *rarest* of the elements. Probably this was because it is invisible, but Ritter says that Anaximenes represented fire as being so, and that

this would warrant us in affirming that the air, which was the primary substance of Diogenes, was not the common atmospheric air, but one more attenuated and enkindled by heat.

When the Ionian philosophers, he says, named a particular element as their primary essence, they were far from meaning to speak of it simply as it appears here, in this or that determinate form. Thus, the *water* of Thales was not the mere element that we see, but water pregnant with vital energy, and by the air was meant an ensouled and ensouling force,

and so we may well suppose that Diogenes meant something more than the atmospheric air, as constituting his intellectual primary being.

Some have maintained that he regarded the primary essence as a mean between air and fire.

We have seen that the Vedic *Vayu*, which the translators take to be the air, and the Iranic *Vayu*, "the Air that works on high," was really, as used in the writings of both races, the flame. Did the notions of Anaximenes and Diogenes, in regard to air as the primary essence and first intelligent cause, and the vague idea of Diogenes, that it was not the mere atmospheric air, but that proceeding from heat, arise from this ancient error as to the meaning of *Vayu*? Perhaps.

Let us add, that the essential character of the system of Diogenes is, in the language of Dr. Ritter:

The attempt to exhibit nature as a living entirety, and to recognize it as such, in each individual object. Accordingly, the individual is represented therein as a separate expression of the universal life, having in itself a principle of permanency, although limited to its power to sustain itself against the influence of the outer life, and subsequently returning again into the universal life, which comprehends and pervades all.

The *whole*, with him, is the source of life, the individual is emanated life, and the physical force of air, which is the principle of motion, is confounded with the reason, the principle of design, and knowledge.

Heraclitus of Ephesus, surnamed in later times "The Obscure," who flourished about 500 B. C. (*69th Olympiad**), called fire the first ground of all things. He said:

The one world was made neither by God nor man, and it was, and is, and ever will be, an ever-living fire, in due measure self-kindled, and in due measure self-extinguished [and that], all is convertible into fire, and fire into all, just as gold into wares, and wares into gold.

He admitted of no distinction between fire and the force of life,—or the soul, and therefore would not allow that his fire was flame, which he held to be rather the excess (outflow?) of fire, but defined it to be a warm and dry vapour, therefore a clear bright fluid, which might be taken for a species of air. And his principle of all things was the wise and rational intelligence, that guides the whole mundane system, and maintains its development.

Heraclitus did not attempt to *demonstrate* that fire is the one true principle of all things. It is not improbable, Dr. Ritter says, that by fire, as the principle of all phenomena, he understood something very different from the element we call fire. No doubt he regarded it as that unseen and unknown essence, of which the visible fire and flame and light are the manifestations. He supposed a certain longing to be inherent in fire, to gratify which it constantly transformed itself into some determinate form of being, in the mere desire of transmuting itself from one form into another. He rejected the notion of a wish in the fire to maintain any form it took, or that it had any real or definite end of development, and said, in a bold figure, "to make worlds is the pastime of Zeus."

He considered the soul of man a migrated portion of fire, and explained all the phenomena of nature by the concurrence of opposite tendencies and efforts in the motion of the eternal living fire, out of which results the most beautiful harmony. The harmony of contraries holds together all phenomena, as he says, "the harmony of the world is of conflicting impulses, like that of the lyre and of the bow," and the strife between opposite tendencies is the parent of all things.

This is "the mystery of the balance or equilibrium" of the Sohar, but in the Kabalah, the divine will, above the contraries, illimitable power and infinite wisdom, and infinite justice or severity and infinite mercy or benignity, is the sovereignty that holds the beam of the balance, and causes harmony or beauty to be the result evolved.

*Thales, about 600; Anaximenes, 530; Diogenes, 460, B. C.

THE BIRD THAT WORKS ON HIGH.

Çros Vâj. Kh. Av. v. To strength, the well-formed, beautiful; to victory, created by Ahura; to the stroke which descends from above; to Râma Qâçtra; to the bird which works on high, who is appointed over the other creatures; that of you, O bird, which is derived from Çpënta-Mainyû; to the heaven, which follows its own law; to the endless time; to time, the ruler of the long period, *Ashem Vohû*.

Farvardin Yasht. 2, 3. . . . The heaven, O Zarathustra, which shines above, and is fair, which goes round about [surrounds with its circle] this land. It is likened to a bird which stands fast, heavenly-made, having far boundaries, with a body of shining ore, shining on the third, which Ahura Mazda clothes with a star-sown garment, one made in heavenly guise. In company with him is Mitra, together with Rashnu and Ârmaiti-Çpënta, whose boundaries can be seen on no side.

The *bird* spoken of in the first passage may therefore be only figuratively called so, and may be the flame "which ascends above." One does not readily see how the sky can be likened to a bird. The winged air or airs might be.

[In *Yaçna xxii.* we find], Of the wind which works on high, is higher than the other creatures, namely, that of thee, O Air, which springs from Çpënta-Mainyûs, [and Spiegel says, on this, 'The words, "higher than the other creatures" are rendered in the traditional versions, "which torments or annihilates the other creatures," and the Neriosengh translation has "bird" instead of "air." The original word is susceptible of either interpretation, and in the later Parsee mythology, there is mention of two birds, one good and one bad, who accompany men over the bridge Chinvat. There are also two winds.]

That the air torments or annihilates "creatures" is simply absurd. *It* is also a '*creature*' of Ahura, and one of *his* creatures does not torment the others. The two birds are a Parsee invention.

But this note confirms my opinion, that no *bird* is spoken of at all, but only the flame, in the other passages that I have quoted. *Râma-Qâçtra* is an epithet of flame, and the words which sometimes mean "a bird," referred to in what is said as to "*Vayu, Flame,*" show how a word that meant "flame" came to be taken to mean a bird.

Vihâ in Sanskrit means "heaven, paradise;" *Vihaga*, "a bird, a cloud, an arrow, the sun, the moon, a planet;" *Vihamya*, "flying, going swiftly, a bird;" *Vihâyas*, "the sky, the open air, a bird."

So *vayas* means "youth, age, and a *bird*;" *vâyu*, "air, wind," and *vayasa*, "a crow."

ARDVÎÇÛRA.

Ardvîçûra is a female Deity, not named in the Gâthâs. What she was, we may perhaps learn from the texts:

1. *Nyâyis Ardvîçûra*: *Kh. Av. x.* To the good waters, created by Mazda, to Ardvîçûra, the spotless, pure, to all waters, created by Mazda

2. Ahura Mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: Praise her, O holy Zarathustra, Ardvîçûra, the pure, full-flowing, healing, averse from the Daevas. Whom I, Ahura Mazda, sustain with good strength, for the advancement of the house, the clan, the confederacy, the district.

4. For her brightness, for her majesty, I will praise her with audible praise, with well offered offerings Ardvîçûra, the spotless, pure, mistress of purity.

Farvardin-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxix.* (13): 4. Through their brightness and majesty, O Zarathustra, I maintain Ardvîçûra, the spotless, the full-flowing, healing, averse to the Daevas, attached to the law of Ahura, the praiseworthy for the corporeal [beneficial to the Aryan land], the pure for those who promote life, for those who advance the cattle, the kingdom, the region.

5. Who purifies the seed of all men, the bodies of all women for a good delivery, who bestows good delivery on all women, who brings fit and suitable milk to all women.

6. She is great and far-renowned, who is as great as all the other waters, which hasten to the earth, which flow down mightily from Hukairyâ, the high, to the Sea Vôru-Kasha.

7. All purify themselves in the great Sea Vôru-Kasha, each flows through the midst of the same [through the midst of, or across, the country, the 'earth'?], where Ardvîçûra, the spotless, makes them flow out: She pours them out, she, the spotless, who has a thousand canals, a thousand channels, etc.

The *Aban-Yasht*: *.Kh. Av. xxi.* (5) is devoted to Ardvîçûra. It begins with the same passages that I have quoted from the Farvardin-Yasht. From the residue I select and condense a few passages:

She comes from the Creator, Mazda. Her arms are fair, very shining, greater than horses. She drives her chariot along, asking who will praise her and offer to her? She has four draught-cattle, all white, which torment the Daevas and men, sorcerers and Pairikas, etc.

The strong, brilliant, great, beautiful, whose flowing waters come hither by day as by night, namely, all the waters, which flow along on the earth [all those affluent streams that flow across Bactria into the Oxus], which hasten away mightily.

The Creator Ahura Mazda praised in Airyana-Vaêja of the pure creation [the land of the faithful], with Haöma, Bareçma, the Mañthra, etc. Then he prayed her for a favour, that he might unite himself with Zarathustra, so that he might think, speak and act according to the law. And Ardvîçûra 'afforded him this favour, him the ever-bringing offerings, giving, offering, him who prays the female-givers for a favour.'

Unmistakably, Ahura Mazda is here represented as asking a river or river-goddess to permit Him to unite Himself with Zarathustra, and as always praying the female-givers for favours. Professor Spiegel says:

Here, as elsewhere in the Yashts, Ahura Mazda is represented as requesting the assistance of His own Genii, which does not seem in accordance with the view that they derive all their power from Him.

It shows that at the comparatively modern period when the Yashts were composed, with fragments of the old legends and poems woven into them, intermixed with new conceits and extravagant laudations of new gods, the faith taught by Zarathustra had been grievously corrupted and debased by the intrusion of new deities utterly unknown in the age of the Gâthâs, and that the Zarathustrian idea of Ahura Mazda had given place to a much lower and more unworthy and vulgar conception.

The subdivisions 6 to 20 of this Yasht recite the offerings to Ardvîçûra by various heroes, the Snake Dahaka, the Turanian Fraîraçê, and others, which are really ancient Aryan legends of victories won by the heroes of the race. Here I need only say that each prayed from her assistance in battle, and for victory over the Daevas and infidels.

She ran to help Vifra-navâza, in the form of a beautiful maiden, a very mighty one, girt up, pure, with brilliant countenance, noble, clad with shoes beneath her feet [sandals], with a golden diadem on her crown. She seized him by the arm, soon he struggled mighty to the earth created by Ahura, sound, as uninjured as before, to his own dwelling.

So, at the prayer of Vis-taurusha, for a dry ford over the water Vîtañuhaiti, she ran there in the same form, with golden shoes, and

at the height of the whole ford, made the one waters stand still, and the others flow forward, and so made a dry way across.

85. To whom Ahura Mazda committed the waters: 'Go hither, come hither, O Ardvîçûra, spotless, from these camps (or stars) down to the earth, created by Mazda [the Aryan land], the excellent lords, the lords of the region, the sons of the lords of the regions will offer to you.'

Brave men, he said, will pray thee for swift horses and majesty that comes from above; the Athravas for greatness for those affording food, and for victory and the blow given by Ahura, that comes from on high.

She came down, and said to Zarathustra, 'Me has Ahura Mazda created as protectress of the whole world of purity [the whole Aryan people]; through my brightness and majesty are cattle and men.'

Zarathustra asked how he should offer to her so that her channel might not, by the heat of the sun come to have pools of water only, stagnant and

full of water-snakes, and she instructed him, and as to who should not eat of her offerings. He asked her:

To whom come thy offerings when the wicked worshippers of the Daevas offer to thee at day-break?

The Scythians worshipped her, therefore, and it is more than likely that her worship by the Iranians was owing to the native tribes which had become intermingled with them, after being conquered and converted,—converted, probably, like the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico whom I found in 1832, under the care of priests, and worshipping the images of their old gods as saints of the Romish Calendar.

And, immediately after her reply, as if to remind the hearer that she was both goddess and river, we find:

96. I will praise the height Hukairyā, the golden, from which flows down to me Ardvîçûra, with the strength of a thousand men. May she be as much in greatness of majesty as all the collected waters which flow through the Aryan land, she who flows with a powerful current.

Then it is recited that the Hvô-gvas offered to her, and the Naôtairê, offspring of Naôtara; whose prayers were granted.

101. Who has a thousand basins, a thousand channels, each channel forty days' journey long, for a man on horseback. At each canal stands a well-built house with a hundred windows, a thousand pillars, and ten thousand props; in each house, a throne, with pillows. To these, she hastens, with the strength of a thousand men.

Zarathustra offered to her, Kava Vistâçpa and others, for victory and success, and after these:

120. For whom Ahura Mazda created four male beings: the wind, rain, clouds and hail. She pours me this down, O holy Zarathustra, as rain, snow, ice, hail, who possesses so many hosts, a thousand with nine hundred.

126. [She is again described as a maiden, and as] wearing an out-waving under-garment with many folds, a golden one. [And in Verses 127, 128 and 129, as] holding the Bareçma, wearing ear-rings and a necklace, her body girded and breasts well-looking; on her head a diadem, with a hundred stars, golden, adorned with banners, and wearing garments of beaver-skin, of thirty of the fur-bearing beavers, shining, brilliant, most silver and gold.

One is irresistibly reminded of the representation of Maya, Mother of the Universe, which I give on the next page, and of Addhanari, which I also subjoin.

The Yasht concludes with a prayer by Zarathustra to Ardvîçûra for power, wealth and troops, and an invocation to her to come to the sacri-

fice, the two verses being a mere medley of nonsense. It is not easy to believe that even in the original there are coherency and sense in much of this Yasht.

And the character of Ardvîçûra, sometimes river and sometimes goddess, seems also to be the extravagant product of a fantastic imagination,



ADDHANARI



MAYA, MOTHER OF THE UNIVERSE

it appearing impossible to conceive of the powers ascribed to her, as ever having been coupled, even in the most deranged fancy, with the idea of the spirit of water or of a river.

But this is rather apparent than real. If a river flowing from the mountains, rose to such a height as to overflow the wide alluvial lands that lay along its course, it would stop and delay the march of a reinforcement and so might cause the loss of a battle. The spirit of the water might, therefore, well be invoked to favour and assist the Aryans against the invaders, especially in a country where rivers were numerous, deep and rapid. So an overflow, submerging the alluvial lands, would destroy the growing crops and sweep away and drown the grazing cattle, and therefore it was natural that the Goddess of the Water should be invoked by the husbandman, and by the Athravas, with offerings and incense, since the welfare of the whole state depended on its husbandry.

And as, if the growing crops were destroyed, and there was nothing wherewith to feed the cattle, so that they too perished, armies could not

be kept in the field; it was natural, in a country where crops were raised by irrigation and if the supply of water were cut off famine must result, to ascribe to the river goddess, not only all the material prosperity of the country, but also the power of enabling its people to conquer their enemies, and thus she might be conceived of as engaging actually and efficiently in the very clash and conflict of battle.

And that she was figured as a maiden, and her form and ornaments described, is no more than was done by Grecian poetry and art, for Apollo and Diana, for Ceres and Dionysos, Venus and Mercury, Neptune and Zeus.

If Bactria was the country in which Zarathustra lived and reigned, then Ardvîçûra was the river Oxus, and its branches and affluents were her arms. I think it was the Zer Affshan.

I have only to add what little I have learned as to the meaning of the name *Ardviçura*. *Cura*, Bopp informs us, means "strong." Dr. Haug says (*Essays*, 178):

That this goddess is called *Ardvi Sûra Anâhita*, and that these are only epithets. *Ardvi* [he says], means 'high, sublime;' *cura*, 'strong, excellent;' and *Anahita*, 'spotless, pure, clean,' which names refer to the celestial waters represented by her.

I find, in Sanskrit, *ar*, at the beginning of words often representing *ri*; as, e. g., *ara*, i. e., *ri+a*; *artha*, i. e., *ri+tha*; *ardha*, i. e., *ridh+a*; *arças*, probably *rish+as*. *Riddhi* means "plenty, wealth, prosperity, perfection, the deity of wealth;" *ridh*, "to prosper, to augment."

Cru, *Sru* and *Çu*, Sanskrit, "to flow, to let flow;" whence *sruti*, "stream;" *srut*, "flowing;" *srota*, "a rapid stream;" *srotas*, "a current, stream, course of water, river, spring." It is probable that *çu* is the oldest form of the verb, as it is the simplest, and of but two letters, and also because *sura*, which means "the Sun, a God, a Sage," as being the same as *svar+a*, also means "spirituous liquor" and "a drinking vessel," which from that root it could not. It is, no doubt, from the old root *çu*. *Srû* means "a sacrificial ladle."

Nah, for *Nadh*, Sanskrit, participle of the perfect passive, *naddha*, is "to bind, fetter, obstruct." It is laid down that *h* in Sanskrit is never *h* in Zend, but this can hardly be universally true. If *anahita* is from this root, it would mean "unobstructed," and the three words together would mean "The Abundant Stream, flowing unobstructed."

Dr. Haug says, of the *Aban Yash*:

In Sections 21 and 30, there are two smaller songs preserved, by the recital of which *Anahita* was expected to appear. The first is ascribed to Ahura Mazda Himself.

He gives the original of the first of the two verses of this song (*v.* 85), which in Bleeck's translation reads thus:

Go hither, come hither, O Ardvīṣūra, spotless, from these camps (or, from these stars), down to the earth created by Mazda. The excellent lords, the lords of the region, the sons of the lords of the region, will offer to you.

Dr. Haug gives the original and translation thus:

<i>Āidhi</i>	<i>paiti</i>	<i>avajaça</i>	<i>Ardviṣūra</i>	<i>Anahitē</i>
Come	before (me)	come down	Ardooisoor	Anahita
<i>Hacha</i>	<i>avatbyō</i>	<i>çtarebyō</i>	<i>Avizām</i>	<i>Ahuradātām</i>
from	yonder	stars	on the earth	created by Ahura
<i>Thwām</i>	<i>yazāoūte</i>	<i>aurvāoṇhō</i>	<i>Ahuraoṇhō</i>	<i>dañhupatayō</i>
Thee	shall worship	the handy	mighty	rulers of the countries
	<i>Puthrāoṇhō</i>			<i>dañhupaitinām</i>
	The sons			of the rulers of the countries

If the word translated by "navel" (of the waters), is *nafō*, which Haug gives in another connection as meaning "navel" and "central mass," it is from the Sanskrit *nabhas*, "sky, atmosphere, ether, and the name of a month of the rainy season;" whence, in the Greek, *νεφος*, *νεφελη*, etc.; Latin *nubes*, *nebula*; Old High German, *nibul*; Anglo-Saxon, *genip*, "a cloud." It is probably from *Nabh*, "to burst." Wherefore, instead of "navel of the waters," we should read, "the atmosphere, source of the rain."

NAIRYOÇAÑHA.

This Deity or Genius is not named in the Gâthâs.

In *Fargard xix.* of the *Vendîdâd*, it is said:

111. Nairyogañha is together with him [with the soul of the true believer, going to Garo-nemâna, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda].

112. Nairyogañha is a messenger of Ahura Mazda.

xxii. 22. The Creator Ahura Mazda caused to say to Nairyogañha, Nairyogañha, Assembler.

23. Away fly thither to the dwelling of Airyama; say to him these words: 'Thus spake Ahura Mazda'

38. His words received, away thither flew Nairyogañha the gatherer-together, to the dwelling of the Airyama

Vispered viii. 2. The holy Çraoša we praise; the good purity we praise; Nairyô-çañha we praise.

Âtas-Behrâm-Nyâyis: *Kh. Av. xi.* 3. . . . To the fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda, with all fires. To the Navel of Kings, to Nairyoçañha, worthy of honour.

Gâh Havan: *xvi.* 1, 10. Nairyoçañha, the strong, highest in wisdom, worthy of honour, we praise.

It is of course impossible even to conjecture what this deity or genius was, in the absence of any knowledge of the meaning of the words that compose the name. Bopp gives *nairo*, "man;" and Spiegel says nothing as to the name or the genius.

Nara, in Sanskrit, i. e., *nri+a* means "a man; the eternal, the divine imperishable spirit pervading the universe;" *nâra*, "belonging to a man, water;" *nârasimha*, "referring, belonging, etc., to Vishnu, in his incarnation as a man-lion;" and *siñha*, "lion," as the latter part of compound words, means "pre-eminent." *Sana* is "old, eternal."

I find also in Sanskrit *nair*, as the first portion of compound words, for *nis*, with the meaning of absence or negation; as in *nairantarya*, i. e., *nis+antara+ya*, "absence of interruption;" *nairarthya*, i. e., *nis+artha+ya*, "absence or want of sense." *Nira* also is used in the same way for *nis*; as in *nirarthaka*, i. e., *nis+artha+ka*, "without attaining one's purpose;" *nirarthatâ*, i. e., *nis+artha+ta*, "senselessness."

Çaṅkhâ means "doubt, uncertainty, error, fear, apprehension;" whence *nisçanka*, "without hesitation, fearless."

I think, therefore, that *Nairyoçañha* means "fearlessness."

USHAHINA.

We have in Ushahina, who is not named in the Gâthâs, one deity, identical in name and character with an Indo-Aryan or Vedic one. It is not to be doubted that the Vedic Ushas and Zendic Ushahina, the Dawn, was adored by the Aryan race before the separation of the Iranian and Indian branches; and that, after the time of Zarathustra, that worship was revived.

"Ushahina, the Pure, Lord of Purity," is invoked in *Yaçna i.* 20, and the *Cros Vâj*; *Kh. Av. v.* and the *Bundehesh* says that "from midnight until the stars disappear, is the Gâh Ushahina." It is named in the same brief way in *Yaçna ii.*, *iii.*, *iv.*, *vi.* and *vii.*

The *Gâh Usahin*, *Kh. Av. xvi.* 5, is the prayer for that portion of the night. Spiegel says:

The time Ushahina is under the peculiar care of Çraošha, the Heavenly Watcher, with whom are Brejya (who presides over the increase of corn) and Nmânya (the genius who attends to the prosperity of families).

1. To Ushahina, the pure, lord of purity, for praise, etc., to Berejya and Nmânya the pure, lord of purity, praise.

5. Ushahina, the pure, lord of purity, we praise. The fair morning-dawn we praise. The dawn we praise, the brilliant, with brilliant horses, which thinks of men, which thinks of heroes, which is provided with brightness, with dwellings. The dawn we praise, the rejoicing, provided with swift steeds, which float over the Aryan land, consisting of seven Keshvars.

The residue consists of praises of Ahura, the first four Amēsha-Çpēntas, Berejya, Nmānya, Çraōsha, Rashnu and Arstāt.

Ush, in Sanskrit, has ascribed to it, only the two meanings, "to burn," "to chastise." *Ushas*, i. e., *vas+as*, is "the dawn, the morning." *Vas*, "to shine," is, Benfey says, "the original form of *ush*; whence *usra*, "a ray of light."

THE SUN AND MOON.

The *Qarshet-Yasht*: *Kh. Av. xxii.* (6), is devoted to the sun, which we have elsewhere seen styled the body of Ahura. We have, also, found it named and praised with Mithra. I condense the Yasht, as follows:

Satisfaction to the sun, the immortal, shining, with swift steeds, praise, etc.
Yathā ahū Vairyō.

1. The sun, the immortal, shining, with swift steeds, we praise. When the sun shines in brightness, when the sunshine beams, then stand the Heavenly Yazatas, hundreds, thousands. They bring together and spread abroad brightness, and portion it out on the land created by Ahura, and advance the Aryan land, the body of the pure, and the sun, the immortal, shining, having swift horses.

2. When the sun grows up [rises], then the land created by Ahura, the flowing waters, the water of seed [irrigation], the water of the seas and lakes are pure [are lighted, illuminated, or are consecrated], the pure creatures are purified [the Aryan believers are sanctified, consecrated, or under divine protection], which belong to [have been produced by, are the issue and deeds of] Çpēnta-Mainyū.

3. For if the sun does [should] not rise [at all], then the Daevas [would] slay all that live in the Seven Kareshvars. Not a heavenly Yazata would, in the Aryan land, be able to withstand them or defend the faithful.

4. Therefore, whosoever offers to the sun, to withstand the darknesses, the Daevas that spring from darkness, to oppose the thieves and robbers, to oppose the Yatus and Pairikas and Añra-Mainyus, he offers to Ahura Mazda, to the Amēsha-Çpēntas, to his own soul, and gives satisfaction to all heavenly and earthly Yazatas.

5. I will praise Mithra, who has wide pastures I praise the friendship, which is the best of friendships, between the moon and the sun.

6. Offering, praise, strength, might, I implore for the sun

The immortal sun, shining, brilliant, with swift horses [is also praised in the *Qarshēt Nyāyis*, *Kh. Av. vii.*], the greatest among the great lights; and the eyes of Ahura Mazda.

And it was well said that, because if the sun did not rise, Añra-Mainyûs, the power and principle of evil, death and darkness would reign, and his creatures destroy the true believers, to worship the sun was to worship Ahura Mazda and the Amësha-Çpëntas; for, without the sun, the darkness would be perpetual, and the light that he pours forth is the light of Ahura Mazda, manifested through the sun, which is His body.

Khar, in Zend, is “to shine;” *Khareno*, “lustre, radiance,” and *hvare*, “the sun.”

The *Mâh-Yasht*: *Kh. Av. xxiii.* (7), is addressed to the moon, *Maô*. It is, condensed, as follows:

I confess, etc., for the moon, which contains the seed of the bull, for the only-begotten bull, the bull of many kinds.

1. Praise to Ahura Mazda, to the Amësha-Çpëntas, to the moon, which contains the seed of the bull, to the seen, praise through the beholding.

3. . . . At the time when I see and submit myself to the moon, then stand the Amësha-Çpëntas and guard the majesty, and distribute the beams over the land created by Ahura.

4. When the moon shines in the clear space, then she pours down green plants, in Spring they grow out of the earth during the new moon, the full moon, and the time which lies between both.

5. The moon . . . the bestower (*Bagha*), shining, majestic, provided with water, with warmth, the beaming, supporting, wealth-bestowing, strong, profit-bringing, which brings greenness, which brings forth good things, the health-bringing genie.

In the *Mâh-Nyâyis*: *Kh. Av. ix.*, we find the same expressions, “the moon which contains the seed of the bull,” and others. One of these is varied. In Verse 2, “Praise to the seen, praise through the beholding,” and 3 and 7, “Praise to the seen, praise through the sight.” It contains, also, these invocations:

5. Give strength and victory; give kingdom in flesh. Give an abundance of enduring men, gathering, smiting, who are not smitten, who only smite the foes once, the evil-wishers once, manifestly assisting him who rejoices them.

Spiegel says that this verse is obscure, and he is not certain about the words, “kingdom” and “enduring.” “Kingdom in flesh,” probably means superiority in the matter of cattle. “An abundance of enduring men” is evidently a prayer for an accession to the cause of a large number of allies, of men, who either are hardy and able to bear the fatigues and hardships of a campaign, or who will *adhere* to the cause, and not become faint-hearted and despondent, or desert and abandon it. “Gathering” means

coming in numbers, in armed bodies. And it is prayed that they may be men, strong and skilful, able to kill at a single blow, and efficiently helping the leader who rewards them.

6. Yazatas, endowed with much brightness, Yazatas, very health-bringing [*'health'* means not only immunity from sickness, but success, safety, peace and comfort, all conducive to and preservative of life]. May greatness be manifest from you [success and power be caused, produced, by you], manifest from you the profit [prosperity and benefit] that follows [is produced like a consequence, by] the invocation. Great! be ye manifest in reference to splendour for the offerers: [Splendour is victory and success, and the consequent glory].

Yaçna i. 35. And the star Tistrya, shining, brilliant, and the moon which contains the seed of earth, and the shining sun with the swift horses, the eye of Ahura-Mazda and Mithra, the lord of the region.

Yaçna iii. 49, repeats this, omitting the name of Mithra. In *iv.* 39 and *vii.* 40, it is repeated, the moon being said to contain "the seed of the cattle." The sun with swift horses and the moon that contains the seed of the cattle are praised in *Yaçna xvii.* 22, 23. In *Yaçna xxii.* 26, "The Sun, the Immortal, brilliant, with swift horses" is repeated; and Spiegel says,

In the Huzvaresh Translation it is stated that other interpreters render the adjective *Ambar-Açpa* ('possessing swift steeds') by 'who bestows swift horses.'

Dr. Haug reads the name "Qarshet," *Kurshed*, saying that

it is the name of the first of these Yashts, because the sun is called in Zend, *Hvare Khshaëta*, 'Sun the King.'

The friendship, the best of friendships, between the sun and moon [in verse 5, is, he says], the conjunction of sun and moon, particularly mentioned as the luckiest of all constellations. [The word rendered by him, 'conjunction,' and by Bleeck 'friendship,' is *hakkedhrem*.]

"*Gaochithra*," which Bleeck translates, "containing the seed of the bull," Haug renders by "cow-faced," in which there is certainly somewhat more sense.

In Sanskrit, *gava*, i. e., *go+a*, a substitute for *go*, in compound words, means "a bull, cow or ox." *Gavâksha*, i. e., *gava+aksha*, is "an air-hole, a round window, a bull's eye." *Gavishtha* is "the sun," "as round" perhaps. *Go* is "a bull or cow," and the plural, "rays of light." One cannot but suspect that there were originally two words, one meaning a bull or cows, and another, a ray, and that in time, one word *go*, has come to represent both. I, at least, have never been able to see how any resemblance could ever have been imagined between the rays of the sun in the morning and a herd of cows.

What Spiegel translates, in Verse 4, by:

When the moon shines in the clear space, then she pours down green trees; in Spring they grow out of the earth [is made by Haug to be], Then the light of the moon shines through the tops of the yellow-coloured trees; and gold like it rises from the earth.

One or the other is evidently at sea as to the real meaning. The word rendered by "trees" certainly means, in many of the texts, "plants, grain, the whole vegetable kingdom," and it was natural enough, when the moon-light was supposed to cause or foster vegetation, to say that she "showered down" the green plants which she caused to rise from the earth.

The heavenly or spiritual Yazatas, those of beings other than men, by thousands, take the sunlight, and spread it abroad, over the Aryan land; and the Amēsha-Çpēntas receive the light of the moon, and distribute its beams over the land created by Ahura. For it also emanates from Ahura, and the sun and moon are adored because it flows from Him, through them.

The meaning of the word Bagha (which is here an epithet applied to the moon), is considered elsewhere. Spiegel renders it by "bestower."

I do not suppose that the "friendship" between the sun and moon, means their "conjunction." The moon not only shines by the reflected light of the sun, but an intimate connection otherwise has been imagined to subsist between the two luminaries, among every people and in every age of the world. They are styled, in the Zend-Avesta, the two eyes of Ahura Mazda; and it would be difficult to conceive of a more intimate connection than that. For the word *hakhedrem*, it is from *Sach*, Sanskrit, "to follow, to obey, to favour, to honour." The Vedic form is *Sacch*. Thence, *Sachi*, "friendship;" *Sachiva*, "a friend, companion, minister, counsellor."

Dhara, i. e., *dhṛi+a*, as the latter part of a compound, "bearing, preserving, possessed of, containing, having." *Dhāra* and *dhārin* have the same meanings. And

the Sanskrit and Zend neuter bases in *a*, as well as the two natural genders, give a nasal as the sign of the accusative, and introduce into the nominative also this character, which is less personal, less animated, and is hence appropriate to the accusative as well as to the nominative, in the neuter; and hence, Sanskrit *çayanam*, Zend *çayanem*, 'a bed.' (Bopp. §152.)

Hakhedrem, therefore, rather means the relation of a "follower, minister or satellite," than "conjunction," or even "friendship." It involves the idea of service and dependence.

Gao-chithra is rendered by Haug by "cow-faced," as *afs-chithra* is rendered by him by "water-faced, i. e., of one and the same nature with the water."

Gāo is both the nominative singular and accusative plural. *Afs*, "water," is the nominative singular. *Gāo*, as we have seen, has, among other meanings, that of "rays of light."

Chi, Sanskrit, "to arrange, to heap, to collect, to gather, to cover;" *chita*, "full." The Zend suffix *thra* forms substantives, which are, as it were, the inanimate accomplishers of an action; as *tra* does in Sanskrit. Also *thra* forms, in Zend, abstract nouns.

Gāo-chithra would mean, if thus derived, "collector, gatherer, receiver, of rays;" and *afs-chithra*, "collector or accumulator of water."

THE STARS.

TISTRYA.

None of the stars are named in the Gāthās. Their worship either began, or revived, as I have already said, long after the days of Zarathustra.

Of all the stars praised and invoked, Tistrya is oftenest named [the Taschtar of Guigniaut, Dupuis and others]. In several of the Yaçnas, he is named with the sun and moon, no other star being mentioned; as in

Yaçna iv. 39. To Ahura and Mithra, the great, imperishable, pure; to the stars, the creatures created by Çpēnta-Mainyus; to the Star Tistrya, the brilliant, shining; to the moon which contains the seed of the cattle, to the shining sun, with swift horses, the eye of Ahura Mazda, to Mithra, the Lord of the regions, for praise

Yaçna vii. 50. . . . To the stars, to the moon, the sun, the eternal self-created lights, to all creatures of Çpēnta-Mainyus, the pure male and female

The stars are elsewhere called "beginningless," and often "self-created;" but still they are all called creatures of Ahura Mazda, and he is said to make the moon wax and wane, and to have created or made the body of the sun. So that either the words rendered "eternal," "self-created," and "beginningless" are not to be taken literally, or they relate to the light of these bodies, which, emanating from Ahura, is eternal and self-created.

The *Tistar-Yasht*, *Kh. Av. xxiv.* (8), in the introductory verse, thus names the stars that were the chief objects of veneration.

The Star *Tistrya*, the brilliant, majestic; *Cata-vaêça*, the distributor of water, the strong, created by Mazda; the stars that contain the seed of the water, of the earth, of the trees [plants], created by Mazda; *Vanañt*, the star created by Mazda; the stars which are the *Haptô-iriñga*, the brilliant, healthful.

In note to another passage, Spiegel says that Tistrya is *Sirius*. Here he says:

The stars mentioned in this verse are the watchers in the four quarters of the Heavens; *Tistrya* in the *East*; *Çatavaēga* in the *West*, *Vanañt* in the *South*, and *Haptō-iriñga* in the *North*.

It is easy to identify *Haptō-iriñga*. *Haptō* means "seven;" and it is the Constellation Ursa Major, the Great Bear.

These stars and constellation are also named, with the same characteristics, in the *Sirozah*, i. 13 and ii. 13.

In the *Qarsēt-Nyāyis*. *Kh. Av. vii.* we have:

2. The immortal sun, shining, with swift steeds, we praise; Mithra possessing wide pastures, we honour Mithra, the lord of all regions we praise, whom Ahura-Mazda has created as the most brilliant of the heavenly Yazatas. Therefore come to our assistance, Mithra and Ahura the great. The immortal brilliant sun, with swift steeds, we praise. Tistrya, with healthful eyes, we praise. The stars pertaining to Tistrya we praise. Tistrya, the shining, majestic, we praise. The star Vanañt, created by Mazda, we praise.

Vendīdād xix. 126. I praise the star Tistar, the shining, brilliant, who has the body of a bull and golden hoofs.

The *Tistar Yash্ট*. *Kh. Av. xxiv.* (8) is wholly in praise of the star Tistrya. It is termed, in it,

the distributor of the field; the shining, majestic, with pleasant good dwelling, light, shining, conspicuous, going around, healthful, bestowing joy, great, going round about from afar with shining beams, the pure It is the bright, majestic, which contains the seed of the water, the strong, great, mighty, far-profiting, working on high, renowned from this height, shining from the navel of the waters [or, receiving his seed from the navel of the waters. *Spiegel.*] On whom the cattle, beasts of burden and men think, looking for him beforehand, the worms lying beforehand.

[Spiegel says, on this], The meaning is, all beings wait upon Tistrya,—the good with confidence, the bad hoping anything, or doubting the fulfilment of their wishes. The word rendered 'worms' (or 'vermin'), signifies the base or vile.

The meaning simply is that men and animals think on him, and look for him to rise, before he has risen. That is all, and that this is so, is plain by their saying, immediately:

When will the Star Tistrya rise for us, the shining, majestic, when will the water-springs flow, which are stronger than horses, trickling away? [The meaning of 'the worms lying beforehand' I do not know.]

I do not know in what sense Mr. Bleeck uses the word "lying" here. Perhaps the meaning is that the lying (prone on their bellies, crawling)

worms, in the parched ground think on, look and long and wait for Tistrya to bring them rain.

Chapter 4. Tistrya glides so softly to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, like an arrow, follows the heavenly will, is a terrible pliant arrow, worthy of honour, and comes from the damp mountain to the shining mountain. Then Ahura Mazda brings him help, the water and the trees, and Mithra advances him on the way.

It is useless to repeat Professor Spiegel's note as to these mountains; as it will be seen to be useless to endeavour to explain, and idle to pretend to understand much of this Yasht. The damp or wet mountain is probably the eastern range, over which Tistrya rose, and from which the waters of the Oxus flowed. He may have been far enough to the southward, to be over the southern mountains, the Paropamisus, at midnight, when their summits were covered with snow; or the mountains near the Caspian may be meant.

In *Chapter 5* he torments and seeks to overthrow the Pairikas, which fly-about like fish-stars [or 'worm-stars,' probably *shooting-stars* are meant: *Spiegel*], between sky and earth, at the Sea Vôuru-Kasha; and then 'he goes to a circle, with the pure body of a horse. He purifies the waters. There blow strong winds.

Then Çatavaêça causes the water to go down to the (earth) of Seven Keshvars. When he comes to this, then fair stands joyfully there, (saying) to the blessed regions, 'When will the Arian regions be fruitful?'

I have quoted elsewhere *Chapter 6*, in which Tistrya desired them to offer to it, as they did to the other Yazatas. In it, also, the female companions of Tistrya, of the first star, are praised; the Stars Haptô-iringa, for resisting the sorcerers and Pairikas, and the Star Vanañt, created by Mazda; and Tistrya, who has healthful eyes.

Then follow these enigmas:

The first ten nights, Tistrya unites himself with a body, that of a youth of fifteen years, calls together an assembly, and asks who will offer to him.

The second ten nights, he unites himself with a body, proceeding along the clear space, with the body of a bull with golden hoofs, and asks the same.

The third ten nights, he unites himself with the body of a horse, shining, beautiful, with yellow ears and a golden housing, and asks the same.

Then, in that shape, he goes to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha. The Daeva Apaôsha (the Bürner) coming against him runs out, in the shape of a black horse, with bald ears, back and tail, marked with a terrible brand. They fight three days and nights, and Tistrya is defeated, and scared away from the sea. He asks Ahura to give him Çâdra-Urvistra, who is bestowed on the water and the trees, the Mazda-yaçnian. [This name, Spiegel says, seems to denote a certain superabundance of strength, which arose in former times from the proper distribution of water and trees, and which now serves to recruit the failing powers of Tistrya, in like manner as the superfluous good works of all the pious are available in certain cases for an individual Mazdayaçnian.]

I should much prefer to know the literal meanings of *çadra* and *urva*, of which *urvista* is the superlative, than to be told this Parsee nonsense. I suppose that Tistrya asks for growth and increase of strength by growth.

He complains to Ahura Mazda that 'Men do not now honour me with offerings by name,' as they honour the other Yazatas. If they will do it, he says, I shall have conferred on me the strength of ten horses, bulls, mountains and rivers. So Ahura offered to him, and brought him those strengths; and the combat between him and Apaôsha, in the same shapes, being renewed, Tistrya conquers and at mid-day drives him from the sea, and exults, congratulating the waters, trees, Mazdayaçnian law and regions. 'The streams of water,' he says, 'will come to you without opposition, to the grain having many corns, to the pasture [fields] having small grains, to the whole Aryan land.'

Then, in the same shape of a horse, he goes to the sea, and unites and divides it, makes it flow full and diminish; comes to it at all shores, to the middle of it, uplifts himself out of it. So Çata Vaêça does; and the vapours gather around the summit of the Mountain Hendava, which stands in the middle of the sea.

He drives forward the vapours that form the clouds, and leads first the wind to the ways on which Haõma walks. Then the strong wind, created by Mazda, brings the rain, clouds and hail, down to the places and spots, to the Seven Kareshvares, and Apaîm Napâo distributes the waters about the Aryan land.

Tistrya leads them forward, from the bright, shining [places, or mountains], away to the far remote paths, to the air bestowed by the Baghas, to the abounding in waters, created after the will of Ahura and the Amêsha-Çpêntas.

[Then, in *Chapter 8*], he brings hither the circling years of men, reckoned after the will of Ahura, and brilliant, supporting themselves on the mountains, and the strong far-stepping ones; and seeks to watch, who comes to the fruitful regions as well as to the unfruitful (saying), 'When will the Aryan regions be fruitful?' [Spiegel says that this verse is exceedingly difficult, and several of the words are *απαξ λεγομένα*. It would seem to imply, he says, that Tistrya is the Star by which the year was reckoned.]

It is very likely that his rising at a particular time marked the coming of the vernal equinox and the rainy season. Indeed, unless that was the case, it is impossible to understand how he should have been invested with the attributes of causer of rains.

[In *Chapter 9*] again he glides like an arrow to the Sea Vôru-Kasha, from the damp mountain to the shining one; Ahura Mazda, the Amêsha-Çpêntas and Mithra accompany him, behind him sweeps Ashis-Vañhi the great and Pârëndî with swift chariot, until he has reached, flying on his shining path, the shining mountain.

He drives away the Pairikas, which Añra set for an opposition against all constellations which contain the seed of the waters. He blows them away from the sea: then the clouds gather, and bring help to the Seven Kareshvares.

All the waters think on him—the pond, river and spring waters, the rain and hail waters: asking when he will rise to them, 'when the source which is stronger than a horse, the concourse of the flowing waters: to the fair places and spots

[open grounds or lawns and homesteads], and fields, running down to the buds of the plants, and causing them to grow with strong growth.

He wholly annihilates terrors for the water [dispels all fears of drought], increases as health-bringer and heals all creatures [brings good fortune to all the Aryans], the most beneficent when offered unto, and who accepts with love [is conciliated by the sacrifice].

Ahura Mazda has created him as chief and overseer over all constellations, as Zarathustra is over the people. He has a thousand strengths, and is the most beneficent of all the stars that bring rain; going to the sea in the shape of a horse, with yellow ears and golden housings. Then they conduct the waters out of Vôru-Kasha, the flowing, beneficent, health-bringing [fertilizing and making prosperity], and he distributes them among the regions.

All the creatures of Ćpěnta-Mainyûs think on him, under and on the land, in the water and under the sky, the winged, the wide-stepping, and the world of the pure, the illimitable, endless, that is above this. [That is, the spiritual world. *Spiegel.*]

That is, I think, the high extensive Aryan land, above the irrigated plains round Balkh.

And Ahura declares that he has made this star as worthy of worship and adoration, as worthy to be sacrificed to, and as 'rightly-created' as himself; to withstand 'this Pairika, and drive away the hostile torment, the Duzhyâiryâ (deformity), which evil-speaking men call Huyâiryâ (good year), because, if he had not so created Tistrya, this Pairika Duzhyâiryâ would every day and night make war against the whole Aryan land, and seize it while she ran round about. But he fetters her, as a thousand men would fetter one.'

I doubt about the parenthetic meanings. The latter part of each word, *yairya*, is the same; and I do not see how *hu-yairyâ* can mean "good year," and *duzh-yairyâ*, "deformity." And how could the infidels call deformity "the good year"?

[And, finally], Ahura Mazda declares to Zarathustra, that if the Aryans will sacrifice to Tistrya, neither troops nor hindrances, nor crime nor poison [these two words doubtful], nor hostile chariots nor uplifted banners, will 'come forward here to the Aryan regions.' But if unbelievers or other evil persons lay hold of the offering to him, then he will seize the healing remedies [the means and causes of prosperity or production], and 'hindrances' will come to the Aryan regions, troops rush continually on them, and great slaughter ensue.

This Yasht seems to be, for the most part, a plea for and vindication of the worship of the Star or Constellation Tistrya; and the composer availed himself of the name and authority of Zarathustra to give it the weight of authority. Spiegel remarks that:

The dæmon Duzhyairyâ is mentioned as Dusiyara in the inscriptions of Darius, which proves, he thinks, that the worship of Tistrya is at least as old as that date.

I cannot see that it proves anything as to the worship of Tistrya, but I have no doubt that this worship began long before the age of Darius.

Ahura Mazda himself is made to vouch for the worshipfulness and vast potencies of Tistrya. To him is ascribed the prosperity of the land: to him are due the spring rains, which raise the rivers, water the lands, and fill the reservoirs that are to feed the canals of irrigation.

I have no idea that Tistrya was Sirius. That was never the star of rain. Besides, I think that Tistrya was a constellation. Haptô-iringa was so, and it would hardly have been said of a single star, as it is said of Tistrya, that he has healthful or beneficent eyes.

Twenty-five hundred years before Christ, the Pleiades and Hyades, in Taurus (the Celestial Bull), opened the spring, and were the rainy constellation. Aldebarán was then the royal star that led up the year, and whose rising with the sun announced the vernal equinox, the coming of rain, and the renewed life of nature.

Tistrya may be from *sthira*, i. e., *sthâ+ra*, “fixed, immovable, firm, permanent, eternal, steady, constant, faithful,” and, as a noun, “a bull.” One of the shapes taken by Tistrya, is that of a bull. The change of the first syllable is not unusual, *sthâ*, itself giving us *tishṭha* and the derivative *tishṭhâsa*, and *tishṭhami*, etc.

Stṛi, also, in Sanskrit, means “to spread, expand, cover,” and “a star.”

Apa, in Sanskrit, prefixed, means “negation, deprivation, absence of.” *Ösha*, *öshô*, is the same as *Usha*, and means “light, radiance.” The Daeva Apaosha, therefore, is “gloom, obscurity, darkness.”

Dush, Sanskrit, “to be depraved, defiled, to sin, corrupt, wicked, ill-affected, sin.” *Dus*, “bad, wicked, contemptible, wrong.” *Dushaya*, “to hurt, lay waste, defile.” *Su*, Sanskrit, Zend *hu*, “good, well, beautiful, bountiful.”

And Bopp (§901), gives us *yâiryâ*, “yearly,” from *yârë*, “a year,” in Zend. *Ya* as a suffix, also forms gerunds, in Sanskrit, as *viçya*, “going in,” *dhaya*, “laying down,” etc., which Bopp considers as instrumentals; also, abstracts out of nominal bases, as *mâdhurya*, “sweetness,” from *madhura*, “sweet;” *çauklya*, “whiteness,” from *çukla*, “white,” and, also, future passive participles, as *guhya*, “to be concealed,” which becomes a noun, to mean “secret,” like *vakya*, “discourse,” i. e., “to be spoken,” *karya*, “business,” i. e., “to be done.” (Bopp §§889, 891, 899.) I cannot find the Sanskrit original of *yare*.

The Pairika Duzhyâiryâ may perhaps be literally reproduced in English by “bad-year-ness,” and Huyâiryâ by “good-year-ness.” They are unseasonableness and seasonableness, in the meanings we give these

words today, to express the quality of the season or year, as unfavourable or favourable to the crops.

Çadri, Sanskrit, is a "cloud;" *uru*, *urvî*, is "great." *Îç* means "to be master of, to possess," and *içtri*, "ruler." *Urvistra* may mean "great ruler," or it may be a corruption of *urvista* or *urvistha*, superlative feminine of *uru*, *urvî*. At any rate, the prayer for Çadra-Urvistra is for a great rain-cloud.

Apaîm is the genitive plural of *afs*, "water." *Napâo*, I think, is identical with *nabhas*, Sanskrit, "sky, atmospheres, name of a month of the rainy season," probably from *nabh*, "to burst." *Açva*, "horse," Sanskrit, becomes *açpa* in Zend; *çvan*, "a dog," *çpa*, *çveta*, "white," *cþaêta*. The letters *p*, *f* and *b* are all labials, and as *f* is often substituted for *p* in Zend, and sometimes for the Sanskrit *bh*, as in *nâfo*, "navel," for *nabhi*, and in *hufedhris* for *subhadra*, the *p* here may have been substituted for *bh*, for in many Sanskrit words *b* and *v* often represent each other.

Nâbhi, *nâbha*, means "the navel, nave of a wheel, centre, chief," and I think, "source or spring." "*Apaîm-napâo*, who distributes the water, over the Aryan land," may mean the atmosphere, in which the clouds float over the earth, and from which the rains fall.

Or, perhaps, *napâo* may be from the Sanskrit *snâpaya*, "to wash, to cleanse," causative of *snâ*, "to bathe," the *s* being omitted, as in *nâpita* for *snâpitâ*. *Snu*, also means "to distil, to flow," and *snâpana*, "bathing;" *snapanâ*, "washing, bathing, ablution." And thus, *Apaîm-napâo* may be the equivalent of the Latin *Aquarius*, "the pourer forth of water," and the genius of rain or irrigation.

Narrien, in his *Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Astronomy*, informs us that

attempts have been made by modern astronomers to prove that four of the principal fixed stars were really situated in or near the four cardinal points of the horizon, about the year 2200, B. C., which is the period usually assigned to the first Chaldæan observations. Of the four stars or constellations, called by the Persians, *Taschta*, *Salevis*, *Venana* and *Haftorang*, Delambre considered Aldebarán and Antares to be certainly two, and Fomalhaut and Regulus less certainly the others. [And Narrien says], Now, it has been alleged that Taschter signifies the genius presiding over rain, and we know that the heliacal rising of Aldebarán was considered by the ancients as an indication of approaching storms; hence, it is with some propriety inferred that this star and Antares were two of those alluded to in the Persian story.

I reserve what further I have to say as to Tistrya, until I endeavour to discover what Vañant and Çatavaeça may be.

VAÑANT.

This star or constellation is more frequently mentioned than any other, except Tistrya, and a short Yasht is devoted to it, but the texts contain nothing that can identify it.

In the *Rashnu Yasht*, Rashnu is addressed as at the Stars Vañant and Tistrya, and at the Stars Haptô-iriṅga, in succession. Çatavaēça is not named in it.

The *Vañant-Yasht* has but two verses. It praises the Star Vañant,

created by Mazda, pure, Lord of Purity, the Strong, whose name is named [who is renowned], the salutary, to withstand the sinful, very hateful Khrafçtras of the to-be-rejected Añra-Mainyûs.

Qarset-Nyâyis: *Kh. Av. vii.* Tistrya with healthful [health-giving] eyes, we praise: Tistrya, we praise, the stars pertaining to Tistrya, we praise: Tistrya the shining, majestic, we praise: The Star Vañant, created by Mazda, we praise.

Nothing in the Zend-Avesta assigns Vañant to the west or Çatavaēça to the south. The supposed tradition to that effect is a mere fancy of later days.

I find but one Sanskrit verb, on which to found even a conjecture as to the identicalness of Vañant. *Van*, Sanskrit, means “to sound;” *vani*, “to partition;” *vanth*, “to go without a companion;” *vandy*, “to divide;” and neither of these can be the origin of the name. The only other verb available is *vany*, which Benfey gives as two verbs, one meaning “to sound, serve, honour,” causative, *vanaya*, “to act, to hurt, to kill,” and the other, “to ask, beg, accept.” *Vana* is “a forest;” *vana-chana*, “a wild beast;” *vanaja*, “wild;” *vanastha*, “being in a forest, living in a forest, a deer;” *vanechara*, “who or what abides in a forest, a forester.” *Vâṇa*, also *baṇa*, “an arrow;” *vâṇin*, i. e., *vâṇa* and *vâṇi+in*, “having arrows.”

Benfey thinks that the Latin words, *Venus* and *Venustos* may be derived from one of these verbs. I think that we may much more reasonably derive from it, the Latin *Venor*, “to hunt, chase,” whence, *Venator*, *Venaticus*, etc. Connecting with *Vanaya* “to hurt, kill,” and *Vana*, “forest, wood, arrow,” the epithet “strong” applied to Vañant, I think I may believe that *Van* had some old meaning analogous to that of *Vana*, and, the forester of the early ages being surely a hunter, that *Vanant* meant (being the present participle of *Van*), originally, “living in the forest,” and thence, “hunting,” and “a hunter or huntsman,” the old meaning, lost in the Sanskrit, being retained in the Latin *Venor*.

This leads at once to the conclusion that Vanant was the Constellation Orion ($\Omega\rhoιων$), always represented as a hunter. The Greek legend in regard to him was that he was beloved by Aurora, killed by Diana, and then placed among the stars, and as he had been a great hunter, his dog was permitted to bear him company. He was said to have been begotten by the three Gods, Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury. Diodorus says he was a celebrated hunter, and he is pictured on the ancient spheres as armed with a club, a shield and a sword. Virgil calls the Constellation $\bar{O}ριον$, *aquosus*, "wet" or "watery."

Hesiod in his second book of the Georgic's (as translated by Chapman), has these passages:

When, Atlas' birth, the Pleiades, arise,
Harvest begin, plow when they leave the skies.

.
When, after sixty turnings of the Sun,
By Jove's decrees, all winter's hours are run,
Then does the Evening-Star, Arktouros, rise,
And leave the unmeasur'd ocean; all men's eyes
First noting then his beams; and after him,
Before the clear Moon's light hath chas'd the dim,
Pandion's swallow breaks out with her moan,
Made to the light, the Spring but new put on.
Preventing which, cut vines, for then 'tis best;
But when the horn'd house-bearer leaves his rest,
And climbs the plants, the Seven Stars then in flight,
Nowhere dig vines, but scythes whet, and incite
Servants to work
When Sirius and Orion aspire
To Heaven's steep height, and bright Arktouros' fire
The rosy-fingered morning sees arise,
O Perses, then thy vineyard faculties
See gather'd and got home
But after that the Seven Stars and the Five
That 'twixt the bull's horns at their set arrive,
Together with the great Orion's force,
Then ply thy plow as fits the season's course.
. . . . When the Pleiades
Hide head and fly the fierce Orion's chase,
And the dark-deep Oceanus embrace,
Then diverse gusts of violent winds arise;
And then attempt no naval enterprise.

Those stars which were considered by the Greeks to co-operate in producing the spring rains, were probably so considered by their Aryan ancestors. They were, the Seven Pleiades, the Five Hyades, of whom Aldebaran was chief, and Orion.

ÇATAVAÊÇA.

Farvardin Yasht. 43. Then pours out Çatavaêça between heaven and earth, who makes the water flow, hears invocations, who makes the water flow, the plants grow, for the nourishment of cattle and men, for the support of the Aryan regions, for the nourishment of the cow, which is harnessed for the way, for protection of the pure man.

44. Outspreads himself between heaven and earth, Çatavaêça, who makes the water flow, etc., who is fair, beaming, shining, etc. (as in the former verse).

Sirozah. i. 13. To the Star Tistar, the brilliant, majestic; to Çatavaêça, the superintendent of the water, the strong, created by Mazda, to the stars which contain the seeds of the water, the seed of the earth, which sustain the plants, created by Mazda; to the Star Vañanṭ, created by Mazda, to the stars which are called Haptô-iringa, which proceed from Mazda, and are brilliant and health-bringing.

ii. 13. The Star Tistrya, the shining, majestic, praise we: Çatavaêça, who presides over water, the strong, created by Mazda, all the stars, which contain the seed of water, all the stars, which contain the seed of the plants, the Star Vañanṭ, created by Mazda, majestic, health-bringing, a resistance against the Yatus and Pairikas.

Vaçā, in Sanskrit, means “a wife, a daughter, a husband's sister, a woman.”

Çata is “a hundred,” and *çâta*, perfect participle, passive of *ço*, “to sharpen,” means “sharpened, sharp, thin, emaciated, feeble.”

Vaça, *Vaçya* and *Veça* have meanings in Sanskrit.

I give what follows, not because it leads me to any positive conclusion, but because it may be worth consideration by better scholars.

The numeral “three” is in Sanskrit, *trâyah*, *tisrâh*, *trîni*, from the base *tri* [Max Müller, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 120]. Benfey gives, *tri*, feminine *tisri*, “three;” *trika*, “forming a triad, a triad;” *Tritaya*, *tritva*, “a triad;” *tris*, “thrice.” And, in one compound word, at least, *tri* becomes *try*, as it very commonly becomes *trai*.

In Zend, “three” is *thrâyô*, and feminine *tisharo*; “third,” *thrityo*; “thrice,” *thrizhvat*, *thris*. And I cannot help thinking that *Tistrya* is also a derivative from *tri*, *tisra*, and means a “triad,” and that it was the name of the three great stars in the belt of Orion.

“Six,” in Sanskrit is *shash*, and “six-fold,” *shatka*, i. e., *shash+ka*. In Zend, “six” is *ksvas*. May not *çata* be a form close to the Sanskrit, of the same numeral, or perhaps a corruption, and Çatavaêça have meant, originally, “the six daughters,” i. e., the Pleiades, which in Greece were the Atlantides, or daughters of Atlas?

The Latins, by a mistranslation, called the Hyades *Succulæ*, "the little pigs." Every language affords examples of words whose orthography has changed, because the whole word or part of it has been mistaken for some other, and many legends have been invented to correspond with the mistaken meanings.

However this may be, I am satisfied that Tistar or Tistrya, Çatavaêça and Vañant were the Constellations Pleiades, Hyades and Orion, and that the "female companions" of Tistrya were the Six Stars of the Pleiades.

HAPTÔ-IRIÑGA.

In the *Farvardin Yasht*, 18, the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the true believers are said to

Survey those stars, the Haptô-iriñga, the nine and ninety, nine hundred, nine thousand, ninety thousand [meaning that they survey all the stars, and these cannot be counted].

Haptô is "seven." *Ri*, Sanskrit, means "to go, rise, meet, gain, acquire, move, raise, open, attack," etc. *Rich*, "to shine, to praise, to honour." *Richh* (properly the base of the present, etc., of *ri*), "to go." *Rij*, "to go, to live." *Rin*, "to go." *Riksha*, "a bear;" *rikshî*, "a she-bear, a star." (*Cf. αρκτος* and Latin *ursus*, "a bear.") *Rikvan*, i. e., *rich+van*, "praising." Also, *rish*, "to go, flow, rain, drip, pierce" (all Vedic); *rishi*, for original *rishan*, "a bard or psalmist, a saint, a pious person."

The Rishis were the composers of the most ancient of the Vedic hymns, and were believed to have become stars. The "Seven Rishis" were the Seven Stars of *Septentrio*, *Ursa Major*, or the Great Bear.

There is no word commencing with *ir*, in Sanskrit, from which *iringa* can be derived. The *i* prefixed is not unusual. From the Sanskrit root *tyaj*, "to leave," we have in Zend *ithyêjô*, "ruin." *Ir*, Sanskrit, akin to *ri*, means "to go, shake, throw." And *I* means "to go, attain;" *I*, "to go, pervade, conceive, desire, throw." *Ay* means "to go."

The Sanskrit *s* and *sh* are often represented in Zend by *nh* and *ñh*. I find no example of either changing in Zend into *ng*. (Spiegel writes the latter part of the name, *iriñga*, by which I suppose he means to indicate that *ng* has the nasal sound of the *n*.) But in the Latin, an older branch of the Aryan tongue, I find the Sanskrit *lih*, *lehmi*, "to lick," represented by *lingo*; *mih* by *mingo*; *yuj* by *jungo*; and *añhas* by *ango*.

I conjecture that *iriṅga* meant "goers, journeyers, wanderers, wayfarers;" and it is noticeable that, in the Sanskrit, *iṅg* (probably a denominative from *inga*, "moveable," also meant "to move," and *ikh* and *iñkh*, "to go, move." So also did *ikh*, *ij*, and *iṅg*; and *înkh* meant to "vacillate."

And I think that this name, "The Seven Journeyers" was applied to the stars of Ursa Major, because they travel, journey or revolve incessantly round the North Pole. And their Sanskrit or ancient Aryan name, which either was, or became corrupted into, *rishi*, meant, I believe, the same thing, from *rish*, "to go," the name being afterwards supposed to mean the Rishis or ancient bards; and that the name *riksha*, "bear" was afterwards given them under a like misunderstanding.

Tistrya and Çatavaêça, I think, are the Hyades and Pleiades, Tistrya (Aldebaran), being the representative or leader of the Hyades.

DRVÂÇPA.

The *Gosh Yasht* (*Kh. Av. xxv. 9*), is devoted to the laudation of *Drvâçpa*, styled in the Parsi caption, *Geus Urva Drvâçpa*. He or she is styled:

The strong, created by Mazda, who gives health to the cattle, to the beasts of burden, the friends, the minors, keeps much watch, stepping from afar, the shining, long friendly.

Spiegel says that Dryâçpa means

possessing sound horses [and the second verse is], who has harnessed horses, armed chariots, sparkling wheels, is fat, pure, the strong, beautiful, profitable to herself, the firm-standing, strongly armed for protection to the pure men.

Then the heroes are represented offering to her, as to Ashis Vañuhi and Ardvicura, with the same requests,—Haöshyañha, on the summit of a high mountain, desiring to smite the Mazanian Daevas; Yima-Khshaëta, from the high Hukairyá; Thraëtaöna, Haöma, Huçrava, behind the river Chaëchacta (Vara Chaëchaçta), Zarathustra, in Airyana-Vaëja, the Berezaidhi Kava Vîstaçpa, behind the river Daitya, asking victory over Asta-aurva, son of Viçpo-thaurvô-Açti, the murdering Qyaonian Arëjat-Açpa, and Darshinika, the Daeva-worshipper; and

Drvâçpa, the strong, created by Mazda [granted the favours asked by each], the nourisher, the offerer of gifts, the dispenser, the offerer, the implorer of female-givers (*dâthrîs*) for a favour.

Haug says (*Essays*, 162):

The Gosh-Yasht is devoted to a female genius, who is called here by the name *Drvâṣpa*, ‘who keeps the horses in health.’ The name *gosh*, ‘cow,’ which was given her in after times refers to *geus-urva*, the universal soul, by which all living beings are animated. From the terms in which *Drvâsp* is spoken of in this Yasht, she was believed to preserve the life of the good animals. On heaven, she represents the Milky Way, and in this respect is described as having many spies (eyes), having light of her own, having a far way, and a long constellation (*dareghô-hakhedhrayana*).

Elsewhere (96) he gives us *drvatât*, “health,” nominative *drvâo*, genitive singular *drvatâtô*, accusative singular *drvatâtem*.

But Bopp has *drvatât*, “firmness” (*Burnouf, Etudes*, page 261), from *drva*, “firm,” = Sanskrit *dhruva* (Old High German, *triu*, “true”).

In Benfey we have *dhruva*, “firm, stable, permanent, fixed, certain, the polar star, a name of Vishnu, permanence.”

There is nothing about cattle or Gêus Urva in the Yasht; and all that is mere Parsi nonsense. *Açpa* undoubtedly means, in Zend, “a horse,” being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *açva*. Of masculine and neuter nouns in *a* in Zend, the dual nominative and accusative terminate in *a* (in the Gâthâs in *ā*), e. g., *pâdha*, “the two feet;” or in *ē*, e. g., *zaçtē*, “the two hands.” In the plural, the nominative masculine terminates in *āñhô* and *a*; the neuter always in *a*; the accusative in *a*; and otherwise. *Daêva* and *urvâta* are in the nominative plural.

Thus *açpa* may be either in the singular, dual or plural.

How the former part of the compound word here (*drv*) can be made to mean “keeping horses in health,” or, “possessing many,” or “possessing sound” horses, I am unable to say.

As *bhru*, “eyebrow,” in Sanskrit, becomes *brvât* in Zend, the equivalent of the Zend *drvâ* must be in Sanskrit, *dru* or *dhru*. Giving the letters their value in English, we cannot pronounce *drv* or *drvâ*.

Dhru, Sanskrit, means “to stand firm, to go, to know;” *dhruv*, “to stand firm, to go.” How the same radical verb could have meant “to stand immovable,” and “to go,” the makers of dictionaries do not think worth considering, although there is a “science of language.”

Dhruva (“akin to *dhrii*”—Benfey), means “firm, stable, permanent, fixed (as a day), certain, the polar star, permanence, certainly.”

Dru (akin to *dram*, *drâ*), means “to run, to attack, to melt.” Causal, *dravaya*, “to put to flight.” *Dra* means “to run;” *dram*, “to run;” *drava*, “running,” (Vedic), “quick motion, flight.” *Dravya*, on the other hand, means “object, thing, substance, property;” and *draviña*, “wealth, money, strength.”

But *dhṛi*, Sanskrit, means "to bear, to carry, to maintain, to support, to exist, to live, to stop, to retain, to have, to keep." The causal, *dhāraya*, "to bear, hold, support, keep, possess." Hence, *dhur*, "a burden, a load, a yoke;" *dhurā*, "a burden;" *dhura*, "a yoke." *Dhur* also means "place of honour, the head;" *dhuriṇa*, "a chief;" *dhurya* and *dhūrya*, "able to bear a burden, being at the head, best, a beast of burden;" *dhārin*, "bearing, having, knowing, maintaining, keeping, retaining, observing;" *dhāra*, "holding, bearing;" *dhāraṇa*, "preserving;" *dhāraṇā*, "bearing, supporting;" *dhāraṇa*, "holding, bearing, maintaining, possession, restraining."

I am satisfied that *Drvâçpa* means, simply "horsemen," and that it is in the dual, "the two horsemen." If it governs a verb in the singular, it is because it designated a constellation or the twin stars, Castor and Pollux, in Gemini, the Aṣvini of the Veda. The attributes and potencies ascribed to this constellation in the Veda, prove that they must have been deified when, rising with the sun, at least 5,000 years B. C., they announced the coming of the Vernal Equinox; and explain those ascribed in the Zend-Avesta to *Drvâçpa*.

And that this was a constellation is evident from the first verse of the Gosh-Yasht, in which it is characterized as potent, health-giving, and keeping watch, stepping onward from afar, shining, and long propitious; and from the second, in which it is said to have harnessed horses, armed chariots and sparkling wheels.

It is called *dâthris*, which Bleeck translates by "female-givers," deriving it from *dâ*, Sanskrit, "to give." That verb means "to give, grant, bestow, marry, offer, teach, do, perform." Another verb *dâ*, of the same letters, means in the Veda "to bind, tie."

Benfey and Bopp have *dâtri*, "a donor, a giver," fem. *datri*. I should think it far from certain that *dâthris* means *female* givers. But, as there is no doubt that by it *Drvâçpa* is meant, it proves that this was a constellation, and not a single star or deity. Dr. Haug says that in the sky it represents the Milky Way, and is described as having many eyes, light of her own, a far way, and a long constellation *dareghô-hakhedhrayana*.

FRÂDAT-FSHU, ZANTUMA, ETC.

In *Yaçna i.* Frâdat-fshu, Zantuma, Frâdat-vîra, Daqyuma, Berejya and Nmânya are invited to the offering, with Frâdat-vîçpañm-hujyaiti, Cavanhi and Viçya; with the times of the day and night for offerings, Rapithwina, Havani, Uzayeirina, Aiwi-Çrûthëma Aibigaya, and Ushahina; and the five annual festivals, Maidhyôshëma, Patis-hahya, Ayâthrëma, Maidhyairyä, and Hamaçpathmadaya.

In the *Cros-Vâj*, the name elsewhere *Berejya* is *Berezya*. Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma, with most of the others, are praised in the *Qarset Nyâyis*, and in the *Gâh Rapitan*, the afternoon prayer. In the latter (*v. 8*), it is said:

That assembly and meeting of the Amësha Çpëntas, we praise, which is prepared in the height of heaven, for the praise and adoration of Zantuma, the Lord.

In the *Gâh Uzîren* or evening prayer, Frâdat-Vîra and Daqyuma are praised.

In the *Afrigân Rapithwin*, Frâdat-fshu and Zantuma are praised; and in *Fargard xix.*, Hâetumat, the beaming, shining.

In the notes to *Yaçna i.* we are told by Spiegel or Bleeck, that, according to the gloss, Çavañhi is the assistant of Hâvani, who increases the cattle; and Viçya is the tutelary genius of the clan. Frâdat-fshu is the genius who increases the cattle; Zantuma, the head of an assembly; Frâdat-vîra, the genius who increases mankind; and Daqyuma, the head of a whole province. Viçpañm-hujyâiti is Good Health personified; Berejya, a genius who watches over the growth of corn; and Nmânya, the head of a house.

In the *Gâh Hâvan*, Çvanhi and Viçya are styled "the Pure, Lord of Purity," on which use of the singular (*ratûm*), when two are named, Spiegel remarks, as curious. "The Lord Viçya, the Pure, Lord of Purity" is afterwards named alone.

In the *Gâh Rapitan*, Rapithwina, Fradât-fshu, Zantuma and Fshusha-Maîthra are praised; and in verse 8, it is said:

That assembly and meeting of the Amësha-Çpëntas, we praise, which is prepared in the height of heaven, for the praise and adoration of Zantuma, the Lord.

In the *Gâh Uzîren*, Frâdat-vîra and Daqyuma are praised; Apaîm-Napât (the Navel of the Waters, or, as Spiegel says it may be rendered, "the moisture of the waters"); and Spiegel calls the two former, "The Preserver of Mankind," and "The Protector of the District."

In the *Gâh Aiwigrûthrëma*, Frâdat-Vîçpañm-huþyâiti is praised; and in the *Usahin*, Usahina, with Berejya and Nmânya, of whom Spiegel says that the former

presides over the increase of corn [and the latter], attends to the prosperity of families. [In Verse 6, it is said], Berejya, the Pure, Lord of Purity, we praise, out of longing for the blessing of purity, from longing for the good Mazdayaçnian law, for praise and adoration to the Lord Nmânya.

And in the *Gâh Uzîren* are also praised, Atarevaksha, Frabérëta, Abérët, Açıñâta, Raéthwiskara, and Çraðsha-Vareza, with Uzayêirina, Zaõta and Hâvanân.

In *Fargard xix.* Haêtumat, "the beaming, shining" is praised. It is impossible to be certain as to the derivation of this name. It may be from *Sattva*, Sanskrit, "being, life, existence, breath, mind, essence, certainty;" or *satyâ* (also from the verb *as*), meaning "truth, trueness, veracity." As I note elsewhere, it is the eleventh country named in the first Fargard, and is named in *Fargard xix.* immediately after the Kareshvares; so that it is not a star, and the words "beaming and shining" are out of place.

Frâdat-vîra seems plainly derivable from *práda*, Sanskrit "giving," whence *pradatṛa*, "giver," compound of the verb *dâ*, "to give," and the particle *pra*, which is in Zend *fia*; and *vîra*, Sanskrit, "heroic, strong, powerful, eminent, a hero, a brave man, a soldier, heroism"; whence *vîrya*, "strength, power, fortitude, heroism, dignity, splendour." It must, therefore mean, "Giver of heroism, power or dignity and splendour,"—probably of heroism.

Fshu, it is said, means "rich, monied." *Frâdat-fshu*, therefore means "giver of wealth."

Zantuma is probably from *jantu*, "a creature, a man," but with a different meaning (the original one), directly from the verb *jan*, Sanskrit, meaning "to bring forth, produce;" causative, *janaya*, "to beget, bring forth, produce." The suffix *tu* in Sanskrit, forms infinitives and gerunds, and these and common substantives also, in Zend. Thus *pérētu*, originally the participle, "crossing," then "a crossing," and finally "a bridge or ford." Bopp gives *zantu*, also, as an instance, as meaning originally "production or creation," and at last, "a city." (§864.) The suffix *ma*, in adjectives, or substantives, denotes the person or thing which completes the action expressed by the root, or on whom that action is accomplished. Abstracts, also, are formed by it. Thus, in Sanskrit, *bhâma* is "the sun," as "giving light."

Zantuma, therefore, is the causer or genius of begetting or generation, production or birth.

Daqyuma has the old Gâthic form, in which *q* was used where *h* afterwards supplanted it; as in *vaqyâo*, afterwards *vahyâo*; *aqya*, afterwards *ahya*, and *daqyu*, afterwards *dañhu*. To *Daqyu*, Haug (104) ascribes the meaning of "country, province."

A small number of words is formed by the suffix *yu*, having the same force as *tu*; e. g., Sanskrit, *janhu*, "a living creature," as "begotten or producing;" and in Zend, *Mainyû*, "intellect or mind," as "thinking."

I do not believe that *Daqyuma* means "protector of the district," any more than I believe that *Zantuma* is "protector of confederacies." *Q* in Zend, according to Muir, represents the Sanskrit *sv*, *s* and *sh*. But we have seen that also it was used in the Gâthâs where *h* is used in the later compositions; and other instances of this are *maqyâo*, "of my," for *mahya*; *thwaqyâo*, "of thy," for *thwahya*; *qaqyâi*, "to herself," for *hvayai*; *qaqyâo*, "of herself," for *hvayai*.

Dah, Sanskrit (originally *dagh*, and the same as *dañh*, "to shine, to burn"), meant "to consume by fire, to burn;" whence *daghârî*, "consumed by fire;" *dahaya*, "to cause to be burned;" *dahana*, "consuming by fire, fire, the Deity of Fire;" *dâha*, "burning;" *dâhana*, "causing to be consumed by fire;" *dâhin*, "setting on fire, burning."

I think that *Daqyuma* was the genius who presided over that particular part of the ceremonial of worship, which consisted in burning a portion of the oblation.

Bérêjya is given by Muir as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *vrîhi*, and as meaning "rice." He refers to Vullers' *Persian Grammar*, and says, "In Justi's *Lexicon*, Berejya is said to be the name of a Deity who protects crops." Bopp, (§§821, 822), derives the Zend *bérêtô* and Greek Φεπτος from the Sanskrit *bhritâs*, from *bhartâs*, "borne."

Dr. Haug, speaking of suffixes, says:

Ya, of very frequent occurrence, forms relative adjectives, pointing out a certain relationship to their substantives, e. g., *yêgnya*, 'what refers to prayers;' *âhâiryâ*, 'what refers to Ahura.'

Bhara, i. e., *bhri+a*, in Sanskrit, means "plenty, who or what supports, a load or burden;" *bharu*, "gold, a lord;" *bhargas*, i. e., *bhrâj* or *bhrij+as*, "light" (Vedic); *bhartri*, i. e., *bhri+tri*, "one who contains, a cherisher, a protector, a lord, a husband." And *bhri* means "to bear, hold, wear, gain, possess, form, nourish, maintain, hire, support and fill." *Bérêjya*, it is said, is "rice," as "that which nourishes." It is permissible to doubt that.

Another verb *bhri*, means "to fry;" *bhrij*, "to parch, to fry;" and *bhrajj*, i. e., *bhrijga*, "to boil or fry;" and *bhraj*, "to shine, beam, illuminate."

Bérêjya, I think, was the deity or genius who superintended the cooking done at the sacrifice.

Namas, Sanskrit, is "bowing, adoration;" participle of the future passive, *namaniya*, "to be bowed to." *Nmânya* seems to have been the deity or genius who directed the genuflections. It is the sacrifice that is celebrated in these Gâhs; and all these names, and others yet to be mentioned, are but personifications of different portions of the ceremonial.

Frabérēta, is *bérēta*, with the preposition *fra* prefixed. *Fra*, Sanskrit *pra*, is the Latin and Greek preposition *pro*, and means "before, in front, forward, forth." *Profero*, "I bring forward or forth," whence our *proffer*; *produco*, "I lead forth or utter forth," whence our verb *produce*; and the great number of other English words, derived from the Latin, beginning with *pro*, amply and exactly show what *fra* meant in Zend. *Prâbhrita*, i. e., *pra+bhrīta+a*, means in Sanskrit, "a present, an offering." *Frabérēta* is the same word, and means "the deity or genius of the offering."

The meaning of *Abérēt* is very doubtful. Ordinarily, the *a* prefixed expresses negation. It cannot be supposed to do so here, if the word is from the same root. And why two deities of the offering?

I find in Benfey, *āvṛit*, "order, arrangement, manner, a ceremony." *Vṛitta*, participle of the perfect passive of *vṛi*, means, among other things, "finished, done, performed, conduct, behaviour, observance of enjoined practice, verse, metre." With *ā* prefixed, this participle means "to advance, come, return;" *āvṛitta*, "perused repeatedly," *vṛittatas*, "relating to observance or duty."

If this is the derivation of *Abérēt*, it means the "deity or genius of the ceremonial;" and if *vṛihi* becomes *bérējya*, *avrīta* or *avrītta* may well have become *abérēt*, as *vṛitrāhan* becomes *vṛērēthrajan*, and *kṛiça*, *kereça*.

Hujyāiti, i. e., *hujya+aiti*, is probably from the Sanskrit, *su*, *sū*, *sush* and *çush*, all meaning "to beget, generate, bear, bring forth;" or from *sukh*, *sukhaya*, a denominative from *sukha*, "happy, joyful, agreeable, sweet, virtuous, pious, easy, happiness, joy, pleasure, alleviation, ease." It is more regularly formed from *sukh*, the final *j* of nouns in Zend becoming *kh* before consonants, as, e. g., in *druj*, *drūkhs*, *drujem*. The termination *aiti*, Sanskrit *āti*, Bopp says, is a pronominal preposition, meaning "over." But *hujyāiti*, here, is the third person singular of the present indicative, the root of which is obtained by first taking off the termination *ti* of that person, and then *yai*, the characteristic of that tense and the words derived from it. Thus we find the root *huj* = *sukh*.

Viçpa is "all;" and *viçpañm* is the genitive plural of it. Thus I think that *Frâdat-Viçpañm-hujyāiti* meant "the causer who makes happiness, ease or comfort for all."

Dr. Haug says (*Essays*, 60), speaking of denominatives, *raêthwayēiti*, "he pollutes;" literally touches with *raêthwem*, a fluid (now and then it means the fluid of light).

Muir gives Sanskrit, *rathya*; Zend *raithya*, "a road;" and Benfey gives, as meanings of *rathya*, i. e., *ratha+ya*, "a high street, a place where several roads meet."

Kara, Sanskrit is "making, maker, father;" and *Rāēthwiskara* means, probably, "maker or father of roads."

Aç, Sanskrit, is "to eat, to enjoy, to cause to eat;" and *açana*, "eating food;" and *açnata*, i. e., *açana+ta*, may mean "supplying with food." The termination *ta* gives an active as well as a passive meaning. (*Bopp.* §§513, 821.)

THE MAÑTHRA-ÇPĒNTA: WISDOM.

Fargard xix. 46, 47, 48. Praise thou, O Zarathustra, my Fravashi, Ahura Mazda's; the greatest, best, fairest, strongest, most understanding, best-formed, highest in holiness, whose soul is the Holy Word.

54. I praise the Holy Word, the very brilliant. [Spiegel says, in note, 'The Mañthra Çpēnta. Guj. Tr.'].

Yaçna xxv. 17. The most righteous wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, we praise, the good Mazdayaçnian law, we praise.

18. The Mañthra-Çpēnta, the very brilliant, we praise, the law against the Daevas, we praise, the Zarathustrian law, we praise, the long precept, we praise, the good Mazdayaçnian law, we praise, the spreading abroad of the Mañthra-Çpēnta, we praise, the keeping in mind the good Mazdayaçnian law, we praise, the knowledge of the Mañthra-Çpēnta, we praise, the heavenly wisdom, created by Mazda, we praise, the wisdom, heard with the ears, created by Mazda, we praise.

Yaçna xxii. 28, 29. Of the most righteous wisdom, created by Mazda, pure; of the good Mazdayaçnian law; of the Mañthra-Çpēnta, etc. . . . of the heavenly understanding, of the understanding heard with the ears, created by Mazda. [The wisdom or understanding heard with the ears, is the religious ritual or offices, sung, chanted or read, at the offering—the Bṛihas-pati of the Veda].

Mihr-Yasht: *Kh. Av. xxvi.* (10): 126. On his (Mithra's) left side rides the rightest wisdom, the gift-bringing, pure; she wears white garments—white, a similitude of the Mazdayaçnian law.

Din-Yasht: *xxxii.* (16). Satisfaction to the rightest wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, the good Mazdayaçnian law for praise, adoration, satisfaction and laud.

1. The rightest wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, we praise; the good provision for the way, the swift-hastening, very pardoning, gift-bringing, pure, virtuous, renowned, swift-working, soon working, averting of itself, pure of itself, the good Mazdayaçnian law.

2. To which Zarathustra offered, saying, 'Lift thyself up from the throne, come forth from thy dwelling, rightest wisdom, created by Mazda, pure.'

4. For its brightness, for its majesty, I will praise it with audible praise, the rightest wisdom, created by Mazda

6. To which Zarathustra offered, for good thoughts for the mind, for good words for the speech, for good works for the doing, for this favour.

7. That the rightest wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, might grant to him: Strength for the feet, hearing for the ears, health for the whole body, thriving for the whole body [all this and Verse 6 repeated three times], and strength of vision, as Karô-Maçyô possesses it, who is under the water which is in Rañha, the far to pass over, the deep, as the stallion possesses it, which, in a dark night, rainy, snowy, icy, hailing, ninefold from the kingdom, sees a hair lying upon the earth, whether it is a hair of the head or a hair of the tail; as the golden vulture possesses it, who ninefold remote from the region, sees something frightful of the size of a fist, as much as the brightness of a shining needle, as much as a needle-point.

This, literally read, is nonsense pure and simple. The power of fatuity could go no further than to represent Zarathustra as praying for such eyesight, and to attribute such keenness of sight to the stallion or vulture is unapproachably preposterous. Unless the prayer of Zarathustra was for keenness of intellectual intuition and vision, all this is too ridiculous to waste a thought upon.

14, 15. The rightest wisdom to which offered Hvôvi, the pure, wise, wishing a good lot, namely, the pure Zarathustra, in order to think the law, speak according to the law, act according to the law.

16, 17. The rightest wisdom To which offered the Priest, created afar, wishing memory for the law, wishing strength for the body.

18, 19, 20. The rightest wisdom To which offered the Commander of the Region, the Lord of the Region, wishing peace for the region, wishing strength for the body *Yathâ Ahû Vairyô*. Offering, praise, strength, might, I devote to the rightest wisdom, created by Mazda.

In the Gâthâs we find:

xxx. 11. Teach both the perfections which Mazda has given to men [which, Spiegel says, may be the Avesta and Zend, i. e., the holy scriptures and oral tradition].

xxxi. 1. Reciting to you these perfections, which have not yet been heard, we teach the words, against those who destroy the world of purity with the teachings of the Drujas.

xxxiv. 9. Those, who, from ignorance of Vohû-Manô, destroy with evil deeds, the Holy Wisdom, which is desired by them that know Thee, from them purity flies far away.

14. Your wisdom, O Ahura, efficacy of the soul, which furthers the faith.

xxxvii. 13. The good law, the good rule and the good wisdom.

xxxix. 14. Of the good rule over the cattle, of the good wisdom.

xlvi. 7. Who has created the desired wisdom, together with the kingdom?

10. Make right with the words and deeds of perfect wisdom.

11. How does a share in wisdom come to those to whom Thy law is announced?

xlvi. 7. To whom arrives the wisdom of Vohû-Manô?

Wisdom is not personified in the Gâthâs. And it seems to be, and at least generally is, in the later writings, not an intellectual attribute, or wisdom as a quality, power or capacity of the mind, that is personified, but the Mazdayaçnian Law, or the wise teachings which the intellectual wisdom, producing, utters in the Mañthras and elsewhere. Perhaps it includes *all*, the fruit and wealth, uttered and unuttered, or the intellectual wisdom or divine understanding. That is, it is the aggregate of the thoughts of that divine wisdom or understanding; of which the Mazdayaçnian Law is, in part, the spoken word.

Spiegel does not inform us what the words are which he translates by "wisdom" and "understanding;" nor do we know whether it is always the same word in the original that is represented by the word "wisdom" in the Spiegel-Bleek translation; nor whether "understanding" always represents the same Zend word, and always a word that is never rendered by "wisdom." Mr. Bleek does not always represent the same Zend word by the same English word.

Dr. Haug says of the *Din-Yasht*:

In the *Din Yasht*, the Daêna Mâzdayaçnis or the Zoroastrian religion is invoked like an angel. She was, of course, pre-eminently worshipped by Zarathustra. The way in which he invoked her is described in a little song, commencing as follows (It is Verse 2, in Spiegel):

'Rise from thy place! go out from thy house! Thou Wisdom! created by Mazda, which is the rightest; if thou art in the front (of the house), put up with me, if thou art behind it, return to me.'

Dâna, Sanskrit, means "giving, a gift, liberality, oblation." *Dhana*, "property, a gift, gold, money, abundance." *Dâ*, "to give, grant," etc., also means "to communicate, to teach," and there is also a Vedic word *dâ* that meant "to bind." To *daêna*, Zend, are ascribed the meanings of "religion, meditation, creed." It may mean either "teaching, instruction, what is communicated, gospel, or that which is obligatory or binding, law."

What the word rendered by "wisdom," in the *Din Yasht*, is, Dr. Haug does not inform us.

In *Yaçna xxii. 29*, (*Spiegel*) we read:

Of the heavenly *understanding*, of the *understanding* heard with the ears, created by Mazda [v. 28 having spoken of]; the most righteous wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, of the good Mazdayaçnian law.

And in *Yaçna xxv. 17, 18* (with a note reference to *Yaçna xxii. 29*), we find:

The most righteous wisdom, created by Mazda, pure, the good Mazdayaçnian law, the Mañthra Çpënta, the Zarathustrian law, the long precept, the heavenly *wisdom*, created by Mazda, the *wisdom* heard with the ears, created by Mazda, praise we.

Thus the same Zend word is rendered by "wisdom" in one place, and by "understanding" in the other.

This word is *Khratu*. How often it is rendered by "wisdom" elsewhere, I do not know. Dr. Muir gives, in a comparative table:

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek
<i>Kratu</i> (Vedic)	<i>khratu</i> (wisdom)	<i>κράτος</i> (strength)

How should the meaning of the word have ceased to be "strength," and have become "wisdom," in Zend?

Dr. Haug says (*Essays* 264):

In the Gâthâs, we frequently find two intellects (*khratu*) and two lives (*ahu*) spoken of. These notions, therefore, undoubtedly formed part of Zarathustra Çpitama's speculation. The two intellects are distinguished as the *first* and *last*. From the passages where they are mentioned (*Yaç. xliv. 19; xlviii. 4*), their meaning is not with certainty to be ascertained. [He reads *Yaç. xliv. 19*: 'How is the first intellect of that man who does not return, etc. . . . for the last intellect of this man is already known to me.']}

Spiegel reads the same words:

He who withholds this reward from the worthy, etc. . . . what is the punishment therefor at first? . . . I know already what will follow at last.

He finds no word here that means "intellect," and yet he elsewhere renders *Khratu*, "understanding."

Yaçna xlviii. 4. Haug. He who created, by means of His wisdom, the good and naught mind, in thinking, words and deeds, rewards His obedient followers with prosperity. Art Thou not He, in whom is the cause of both intellects (good and evil) hidden?

Spiegel. Whoso makes the mind better, and performs good works, wealth unites itself with him, according to desire and wish. According to thy mind is at last every one.

But, happily [Dr. Haug continues], we find them mentioned in later Zend writings (See *Yasht ii. 1*), by more expressive names. One is called *Âgnô Khratu*, i. e., the original intellect or wisdom, which we best identify with the 'first' in the Gâthâs, the other is styled *Çaôshô-Çrûtô Khratu*, i. e., the wisdom perceived by the ear, which corresponds to the 'last.' Another name of the 'first' is *Mainyu Khratu* (*Mînô Khirad*), i. e., spiritual, heavenly wisdom. Now, we cannot be mistaken as to the meaning of these two intellects. The 'first intellect' is not from this earth, but from heaven; not human, but divine. The 'last intellect' represents what man has heard and learned by experience. The wisdom gained in this way is, of course, inferior to the heavenly. Only the latter can instruct man (as we see from a later book, called *Mînô-Khirad*, which is written in Parsee or Pazend) in the higher matters of life.

But I think it certain that Dr. Haug is utterly mistaken. *All intellect*, according to Zarathustra, is from Ahura Mazda. There is no "intellect" *heard and learned by experience*. "Wisdom" is not intellect *now*, and was not intellect *then*.

We have no translation of *verse 1* of the *Amshaspands' Yasht* by Dr. Haug. Spiegel's translation is:

. . . . to the heavenly understanding, created by Ahura Mazda, to the understanding heard with the ears, created by Ahura Mazda.

I am glad to find what words are the originals of Mr. Bleeck's "heavenly" and "understanding," conjoined. As I believed before knowing this, neither is correctly translated. *Mainyu* is not "heavenly," nor "spiritual." And "understanding" is not "heard with the ears."

I find in Benfey *kritin*, i. e. *krita+in*, "wise, clever, satisfied." But *krit* means "to cut, kill," etc., and in the Veda, "to spin." As the latter part of a compound, *krit* means "making," and *kriti* means "making, action," etc.

He gives a verb *kṛī* "to know," with an interrogation by way of doubt, with reference to two very late works, and *kṛīt*, "to celebrate, propound, pronounce, say."

Now *kratu* is, in *Rigv. i. 64*, "power," and elsewhere "sacrifice." Compare the Greek *κρατύς*, *κράτος*, *κάρπος*, *κραταιός*, etc. It is *kram+tri*; and *kram* means, among other things, "to succeed, prevail, overtop."

And, throughout the Zend-Avesta, it is *power* that is attributed to the holy compositions (prayers and Maṇthras, dictated by Ahura through Vohū-Manō). I cannot find any derivation for *Khratu* as "wisdom."

Mainyu means "mind" or "intellect." And whether *Khratu* means the power or wisdom of the divine intellect, it is quite certain that "intellect" is not meant, in the passage cited, but that which the divine intellect "created," through Vohū-Manō, and which, so "created," i. e., uttered in words, was audible to the ears of men. The "first" wisdom or power of intellect is in Vohū-Manō; the "second" is the same, uttered.

Dr. Haug further says:

"The two lives' are distinguished as a bodily, called *açtvat* or *parâhu* (prior life), and as a mental, called *manahya* or *daibitya*, 'the second' (See *Yaç. xxviii. 3; xlivi. 3*). Their meaning is clear enough, and requires no further comment; they express our idea, 'body and soul.' To be distinguished from these 'two lives,' are the 'first' and the 'last' lives, which mean this life, and that hereafter."

Of *Yaçna xxviii. 3*, I have no translation by Haug. Spiegel reads it,

Give me for both these (worlds), the corporeal as well as the spiritual, gifts arising out of purity, which make joyful to brightness.

Yaçna xlvi. 3 is, according to Haug:

Who used to show us the right paths of happiness, both in the earthly life and that of the soul, in the present creations, where thy spirit dwells.

Spiegel reads it:

May every man attain the best, who teaches us to know the right paths for profit, for this corporeal world as well as for the spiritual, the manifest towards the worlds in which Ahura dwells; the offerer, who is like Thee.

The "corporeal world" or "creations," or "bodily (or earthly) life," is simply men considered as beings with bodies only, and the "spiritual world," or "creation" is their intellects, themselves as intellectual beings. And the meaning of gifts or profit for the two is, abundance of cattle, grain and other wealth for the body, and prayers and Mañthras for the mind or intellect, of the Aryan people.

The "wisdom," heavenly, spiritual, or, correctly, intellectual, is generally used to signify the contents of the prayers, Mañthras and other holy doctrine, but also, sometimes, military skill. The notion of two intellects, and that of two lives (in this existence), rest on no foundation at all.

In the first title (*Lumen Legis*), of the *Synopsis Libri Sohar*, the law is treated of, and the study of it. And as the Zarathustrian or Mazdayaçnian law meant the religious creed, code and instruction of the Bactrian reformer, so in the Sohar the word "law" was applied to the whole system of religious instruction of the Hebrews. Thus:

Genes. 6. Four times the Holy and Blessed God inspected the law, before He would create His creatures, lest by precipitancy, errors should be committed in His affairs.

18. The law is to be studied *ob solam Dei Gloriam*—(for the sole glory of God).
19. The Divine Law teaches man to walk in the way of the good.
37. When the cock crows at midnight, a man is bound to rise and study the law.
39. Him who is always engaged in meditations of the Divine Law, this frees from depraved thoughts.

42. He who occupies himself with the study of the law, and the observance of the precepts of his Lord, etc.

44. Whosoever wishes his prayer to be heard, let him study the law.

45. Whosoever take delight in the study of the law, they shall be first in the resurrection of the dead.

46. Every day a certain bird (i. e., a winged angel), with loud voice like that of a herald, cries out in the Garden of Eden or Paradise, and admonishes creatures (i. e., men), to study the law.

The "bird" that cries with a voice like that of a herald, reminds us of the bird Parôdars,

whom evil-speaking men call Kahrkataç [of the *Eighteenth Fargard* of the *Vendîdâd*, who] lifts up his voice at every divine dawn, crying, Stand up [rise], ye men; praise the true faith, destroy the Daevas. Arise! it is day! Whoso first arises, he comes to Paradise.

THE AHURIAN QUESTION AND ANSWER.

In the *Crosh-Yasht*, the Ahurian Question and the Ahurian Custom are named with the Amêsha-Çpêntas, as gracious to Çraošha. In *Vispered i.* they are invoked, with the Ahurian Ruler and Ahurian High Priest; and Spiegel says that "the Ahurian Question refers to the *Vendîdâd* and similar works," to all, I suppose, that represent Zarathustra as questioning Ahura Mazda. In the *Gâh Hâvan* of the *Khordah Avesta*, we have the Ahurian "Questions," in the plural.

The Ahurian Question and Ahurian Custom are lords or masters of Purity. In *Fârgârd v.* of the *Vendîdâd*, Purity is defined:

This is purity, O Zarâthustra, the Mazdayaçnian law; he who keeps himself pure by good thoughts, words and deeds.

I am not able to determine the exact meaning of the phrase rendered by "Lords of Purity." Ahûra is one; the Amêsha-Çpêntas are so. So is the prayer Ahuna-Vairyâ; and so are the mortars of iron and stone, used in sacrificing.

The Ahurian Custom, I think, meant the religious ceremonial and observances; and the Ahurian Question, the whole body of Questions and Answers that contained religious instruction.

THE FRAVASHIS.

Dr. Haug says, of the *Fravardin* or *Farvardin-Yasht* (the largest of all, containing 31 chapters, divided into 158 verses), that:

It is dedicated in praise of the *Frohars*, *Fravashi* in Zend (best preserved in the name *Phraortes*, which is *Fravartish* in the ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions), which means 'protector.' These Frohars or protectors, who are numberless, are believed to be angels, stationed everywhere by Ahura Mazda, for keeping the good creation in order, preserving it, and guarding it against the constant attacks of fiendish powers. Each being of the good creation, which is living or deceased, or still unborn, has its own Fravashi or guardian angel, who is from beginning. Hence, they are a kind of prototypes, and may be best compared to Plato's 'ideas,' who supposed everything to have a double existence, first in the idea, secondly in the reality. Originally, the Fravashis represented only the departed souls of the ancestors, comparable to the Pitaras, i. e., fathers, of the Brahmans, and the 'Manes' of the Romans.

A good deal of that is disposed of by the mere suggestion that Ahura Mazda also has a Fravashi. Is it *His* guardian angel?

The *Farvardin-Yasht* commences thus:

Ahura Mazda spake to the most noble Zarathustra: I declare thus to thee, the might, strength, majesty, help and joy of the Fravashis of the pure, the mighty, storming [victorious. *Haug*]; how they bring help to me, how they secure assistance to me Through their brightness and majesty [splendour and beauty. *H.*] I uphold the sky Through their brightness and majesty, O Zarathustra, I maintain Ardvī-çura, I support the broad earth, created by Ahura, I keep the children protected in the mothers; for if the strong Fravashis of the pure would not afford me assistance, then there would not be here cattle and men, the increase would belong to the Drujas, the kingdom of the Drujas Añra Mainyûs would not hereafter submit to Çpēnta-Mainyû, who possesses smiting friends. Through their brightness and majesty, the waters flow the trees grow up the winds blow the women bear children. . . . the sun goes his path the moon her path the stars their path. They are an assistance in fierce combats, the wisest Fravashis of the pure. The Fravashis of the pure are the strongest; those of the former law [the old religion] or those of the yet unborn men, the forward-stepping [advancing, coming onward] are profitable [beneficent helpers]. Then, of the others, the Fravashis of living men are stronger than those of the dead.

[Spiegel says], According to this verse, the Fravashis are thus distinguished: 1. The Fravashis of the Paōiryā-thaēshas, i. e., the heroes of ancient times: 2. The Fravashis of the future saviours: 3. The Fravashis of the living: 4. The Fravashis of the departed. These last are weaker than the Fravashis of the living, and hence, require offerings from men, whereby their strength may be increased.

But what the text says is this: That of the Fravashis of men, those of the true believers, the followers of Zarathustra, are the strongest, although those of the men who were of the old religion, and of those not yet born, are not powerless; and that of the true believers, the Fravashis of the living are more powerful than those of the dead.

Zarathustra is directed, when encompassed with dangers, to invoke the Fravashis of the pure, of the dwelling, clans, confederacies, and regions, Zarathustrian, of the dead, living and unborn, of all the pure of all friendly and kindred regions. They support the heavens, waters, earth, cattle, are strong in victory and battle, and give victory and health.

Then the Fravashis of the pure are invoked:

Who are the strongest of the marching, the swiftest of the furthering [i. e., the strongest among those who are in movement, and are of the men soonest to be born, and therefore, swiftest to arrive]; who most of the departed look on this world [i. e., those Fravashis of the dead, who most interest themselves with what is passing in the Aryan land], the most efficacious of the ways, the least failing of weapons and defences, who work, not going forwards—

[i. e., those who most effectually assist the enterprises of the Aryans, and secure the triumph of their arms,—those Fravashis, who, being of men not again to live on the earth, are not advancing to be here with them, but who still labour for the living though stationary. I think this is the meaning, though Spiegel declares the verse to be beyond his comprehension. The Fravashis of the unborn are conceived of as existing, and as advancing, not through space, but with time, towards the life in this world of those to whom they belong. Those of the dead are stationary, with the dead, in their home with Ahura Mazda.]

These Fravashis of the dead are strong at the sacrifice and in battle,

where strong men combat in victorious fight. [Ahura-Mazda calls on them to help Him, and they] uphold Čpēnta-Mainyûs, they, the strong, sitting still, but having good and efficient eyes, and delighting themselves [i. e., observant of and interested in what passes here, and finding a pleasure in giving assistance]. [They are] The good friends, the well-working for the dwelling of long friends [protectors of the homes of these who were their friends], the best, if not offended, for men, the good amongst the good, who protect you. who are of strong will against the tormentors [i. e., who aid strenuously against the unbelieving oppressors], working on high, very profitable [exerting themselves from or in their home in heaven, and giving efficient aid].

[They are] the distributors, the mighty, very strong, *not to be seized with the thought* [beyond the reach of the human intellect, even, so that even by the intellect there can be no cognition of them], brilliant, merciful, healing, provided with the healing remedies of Ashi, according to the breadth of the earth, the length of a river, the height of the sun [which may mean that they exert their healing influences, even at those distances]. They give to the good, victory, created by

Ahura, and the blow that comes from above, and are of benefit to the Aryan regions; they are invulnerable, and efficient in battle, and of the believers, both the terrorifier and the terrified, implore them for help. [The 'terrifier' means those who overcome, the 'terrified,' those who are defeated, in battle]. The terrorifier prays for going away [i. e., that the enemy, routed, may abandon the country, or merely, may flee from the field]; the terrified, for going away [i. e., that they may escape with their lives].

With numerous hosts and good arms, and uplifted banners, these who live on high come down, in the hot fight, to the warriors, and carry on the combat, as strong warriors against the foes. And it is they who snatch victory from the Turanians, and break their power to oppress.

[They] give much brightness [to those who sacrifice to them as Zarathustra did], the ruler of the corporeal world [of the Aryan land], head of the two-legged world [chief of the people of that land]; and they come to each of those who fear oppression.

They are represented as coming to the clan at the time of a particular festival, inquiring who will sacrifice to them, and promising to bless those who shall do so.

They show fair paths to the waters, created by Mazda, which remained for a long time in the same place, not flowing forward; fair increase to the trees, which, after they were created, remained long in the same place without growing; and paths for them to move in, to the stars, moon, sun, the lights without beginning, which stood long, motionless, for fear of the Daevas, but which now go forward

to the far-winding of the way [on their immense circuits], to reach the winding which proceeds from the good Frashô-Kereti.' ['This,' Spiegel says, 'is the time of the Resurrection. The meaning appears to be, that by the help of the Fravashis the sun and moon hold on their course, and measure out the time, which must elapse before the Resurrection.]

"To reach the winding which proceeds from the time of the good Resurrection" would be, it seems to me, mere nonsense. I take the meaning to be, that they travel, each in his proper path and circuit, to reach that path and circuit which begins when it rises again in the east; i. e., that they never fail regularly to return to their place of rising, and from that again to traverse the sky. That is their "time of the resurrection."

They watch over the Sea Vôru-Kasha, the high [deep], and survey the Northern Stars, Haptô-Iringa [the Seven, Ursa Major], they, the 99,999, i. e., the numberless ones. They watch 'over that body of Çâma Kérêçâçpa, who is provided with the weapon Gaêçus,' and the seed of Zarathustra.

Spiegel attempts no explanation of the watching over the body of Kērēçâçpa, and must be content with supposing that it refers to some comparatively modern legend of the preservation in some place of the body of that hero.

Of the Seed of Zarathustra, Spiegel says:

This is the seed from which will arise the yet unborn children of Zarathustra, who are to be the helpers at the Resurrection,

which, I suppose, is a Parsee conceit. I imagine that the sentence means that the Fravashis of the dead watch over and protect the living descendants of the Bactrian Liberator of his people.

If then, [the Yasht continues], one brings water out of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha [by a canal, for irrigation], and the majesty, created by Mazda, then the bold Fravashis of the pure advance by myriads, longing for water, each for his kinsfolk, for his clan, for his confederacy, his region, saying thus: 'Our own region to be quickened [made fertile] and rejoiced.' . . . Then those of them who come down hither, bring water, each of them to his kinsfolk, his clan, his confederacy, his region, saying thus: 'It is our own region—to further it, to increase it.'

Thus the dead, or their Fravashis, are represented as still retaining their affection for their living kindred and people—surely a very beautiful idea and most interesting tenet of the Zarathustrian faith.

The water for irrigation must have been fresh, and therefore the Sea Vôuru-Kasha must have been either a body of fresh water, or a river. The Indus, in the Veda, is called a sea, and the Sea Vôuru-Kasha may have been the Oxus, or the Caspian, which then covered a much greater extent of country, washing, probably, the confines of Bactria, may have been a great fresh-water lake. We find mention elsewhere of a mountain in it. It is evident that it was a real and not a fabulous sea, and if there was then a mountain rising from its waters, it must have disappeared since, in some great convulsion of the country, which may have opened a connection between the ocean and the Caspian, and made its waters salt.

They fight in the battle at their place, as each has a place and a spot to watch over, like as a strong man, a warrior, keeps guard for a well-gathered kingdom, with weapons ready for war.

The chiefs and rulers invoke their assistance, which they give, if not ill-treated by them, and

they bring him [the chief] forward, like as if a man were a well-feathered bird [i. e., aided by them, he marches onward with the swiftness of a bird].

They are his weapons, his defence, his support, his wall. They take upon themselves against [they engage on his side against] the invisible Drukhs and the Varenian, wicked, against the revengeful, who attempts to harm, against the all-slaving wicked, the wicked Añra-Mainyûs, so that not a well-drawn knife, a well-struck club, a well-aimed arrow, a well-thrown lance, or stones hurled by the slingers, destroy.

These are the weapons of the Drukhs and the Varenians. They are therefore *men*, and the epithet applied to them, which is rendered “invisible,” must mean *secret* and *stealthy*.

These Fravashis of the pure “stood on high” when Çpënta-Mainyûs and Añra-Mainyûs, the holy spirit and the evil, created the creatures.

They torment the tormentings of Añra-Mainyûs [they pursue and slay the unbelievers, the foes of the Aryans], that he may not stay the flowing of the waters, the growth of trees [preventing the stoppage of the canals, and the consequent death of vegetation].

All former Fravashis, we praise here, that Fravashi of Ahura Mazda, we praise the Highest, through His Holiness, whose soul, the Mañthra Çpënta is, which is shining, lightening, fair, and the bodies [words of uttered prayer] with which He unites Himself, fair.

Of the Amësha-Çpëntas, the efficient of the Amësha-Çpëntas the shining, with efficacious eyes, great, helpful, mighty, Ahurian, imperishable, pure. Who are all seven of one mind, all seven of like speech, all seven like-acting. Like is their mind, like their word, like their actions, like is their Father and Ruler, namely, the Creator Mazda. Of whom one sees the soul of another; how it thinks on good thoughts, how it thinks on good words, how it thinks on good works, how it thinks on Garô-nemâna. Their ways are shining when they fly hither to the offering-gifts.

Other Fravashis praised are those of the Fire Urvâzista, of Çraošha, Nairyo-Çanha, Rashnu, Mithra, the Mañthra-Çpënta, heaven, water, earth, the trees, the Bull, of Gayo-Marathan,

who first heard the mind of Ahura Mazda, and His commands, from whom He created the race of the Aryan regions, the seed of the Aryan regions, of Zarathustra, of the shining heaven, the strong boar, of the *pure Fravashis*, of the Paoiryô-ťkaëshas, of the Nabanzdistas, and of a great number of men and women, living and dead, including Aoighman, the Turanian, and the pure men and women in the Turanian, Çânian and Dahian regions, with all Fravashis of the pure, from Gayo-Marathran to the victorious Çaôshyańç.

[Spiegel says (*note to Visp. viii.*)]: The word *Fravashis* signifies both the *souls* of the departed, and the souls of those yet unborn, who according at least to the later opinions, were created by God in the beginning, and descend in turn to the world, from whence they return to Ahura Mazda, and offer up prayers at His throne for mankind.

They do better than that. They come to the earth and help the living Aryans in their wars. Those of the unborn and of the living do the same. Nor are they souls; for there are Fravashis of the waters, heaven, earth and trees, and of Ahura Mazda, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the Maithra-Çpēntas and Craošha. And finally, the followers of Zarathustra never conceived of Ahura Mazda as a being in human shape, sitting on a throne.

In note to *Fragment (xxxix.) Kh. Av.* he says, much more correctly:

The Fravashis are of spiritual origin, created before the corporeal world, to which they at first hesitated to descend [though the latter phrase expresses, I think, a misconception].

In the Fragment, the question is asked of the Creator:

Whence are here the souls of the deceased, the Fravashis of the pure? [And Ahura Mazda answers], From Çpēnta-Mainyū is their origin, from Vohū-Manō.

That the Fravashis are not souls, is evident from other passages. In *Yaçna lv.* it is said:

The Fravashis of the pure, which are desired by us, for the souls. [And in *Yaçna xxvi.*], We praise the place, the law, the consciousness, the souls, the Fravashis of the pure men and women here.

But in the same it is said, twice, "the souls of the pure deceased, are the Fravashis of the pure;" i. e., of the living believers; which seems plainly enough to declare that the souls of the dead become the Fravashis of the living.

In the Gâthâs the Fravashis of the pure are barely mentioned once or twice; and the notions of the later Yaçna and of the Khordah Avesta in regard to these beings are no doubt of comparatively modern origin. In *Yaçna xxvi.*, the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda is praised with those of the Amēsha-Çpēntas and the soul of the well created cow.

In the later Yaçna the Fravashis of the Pure are often mentioned, that of Zarathustra, those of the men who first had the [true] faith, of the nearest relations; the Fravashi of the well-created Cow and of Gayô-Marathan (*Ch. xiv.*), the souls of the deceased, the Fravashis of the Pure (*xvii.*), the Fravashis of the Paoiryô-ckaeshas, of the Nabânazdistas, of the Yazata with renowned name (*xxii.*); and these, and "the Fravashi of my own Soul" (*xxiii.*). In this chapter, also, the Fravashis of Ahura Mazda, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, all those of the Heavenly Yazatas are invoked, with those of Zarathustra, Gayô-Marathan, and other heroes, and

every pure female Fravashi, of those who have ever died on this earth, pious women, maidens grown up and not grown up, diligent, who dwelt here, and are

gone away from these dwellings, who meditate and perform good offering and praise [are invoked, with others, and] the Fravashi of my own soul.

Of course the Fravashi and the soul are different things, with the living, at least; their Fravashis being the souls of the dead.

Yaçna xxvi. praises, besides the Fravashi of Ahura Mazda and those of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, and of Zarathustra and other heroes, those of

the Nabazdistas, the pure here, who were protectors of purity [with those of the deceased pure, the living pure, the yet unborn, forward-stepping profitable].

Advancing, in time, to the period of the birth of those to whom they are to belong, and giving aid to the living, and also, besides the Fravashis of the Pure who belong to the region, those

of all the pure beyond the region [which, Spiegel says, proves that the Zoroastrian religion was not confined to a single territory].

It proves, also, that the “region” in which Zarathustra lived was the mother-country, having extensive colonies beyond its limits, which we have already learned from other passages of the Avesta.

All that is found in the Vendidâd of any importance in regard to the Fravashis, is in the nineteenth Fargard.

Praise thou, O Zarathustra, my Fravashis, Ahura Mazda's; the greatest, best, fairest, strongest, most understanding, best-formed, highest in holiness, whose soul is the Holy Word . . . I praise the strong Fravashis of the pure, which are profitable to all creatures [which benefit, and give assistance to, the believers, created by Ahura-Mazda].

Guigniaut, in his Edition of Creuzer's *Religions of Antiquity* (Vol. ii., p. 702) says that the *Fervers* (Fravashis) are pure *models*, *ideas* of beings in the creative thought of Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda), and at the same time their celestial protectors, their guardian angels, their patrons, and not their *souls*, from which they are distinct, although they unite with them to become incarnate on the earth. And, at page 708, that they are immortal portions of the Infinite Intelligence, which appear to have their centre and principle in the divine word *Honover* (*Ahuna-Vairyā*, which is not a *Word*, but a *prayer*, of the same nature and efficacy as the prayers Ashem-Vohu and Yenhe Hatañm, and in no sense resembling the Platonic *Logos*).

The Fravashis of men are produced by or from Ahura Mazda, through Vohû-Manô (mind-being, or intellect-being), and cannot be *ideas*, or παραδειγματα or *models*. The word continually translated “soul” in the

Zend-Avesta, means the *Vital Principle*; *Mainyu* or *Manas* is the *Intellect*, and the *Fravashi* is the *Soul*, or spark of the divine light; the *Very Self*. The Fravashi of Ahura Mazda is His *Very Self*, of which *Çpēnta-Mainyu*, The Divine *Mind* or *Intellect*, is an emanation.

The Kabalistic enigmas in regard to the three immaterialities in man, *Nephesch*, *Ruach* and *Neschamah*, and the *Anima*, *Mens*, *Spiritus* and *Psyche* of the commentators will serve to explain the Zarathustrian idea in regard to the Fravashis. It is quite evident that the Fravashi of Ahura could not have been imagined to be something distinct from Himself. How could there be a pre-existent idea or model of the Very Deity, the Infinite and Immortal?

There is one verse in this Yasht that needs to be noticed, without reference to the Fravashis. It is the sixteenth, of which the first lines are, in Spiegel:

Through their brightness and majesty is the man born, the gatherer and congregator, who willingly obeys speech, possesses deep understanding, who goes against the scorners before the back of the countryman.

It is said in note:

These words are doubtful and obscure. The word rendered 'countryman,' (*Gaotema*) does not occur elsewhere in the Avesta.

Haug makes this read:

By means of their splendour and beauty, that ingenuous man (Zarathustra), who spoke so good words, who was the source of wisdom, who, before Gotama, had such intercourse (with God), was born.

And he says, in note:

Gaotema, in the original, is the proper name of Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. Its Sanskrit form is *Gāutama*. That Buddhism was spread at Balkh is well known.

At page 223, he considers this "a certain historical hint," as to the age of the Yashts. Taking Gaotema to be the name of Buddha, he says:

That Buddhism was spread in Bactria at a very early time, we know from other sources. Buddha entered Nirvâna (died), in 543, B. C. Before his lore could spread in Bactria, at least 100-200 years must have elapsed since the Master's death. Thus, we arrive for the Farvardin Yasht (in language and ideas, there is no difference between it and the others) at about 350-450, B. C.

He thinks that Zarathustra lived not much later than 1200 B. C., and fixes the age of the larger part of the Vendîdâd at about 900 or 1,000; and that of the younger Yaçna at about 700 to 800 B. C.

Gotama is the name of a Rishi in the Mahabharata. To claim it for Buddha exclusively is slender ground for a theory of any kind.

Instead of meaning "protector," for which I can find no warrant, *Fravashi*, I think, is derived from the verb *vas*, the original form of *ush*, "to shine" (Sanskrit); or from *vas*, "to dwell, to live;" with *pra*, "before," prefixed.

All this is unquestionably one of the most interesting features of the Zarathustrian faith, and merits a much more careful and exhaustive consideration than I am competent to give it. It is said to be by the aid of the Fravashis of the true believers, living, dead and unborn, that Ahura Mazda upholds the sky, keeps the rivers filled with water, supports the broad earth, and causes the Aryan race to increase and multiply.

They even enable the lights of the sky to perform their revolutions, uphold Çpênta-Mainyû, and support the sky and earth. They hear the invocations addressed to them by the pious believers, and grant their prayers. They originate from Çpênta-Mainyû and Vohû-Manô, and the Fravashi of the dead hero is the soul of the Mañthra, i. e., is to it what vitality is to the body; as that of Ahura Hîmself is the Soul of the Holy Word, and of the Mañthra Çpênta. Ahura Hîmself is *Intellect, Light and Being*, and all the Fravashis are sparks, as it were, of His Intellect, which, all originating from it together, advance in long procession with time, to become momentarily visible, by means of their union with being and the body, during the life here.

The ideas of the Kabalah will serve to explain those of the Zend-Avesta.

In the *Porta Cælorum* (*Dissert. vi. Ch. xii. §3*), it is said that *Nephesch* is the life of the body, *depending* from the rational mind (*anima*) That which subsists by itself, is *extended into* the body, and uses it as an instrument, is called *Ruach, spirit*. But *Neschamah* is the essential *intellect* of the mind, *infused into* it, from the supernal, divine and general intellect. And the union and adhesion of the particular intellect with the formal and general intellect, such, that is to say, that the former subsists and operates *under* the latter, and under its action, is called *Chaijah*, and, finally, *Jechidah*, in my opinion, is the union of the mind (*Anima*), whereby it becomes like unto its first cause, and coheres and is connected with it, so that this is, as it were, its head, heart or centre, wherefrom it depends [*de-pendere*, to hang down from], to which is referred whatsoever it is, and whatsoever it contains and effects.

In the *Bith Alohim* of Rabbi Abraham Cohen Irira (*Chap. iii. §1*), it is said:

Metatron is the chief of the angelic host and by him and his hosts, *spirits* are given to men. But Sandalphon is chief and prince over the *Ophanim*, and is the root of the inferior minds in men; those which the Platonists call minds impressed by bodies, which are not found beyond them, and do not act outside of them, being, as it were, by their own nature, corporeal. Whence spirits and intellects are distinguished from these, and subsist by themselves and are eternal, because they are incorporeal.

Chapter v. §7. Metatron is the first and universal soul [*Psuchē*], subsisting by himself: Sandalphon is vitality, which is in the first body, to-wit, that heaven, which is called *Araboth*, otherwise, the *Empyrēan* or *Primum Mobile* The two, together, may be called the heart and brain of the world.

§8. Metatron, as an incorporeal intelligence, subsists *per se*, but Sandalphon, as a phantasy and sense, is united with the body. He (the former), as an abstract and separate intellect and motor; she (the latter) as *Psuchē* and compound motor; he, as the end of motion, and she, as the execution of the same.

In the treatise, *De Revolutionibus Animarum*, of Rabbi Jitzchaq Loria, (*Part i. Chapter i. §7*), it is said:

Psuche, which is called by them *Nephesch*, is the vital spirit, not in so far as corporeal, but that innate, primitive and seminal one, with which correspondeth the vegetative or plastic soul of the philosophers, and the *epithumetikon* or concupiscent, of the Platonists. The spirit, which they call *Ruach*, is a certain higher degree, corresponding with the sensitive soul, and the *tō thumikōn* of the Platonists, the *irascible*. The third degree is called by them *Neschamah*, to which the *rational* or, rather, *intellectual* soul correspondeth, and the *to Logicon* of the Platonists, also, the *nous* or *mens* The fourth degree, which they call *Chayah* is a certain more sublime vitality, which supervenes to a man from beyond him, and not only penetrating within him, but also going about without him. The fifth degree is a certain singular union and concourse or presence of the Divinity, which is called by them *Jechidah* to which degree few ascend permanently, except the Messiah.

I take the following very curious passages from the *Synopsis Libri Sohar* of Rabbi Jisaschar F. Naphthali:

Title xiii. Porta Spirituum. 8. Two angels go forth with each soul, one on the right hand, the other on the left. And if the man is virtuous, they protect him, but if he is not, they accuse him.

15. Psuche is annexed to the body, and the spirit to Psuche, and the mind [*mens*] to the spirit, like unto the light of a lamp, which adheres to the wick, while the flame all the time ascends.

20. At the time of the creation, all souls [*animæ*] were clothed with the form of this world.

21. When a man is born, his spirit finds no place that it may extend itself in the body; hence, it subsists in some certain place, until the body grows to the due size, and then the spirit is expanded through it.

22. When a man is born, he sometimes receives the *psuche* alone, and neither spirit nor mind in addition to it, but when he afterwards walks in the way of the virtues, spirit and mind are superadded to it.

29. The vital soul [*psuche*] and the spirit are conjoined with each other, but the place for the mind is concealed.

34. To every just man there are two spirits; one for this world, and the other for the world to come, and, therefore, their names are doubled

38. The soul flies forth from the place of its origin, and waits in some certain place, until a body is formed for itself, into which it may enter, as the embryo is formed in the womb of the mother, which remains there until the time of its egress comes.

Same Title: è dictis in Exodum. 23. In the night-time, in sleep, all souls (*animæ*) ascend on high, and if they are just, they ascend even to the place which is called the Holiest; if not, they are expelled from it.

38. There are spirits which mingle vain things with those truths that are opened to men in dreams, from the holy place.

39. There are two spirits, which are sometimes Incubi and sometimes Succubi, and appear to men in sleep, with the forms of beautiful women, and excite lust in them.

47. To the right side that is holy, a certain good companion is given, who benefits men, in this and the future world, and resists those who prepare evil plots against the man, and ascending, annihilates these. But on the left side is an evil companion, and if one devotes him to magic arts, this companion associates himself with him.

49. Some are appointed præfектs for those who do subjugate their own evil concupiscence.

50. Some are constituted præfектs for those who are students of the law, and join themselves to them, and with them study law. Also, for those who visit the sick, and they indicate to these what penance is to be undergone by them.

xiii. è dictis in Leviticum. 15. The soul of a man, before it comes into the body, remains in the presence of the Most Holy God, in the form of this world, and it descends into the lower Paradise, and there enjoys delights for thirty days, and again ascends, and is then created [i. e., sent into this world].

xiii. è dictis in Numeros. i. The soul has a father and a mother, in the same manner as the body has.

11. There are three kinds of Dæmons; for some are like angels; some like men and some like brutes. But Asmodæus with all his people are Jewish Dæmons.

15. The spirits of the just dwell in the upper regions, before they descend.

21. The spirit of man has its origin from the side of the Holy Spirit, and his mind proceeds from the 'Tree of Life.'

In the following passage (*Title xiii. è dictis in Genesin, 42*) the reader will find reproduced the Parsee (perhaps Avestic) ideas as to the female dæmons, the Pairikas:

There are dæmons who are termed the plagues of the sons of Adam, and the females of this species sport in the night with a sleeping man, and with the seed

drawn from him generate other dæmons like unto men, only without hair, and the males of this species, in like manner, sport with women, etc.

Title i. Lumen Legis: in Leviticum. Suppl. 6. There are several souls [*anima*] in man, but no one of them enjoys the liberty of speaking in the presence of the Most Holy and Blessed God, except that one which is called *Neschamah*, mind [*mens*]. Wherefore, it is called the Spirit that speaks.

Title viii. Porta Festorum: in Genes. 3. At the time of the new moon, and on the Sabbath, the soul [*Psūche*] enjoys the delights of the spirit and of its mind.

16. At the time of the new moon, when the spirit ascends, to enjoy the delights of Paradise, it must enter into that cave where Adam and the patriarchs are, and there a certain tablet is given to it, to serve as a sign, and by means of this, it enters into Paradise, where the cherubim stand with the flaming sword, and, if it is worthy, they look at the tablet, and open Paradise to it, but if it is not worthy, etc.

See *Col. 229* and *230*, where it is described how the soul, spirit and mind enjoy the converse of each other, at the feasts of the new moon and of the Sabbath, and others of the greater feasts.

Id., in Exod. 7. From what place there comes to man, on the day of the Sabbath, another soul [*anima*], hitherto superfluous.

9. Of the superfluous soul [*anima*], which is the descending spirit, that is superadded to men, and when it descends, is first bathed in aromatic liquors in Paradise.

24. Of the reward of the spirit, in the lower Paradise, and what in delights this enjoys, on every Sabbath and at every full moon, of those of the higher kind, with its mind.

25. Many chiefs [spirits or angels] are appointed, who, when that redundant soul, which is superadded to the Israelites on the day of the Sabbath, again departs, go away with it, and avert all sorrow and sadness and grief from the Israelites.

34. On the nights of the Sabbath, of the feasts and new moons, the soul [*Psūche*], separated from the body, assumes the same form [*speciem*] in which it lived, and is clothed with the same body and bones. And unless men were, on account of their stupidity, blind, as it were, they could see it, about the close of the Sabbath, and of the feasts and new moons.

45. On all new moons and Sabbaths, the soul of the just comes unto those sinners who are undergoing their punishment, even as it does to those who bear certain evils on account of the unity of the Most Holy and Blessed God, and going away, it announces these to the Messiah, who there foretakes upon Himself a part of their pains, unless he did which, it would be impossible for them to subsist.

Id., in Levit. 12. On the day of the Sabbath, yet another soul [*anima*] is superadded to man, from the world that is to come.

Id., in Num. et Deut. 4. When the Sabbath begins, the supernumerary souls descend upon the holy people, and the souls of the just ascend.

Title x. Semita Justorum. in Genes. 76. Two angels accompany a man during the whole day, and if he does any good work, he, who is on the right hand, assists him.

Title xi. Porta Retributionis: in Levit. 12. For which reason, *Psuche, Spiritus* and *Mens* receive their reward in three different places, even as man first also, at least receives the soul [*psuche*], then the spirit, and last the mind.

15. The power of the just is greater in their death, than while they are living; for living, they exist in this world only, but after their death, they are found in all the worlds.

Id., in Num. et Deut. 2. The spirit, in the lower Paradise, is clothed with the same form wherewith it lived here, and it on every new moon and Sabbath ascends and unites itself with the mind or soul [*animâ sive mente*].

8. Also, the just perfect descend into the infernal region, and bring thence many men, who meditated repentance in this world, but were prevented by death.

9. The spirit is not clothed with the clothing of that world, until the body has been buried.

Paul, in his first letter to the Thessalonians, says, “I pray God your whole soul and spirit and body be preserved.” And the *τριμερής ὑπόστασις, σωματος, πνεῦματος καὶ ψυχῆς*, the tripartite hypostasis of body, spirit and soul, was familiar to the Fathers of the Christian Church. Irenæus says:

There are three things of which the entire perfect man consists—flesh, soul spirit—the one, the spirit, giving form; the other, the flesh, receiving form. The soul is intermediate between these two, and sometimes, following the spirit, is elevated by it, and sometimes, consenting to the flesh, falls into earthly concupiscences.

And Origen says:

There is a three-fold partition of man, the body, the spirit, by which we express the likeness of the divine nature, in which the Creator, from the archetype of His own mind, engraved the eternal law of uprightness by His own finger, and by which we are firmly conjoined to Him, and made one with Him, and then the soul, intermediate between these two.

In the letter to the Hebrews, *iv. 12*, the Word of God is said to pierce even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit. In the Alexandrian philosophy, the same distinction is recognized, the *πνεῦμα* being the rational soul, the mind, the reason; and the *ψυχὴ* the sensitive soul, that which desires or lusts. Josephus says that God inserted in man a spirit and a soul; and the same is said in the Book of Wisdom, *xv. 11*. So, in the Book of Enoch, the spirits of the souls (*τὰ πνεῦματα τῶν ψυχῶν*), of deceased persons, are spoken of, and spirits going forth from their souls as from the flesh.

The following quotations, for which I am indebted to the *Origin of Christianity*, of a learned Hebrew, Rabbi Wise of Cincinnati, will show what the Fravashis were, and how fully the Zarathustrian notions in regard to them were adopted by the Hebrew Rabbis during and after the captivity at Babylon.

These ancient Rabbis and their successors maintained that,

all souls that were on earth from the days of Adam, and all those who will appear on it hereafter, were created when the world was made, and they are now in Paradise (*Tauchuma Pekudi*). [The highest of the heavens is called Araboth.] There are the souls of the righteous, and also, those spirits and souls that will hereafter go on earth (*Hagigah. 12b*). There is a treasury in Heaven, which is called *Guph*, where are all the souls of those to be born hereafter, and all of them were made and placed there in the beginning (*Rashi to Hagigah. 5a*). The Lord held a council with the souls of the righteous, and then He created the world (*Bereshith Rabba. 8*). The soul dislikes to go forth from behind that curtain, that place of purity, where the souls are kept [therefore, it is said], against thy will thou art formed, against thy will thou art born, against thy will thou livest, etc. (*Aboth iv. 29*). Before the child is born, it is taught the whole of the law; when it enters this world, an angel comes and strikes it upon its mouth, and it forgets all (*Nidda. 30b*). All the souls stood at Mount Sinai, when God gave the law. The Son of David will not come before all the souls shall have lived in bodies (*Jebamoth. 62 and elsewhere*).

These pre-existing souls are the angels, according to the Rabbis, and the returning souls attain different degrees among the heavenly hosts, according to their piety, or they become demons according to their wickedness on earth.

I shall inquire as to the meaning of the word Frashô-kérëti, and of the verse in which it occurs, under the head of "Resurrection and a Future Life."

The "body" of Çama Kérëçâçpa, which the Fravashis "oversee" (protect), is either the people over which he reigns, or the force of soldiery which he commands. The word is used elsewhere in the same sense, in regard to Zarathustra. Either is his body, because his mind and will inspire it.

THE ARYAN MAJESTY.

THE KINGLY MAJESTY.

Astâd-Yasht: *Kh. Av.* *xxxiv.* (18): Satisfaction to the majesty of the Aryans, created by Mazda

1. Ahura Mazda spake to the holy Zarathustra: I created the Aryan majesty, many herds of cattle, much kingdom, very brilliant, well-won understanding, well-won wealth, as an adversary against Azi, as an adversary against the evil-minded.

By the "evil-minded," Spiegel thinks, "are probably meant all the evil-beings mentioned in the next verse." On the contrary, by it are meant those who are unbelievers and false of faith. The "Aryan Majesty" is evidently the Aryan power or state, political, social and religious. It is simply the Aryan greatness and supremacy.

2. It torments Añra Mainyûs, who is full of death; it torments Aêshma with terrible weapons; it torments Bushyañcta, the yellow. It torments the sickness spread abroad, the deadly Apaôshô, the non-Aryan regions.

For the infidels whom it conquers are creatures of Añra-Mainyus and the Daevas. And, of course, if the greatness, splendour and prosperity of the state were once conceived of as a somewhat divine, which was efficient to overcome enemies and the spirits and powers of evil, it could with equal reason and sense be deemed to have the power to conquer epidemics as injurious to the state as war. And, even, as these make it unprosperous, the annihilation of the sickness was necessary to the existence of the majesty. The existence of one *involved* the annihilation of the other.

It is not so easy to determine precisely what was meant by "the Kingly Majesty."

Zamyad-Yasht: *xxxv.* (19): Satisfaction be to the Mountain Ushi-darëna, created by Mazda, possessing much brightness, to the Kingly Majesty, created by Mazda, the Imperishable Majesty, created by Mazda.

Then a great number of mountains are named, in six verses, and their number given in the seventh, and the eighth is:

For its brightness and its majesty, I will offer to it, with audible praise, to the strong Kingly Majesty with gifts. The Majesty, created by Mazda, we praise.

It is thus in some way closely connected with, or appertains to the high mountains of the Paropamisus.

9. The strong Kingly Majesty, created by Mazda, we praise, the much-obtaining, working on high, salutary, shining, possessing strength, which is placed over other creatures.

10. Which belongs to Ahura-Mazda:

15. Which belongs to the Amēsha-Çpēntas:

22. Which belongs to the heavenly and earthly Yazatas, the born and unborn:

26. Which belonged to Haōshyanha, the Pāradhâta, for a long time, when he ruled over the seven-portioned earth [the land of Seven Kareshvares].

28. Which united itself to Takhma-Urupa, the weaponless, when he ruled over the seven-portioned earth.

31. Which united itself with Yima

34. Then, when he, untrue, began to love lying speech, then the Majesty visibly flew away from him, with the body of a bird. . . .

35. First removed itself the Majesty, with the body of a bird, flapping with the wings. There Mithra seized this Majesty.

36. When for the second time the Majesty departed then the Son of the Athwyanian Clan, the Strong Clan, Thraētaōna, seized this Majesty

37. When for the third time, then the valiant-minded Kērēçâcpa seized this Majesty

45, 46. The Strong Kingly Majesty in which Çpēnta-Mainyûs and Añra-Mainyûs viewed themselves. In this each of the two plunged his imperishable very swift limbs.

47. Then stepped forward, the Fire, of Ahura Mazda, thinking thus: 'I will seize this Majesty, the Imperishable.'

Azhis the Dahâka forced the fire to let it go, and himself seized it. The fire, in turn, by threats, forced him to let it go. Then:

51. This Majesty spread itself abroad to the Sea Vôru-Kasha; there, the Navel of the Waters with swift horses seized it, desired it (saying): I will seize this imperishable Majesty, to the depths of the Sea Vôru-Kasha, the deep, in the depth of the deep canals.

Then the destroying Turanian Franraqê endeavoured to take it from the Sea Vôru-Kasha,

desiring after the Majesty which belongs to the Aryan regions, the born and the unborn, to the pure Zarathustra [but it removed itself out of the way]. Then rose that outflow of the Sea Vôru-Kasha, which bears the name of Huçravâo. [At his second attempt, and like failure], arose the outflow of the Sea Vôru Kasha, the canal which bears the name Vanhazdâo. [At the third], the outflow the water which bears the name Awzdânva.

This Kingly Majesty united itself with "the Sea Kañcu, which is in connection with Haêtumat, as the Mountain Ushidhâo, about which many waters connected with mountains, flow around."

69. Then is the Kingly Majesty the Saviour of the Aryan regions, of the cow which is harnessed for the way, as protection for the pure men and the Mazda-yaçnian law.

71. (The Strong Kingly Majesty) united itself to Kavi Karata, to Kavi Aipivohu, to Kavi Uçadhan, etc.

72. That they all might be swift, strong, healing, shining, gifted with might, all kings, accomplishing great deeds.

These being unquestionably Aryan chiefs, we must conclude that the words rendered "healing" and "shining" are wretchedly translated. The former, no doubt, means, freeing the country from evil and mischief; and the latter, "distinguished," or "glorious," or "illustrious."

74. Which united itself with Kavi Huçrava, for the well-created strength, for victory, created by Ahura, for the smiting which comes from above, for the well-learned precept, for the precept not to be disarranged, for the precept which cannot be smitten, for the smiting of the foes here.

75. For robust strength, for the Majesty created by Ahura, for health of body, for heavenly good offering, wise, gathering, shining, white-eyed, helping out of distress, manly, for wisdom for future attaining to Paradise.

76. For brilliant kingdom, for long life, for all favour, for all healing remedies.

79. Which attached itself to the pure Zarathustra, for thinking the law, speaking the law, fulfilling the law,

84. Which attached itself to Kavi Vistâcpa for thinking the law, etc.

89. Which attached itself to the victorious Çaošhyańç and the other friends, that he might make the world progressive [causing the Aryan realm to extend and improve], not growing old, immortal, not stinking, not rotten, ever-living, ever-profiting, a kingdom according to wish, that the dead may rise, that immortality may come for the living.

The Yasht then concludes with a description of what is to occur when Açıtvat-Ěrětô "uplifts himself from the water Kañuya, a messenger of Ahura Mazda, son of Viçpa-taurvi"—"The future Saviour," Spiegel says; but this is seriously to interfere with the prerogatives of Çaošhyańç [Sosiosch], whom all the writers have taught us to consider as the Persian Saviour. I will inquire into the claim of each hereafter; the Aryan race needed no "Saviour" in our conventional meaning of that word; but only liberators, to free them from the rule or harassings of the northern infidels. Every Aryan was a creature of Ahura Mazda, and the doctrines of the fall of man and the necessity of redemption by a Saviour or Redeemer do not find their origin in the teachings of Zarathustra.

Yaçna lix. 13, 14. May the brilliant Majesty never be extinguished for this dwelling, nor the brilliant riches, nor the bright heavenly descendants. [This

Majesty, Spiegel thinks, is probably that of the father of the household, which resembled the Kingly Majesty, only less in degree].

Yaçna i. 42. And the Kingly Majesty, created by Mazda, and the indestructible Majesty, created by Mazda. [Spiegel says: 'The Kingly Majesty refers to a peculiar ray, or divine light, possessed by Yima, which was afterwards taken away from him on account of his bad deeds, and with it, disappeared happiness and blessing. (*Cf. Weber, Indisch Studien, iii. p. 412.*) The Imperishable Majesty refers, according to the gloss, to the Spiritual Majesty of the Athravas and Herbeds, which is to be obtained through wisdom.]

One is tempted to inquire what is *meant* by the former of these "explanations?" It leaves us as far from knowing what the "Kingly Majesty" *was*, as we were before hearing it. Was the "peculiar ray," or the "Divine Light" a *visible* light that invested Yima, an aureole or something of the sort; and if so, why was the "imperishable" Majesty a "Spiritual Majesty," and not a similar "ray" or "light"? "Cloven tongues, like as of fire, sat upon" the Apostles, we are told in *Acts ii. 3, 4*, "and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost;" but the Zend texts give no hint that the Kingly Majesty was anything of this sort.

What, again, is "Spiritual Majesty?" What does the phrase mean? As currently used among us, nobility or greatness of soul, a lofty and self-reliant mind, free of all baseness and littleness. But this, I think, in no wise expresses the Zarathustrian idea; nor does the text hint that, whatever it was, this "indestructible" majesty belonged to the priests of any degree. At least, however, "Spiritual Majesty" means *something*; while "a peculiar ray or divine light" means nothing certain or definite, at all.

Both "Majesties" are one and the same Majesty; and it belongs to the chiefs, rulers or kings, and not to the priests. Çpēnta Mainyūs and Añra Mainyus bathed in it, and then produced their emanations. It cannot be vulgarized into a "ray of light," nor into the "Spiritual Majesty" of a priest.

Ātas-Behrām-Nyāyis: Kh. Av. xi. 3. To the Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda; to the Majesty, the Profit, created by Mazda; the brightness of the Aryans, created by Mazda; the Kingly Majesty, created by Mazda. To the Fire, the Son of Ahura Mazda, to Kava Huçravañha, to the Vara of Huçravañha, to the Mountain Açra-vāñta, created by Mazda, to the Vara Chaechaçta, created by Mazda, to the Kingly Majesty, created by Mazda Holy Fire, Warrior, Yazata with much majesty, Yazata with many healing remedies.

This passage is repeated in the *Sirozah*, *i. 9* and *ii. 9*, the phrase in the latter being, "The Mighty Kingly Majesty." Haug says (*Essays 195*), speaking of the *Ashtad Yash*, that the name Ashtad is to be traced to the Zend word *Arstāt*, i. e., "height." I do not think it can be traced to that word; and do not believe that *Arstāt* meant "height."

The word *Ashtad* does not occur in the Yasht.

The Desturs [Haug says], understood by it, the height of mountains, and this short chapter was so named, only for distinguishing it by a separate name from the two other Yashts, Zamyad and Vanant. [He says]: The brightness of the Aryan countries [in Spiegel, 'The Aryan Majesty'], i. e., their riches and wealth in trees, cows, sheep, and all other things of the good creation, which are the most effective means for destroying the works of the devils, and for preserving everything in its original purity, and the *Ashi Vañuhi bérəzaiti*, i. e., the good high truth, are invoked here.

The Zend word which he renders by "brightness," and Spiegel by "majesty," is *qarēnō*. He says:

The name Zamyâd refers to the earth. She is not directly invoked in this Yasht, which is chiefly devoted to the praise of the brightness (*qarēnō*), above mentioned. In it [he says], we find invoked the mighty brightness, which was peculiar to the Kavis (the chiefs of the Iranian community in ancient times, chiefly before Zoroaster). Ahura Mazda produced it at the time of creating all that is good, bright, shining, and propagates life. It attached itself generally to one of the great heroes of antiquity, such as Thraêtaona, Yima, etc., and enabled him to achieve great feats. This heavenly brightness is essential for causing the dead to rise at the end of the world.

Verses 88, 89 and 90 are translated by Haug as follows:

This splendour attached itself to the Hero (*who is to rise out of the number*) of prophets (called *Soshyanto*), and to his companions, in order to make the life everlasting, undecaying, imperishable, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, for ever vigorous, full of power, at the time, when the dead will rise again, and imperishableness of life will exist, making the life lasting by itself. All the world will remain for eternity in the state of purity; the Devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the religious men in order to kill, and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.

The latter part of which really means, that the lands where the true religion is taught will have peace and prosperity, the Drukhs disappearing from it in due time. As soon as the true believers become strong enough to conquer them, they will abandon the country or be slain.

Ashtad is, unquestionably, from the Sanskrit verb *as* or *ash*, "to shine;" and means "shiningness," i. e., "brilliance, splendour."

[Bopp says, §817, note, that] *Kharēnō* [the *kh* here being the *q* of Haug], meaning 'lustre,' is from the verb *khar*, 'to shine,' with which corresponds *sur*, from *svar*, in Sanskrit; whence, also, *khâthrēm*, 'splendour.' From *sur*, 'to possess superhuman power, to shine,' in Sanskrit, comes *sura*, i. e., *svar+a*, 'the sun,' and 'a God,' and *sûra*, *sûri* and *sûrya*, 'the sun.' *Svar*, i. e., *su+an* (with *n* for *r*), 'the sun, splendour.'

This "Aryan Majesty" or "Splendour" is the greatness and glory of the Aryan people and race. Our own words "brilliant," in the phrases, "brilliant promise, or brilliant future, brilliant talents," etc., "splendour of fame or achievements, lustre of reputation, illustrious," all take us back to the original idea of radiance and brilliancy as the effects of *light*.

And so we find in the Zamyad Yasht, the Strong Kingly Majesty mentioned in connection with mountains, and particularly with *Ushidarēna* ("district of light," *Haug*); and *Ushidhāo* ("Creator of light," *Haug*); and styled

the working on high, salutary, shining. [It] belongs to Ahura Mazda, the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the Yazatas, to the rulers Haōshyāñha and Takhma Urupa. It united itself with Yima, while he ruled, and departed from him when he deserted the true faith. Then Mithra possessed himself of it, and after him, Thraētaōna, and Kērēçaçpa. Çpēnta and Añra-Mainyūs viewed themselves in it and bathed in it. The Fire seized it, and Azhis, the Serpent; the Turanian Fraîraçê endeavoured to find it, and failed. Then it united itself with the Sea Kançu. It is the Saviour of the Aryan regions, and the un-Aryan regions cannot destroy it. It united itself with various Kavis, that they might become powerful and prosperous rulers, and be victorious and win glory, and that their people might be fortunate and true to the faith, manly, devout and wise. It attached itself to Zarathustra and Vistâçpa, that they might extend the dominion of the Mazdayaçnian law, and to the victorious leader Çaošhyang, and the other allies of Zarathustra, that the Aryan land might increase in power and prosperity, and the Aryan Empire not decay or decline or grow old and effete and corrupt.

Thraētaōna possessed it, when he slew the Snake Dahaka; the Turanian infidel Franraçê, when he was victorious, and Kava Huçrava when he slew Franraçê; and Kava Vistâçpa, when he set the Aryan troops in array against the Drukhs, whipped them, and drove them, defeated, over the borders of the Aryan land; and Açtvat-érëto will possess it, when he rises against the Drukhs, beyond the river Kançuya. He is styled a "messenger" of Ahura Mazda, being the Son of Vîçpataurvi, "who purifies the victorious wisdom" (for "wisdom," read "power"). The meaning is, who, with a power that insures victory, embraces the Aryan faith, he and his people. His son, it is said,

will see with the eyes of understanding, and view all creatures, the images of the wicked seed [i. e., a convert, his eyes will be opened, and he will know and understand that the infidels are all representatives of the evil emanations from Añra-Mainyus]. He will see the whole corporeal world with the eyes of fullness, beholding, he will make the whole corporeal world immortal.

That is, he will, by wise rule, create abundance in all the land, and give it peace and security of life. And his troops, speaking their own language, faithful to their new religion, professing and teaching it and acting accordingly, will be victorious, and expel from the land all marauders and the

invading Drukhs, children of the wicked emanations from Añra Mainyus. Then the Divine Wisdom will overthrow Unreason in the land; Haurvatât and Amérât, will subdue hunger and thirst, and Añra Mainyus yield, deprived of rule.

This majesty or splendour is in the dwellings or homes of the Aryans, and appertains to the Fire, Son of Ahura Mazda.

It is evidently the splendour, the lustre and the glory of the Aryan land and people; and it comes to both from Ahura Mazda, and is like the light that emanates from Him and is revealed by His Fire; with which it is, therefore, in a manner identified.

THE STRENGTH—THE VICTORY—THE BLOW OR SMITING FROM ABOVE.

VĒRĒTHRAGHNA.

Vispered i. 22. I invite and announce to; the Victory, created by Ahura, the stroke which comes from above, the pure, Lord of Purity.

On which verse Spiegel says:

Vērēthraghma=‘victory,’ though identical in name with the Indian Vitrahan, becomes in the later Persian a mere abstraction, and ‘the blow which is given from above’ is a similar abstraction. It was forbidden to inflict a fatal blow on any of the creation of Ahura Mazda, but such a blow was deemed meritorious when employed against the creatures of Añra-Mainyûs.’

Bopp [*i. 374*], gives *Vērēthrazañctēma*, as the superlative, from *Vērēthrazañt*, nominative, *Vērēthrazañs*, ‘victorious,’ literally, ‘Vritra-slaying.’ [And in a note, he says that] the Sanskrit radical *han*, ‘slaying,’ which appears in *Vritra-han*, ‘Vritra-slaying,’ and similar compounds, has, in Zend, taken the form *jan*, the nominative of which is *jao*.

And [*i. 34*], the *ghna*, in the word *Vērēthraghma*, ‘victorious,’ corresponds to the Sanskrit *ghna*, at the end of compounds, for instance, in *qatru-ghna*, ‘enemy-slayer.’ The Zend *Vērēthraghma*, properly signifies, like the word so often used in the same sense, *Vērēthra-zan*, ‘killer of Vritra,’ and proves a connection between the Zendish and Indian mythologies, which, however, in consequence of the obscuration of meanings in Zend, and the oblivion of the old myths, now only exists in affinities of speech.

In the Veda, *Vritra* is the malignant demon, who, the Cloud-God, holds the rain within the clouds, until Indra, hurling his thunderbolts, crushes him and shatters the clouds, giving rains to the earth. But we do not find the proof that *Vērēthra* and *Vritra* are the same. There is similarity between the names, and that is all.

The Indo-Aryans lived in a country where production depended upon the rains, and Indra continually figures in the Veda as the slayer of Vṛitra and giver of rain, with Vishnu and other Gods. There is nothing of this in the Avesta. (In Bactria the crops depended upon irrigation by canals from the rivers, and not upon the rain.)

Vispered ii. 24. Victory created by Ahura, I wish hither with praise. The blow which springs from above, I wish hither with praise.

Cros-Vāj: *Kh. Av. v.* To strength, the well-formed, beautiful, to victory, created by Ahura, to the stroke which descends from above Ashem Vohū.

Yaçna ii. 25. The powers, the well-formed [forms or manifestations of the Good Principle, Ahura], beautiful, I wish hither with praise. The Vērēthraghna (victory), created by Ahura, I wish hither with praise. The Vanaiñti (blow), which descends from on high, I wish hither with praise.

iii. 33. For the well-formed, beautiful strength, the Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura Mazda, and Vanaiñti, which descends from on high.

vii. 25. To strength, the well-formed, well-increased, to the victory, created by Ahura, to the blow that descends from on high.

In *Vendidād xix.* 125. I praise Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura Mazda, the Carrier of Light, created by Ahura Mazda.

And in the next verse, the Star Tistar is praised, so that here Vērēthraghna seems to be a star, and may originally have been one.

In the *Farvardin-Yasht:* *Kh. Av. xxix.* (13.) 133. For strength, the well-formed, for the victory, created by Ahura, for the blow which comes from above.

Afrigān-Gahanbār: *Kh. Av. xli.* 15. Strength, the well-formed, beautiful: Victory, created by Ahura; the smiting which comes from above, the entire subjugation of the oppressors, conquest of the foes, annihilation of the murderous hostile oppressors, I implore.

The *Bahrām-Yasht* (xxx. 14), is wholly devoted to Vērēthraghna. I condense a portion of it:

Satisfaction to Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura, and the smiting that comes from above. Who among the heavenly Yazatas is the best armed? And Ahura Mazda answered, 'Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura,' O Zarathustra.

2. To him, Vērēthraghna came first, flying with the body of a strong wind [embodied in it, as ensouling it]; he bore the good Majesty, created by Mazda, healing-remedies and strength.

3. Then to him, the Strongest: 'In strength I am the strongest, in victoriousness the most victorious, in majesty the most majestic, in favour the richest in favour, in benefit the most beneficent, in remedies the most healing.'

4. Therefore, I will torment the torments of all tormentors [punish the oppressions of all oppressors]; the torments of the Daevas and men, the sorcerers and Pairikas, the Çathras, Kaøyas and Karapanas.

5. For his brightness, for his majesty, I will praise this one with audible praise, Vērēthraghna, created by Ahura.

The second time, he came 'flying with the body of a bull, an entire one, beautiful, with golden ears, with golden hoofs, above whom by his hoofs floated strength, the well-created, beautiful.'

The third time, 'with the body of a horse, a shining one, fair, with golden ears and golden housing; above him hovered at his face, the well-created, beautiful strength.'

The fourth time, 'flying in the form of a docile camel, a biting one, assailing, great, stepping forward, with a weapon which consumes men.'

The fifth time, 'flying with the beautiful body of a boar, an assaulting one, with strong tusks, valiant, with sharp hoofs, a boar striking only once, a fat, wrathful, dripping, strong, armed, circling around.'

The sixth time, 'with the body of a youth of fifteen, a shining, bright-eyed one, with small heels, a beautiful one.'

The seventh time, 'with the body of a bird, one with great flapping wings beneath, one wounding above, as the swiftest of birds, the swiftest of the flying.'

The eighth time, 'with the body of a ram, a wild, beautiful one, with sounding hoofs.'

The ninth time, 'with the body of a goat, a warlike one, fair, with sharp hoofs.'

The tenth time, 'flying with the body of a man, a shining one, fair, created by Mazda [an Aryan], bearing a sword with a golden hilt, adorned in every manner.'

As each of these, he bore the good majesty created by Ahura, and made the same promise to punish the oppressors for their cruelties, the Sorcerers and Pairikas, the Çâthras, Kaöyas and Karapanas.

Two or three of these stanzas are poetical. Thus of the camel it is said,

Which brings strength to the greatest of the outpouring [emigrating] men, to the greatest in understanding, which goes to the women—for those amongst women are well protected whom the camel protects—the tractable, with great arm, the great-humped, stray, lively in appearance, shining of head, powerful in height. In the dark night, he brings the power of far-seeing to the team which tosses the white foam about the head in its contentment, by its good standing, which stands looking like a ruler over a whole kingdom.

[And, of the bird]: This alone among beings, with soul [life], reaches with sure flight, he or none, because he rides (as it were), a good horse. Who comes carried at the first rising, at the morning dawn, wishing that the darkness may not be dark, unarmed, desiring the armed. He swept away over the tops of the humps [hills?], over the heights of the mountains, the openings of the valleys, the summits of the trees, having heard the voice of the birds.

28. Vērēthraghna, 'the worker of manhood, the worker of death, the worker of continuance; who stands of himself, averts by himself.'

Zarathustra offered to him, in the mind, speech, act, sayings and answers of Vērēthraghna, and Vērēthraghna gave him strength of arms, health, and keenness of sight, like that of Karô-Macyô, of the horse and the vulture;

for all which, as we have seen, Zarathustra prayed the rightest wisdom,—the same language being repeated here.

41. Vērēthragna decks this world with majesty [the Aryan land with supremacy], through his arms, like that great bird Çaena, like as the clouds full of water settle down on the lofty mountains.

44. Victory follows each one, where one sufficiently offers to the well-created Strength, to Vērēthragna, created by Ahura.

45. Strength and Vērēthragna, I bless, the two Protectors, Defenders, Lords.

47. Vērēthragna goes about between the battle-ranks, set in array, and asks with Mithra and Rashnu: ‘Who lies to Mithra? Who offends Rashnu? To whom shall I give sickness and death, I who am able?’

48. When men offer to Vērēthragna, there come not here to the Aryan regions hosts nor hindrances, nor debt, poison, hostile chariot, nor uplifted banner.

50. Gifts shall the Aryan regions offer him; . . . cattle shall the Aryan regions cook for him.

62. Vērēthragna destroys the battle-ranks; cuts to pieces the battle-ranks, etc.

Victory, Strength and Vērēthragna, all created by Ahura, or “well-created” (flowing from or produced by, and bestowed by, Ahura), and the stroke, blow or smiting (*Vanaiñti*) that comes or descends from above or from on high, are those potencies by which the infidel oppressors of the land are to be entirely subjugated, all enemies conquered, the murderous hostile unbelievers annihilated. All take a part in the war against the Drukhs. The “Strength” is, no doubt, the bodily strength of the Aryan warriors, and the “blow, stroke or smiting” personifies the force of the blows delivered with weapons by this Aryan strength.

Vērēthragna is the “Carrier of Light.” It is by his means that the knowledge of the divine truth is extended and diffused. I do not think that the allusion is to the ordinary light. He is the best armed of the heavenly Yazatas. He is the strongest, the most victorious, the most majestic, the greatest bestower of favours, the most beneficent, and most relieves the people of the ills under which they groan, and it is he who punishes the Daevas and Drukhs and hostile native tribes.

He is the source of brightness [the glory of success, and the prosperity that it secures], and of rule and supremacy. He and strength are coupled and connected together. Whoso worships him, is crowned with victory. He and strength are joint protectors, defenders and lords or rulers. He moves in the midst of the battle, striking the false-tongued and unjust, and disabling or slaying them. And when he is worshipped, neither invading armies nor marauding bands vex the Aryan land; nor debt caused

by impoverishment, nor ill-health by exposure and hardship, nor enemies in chariots, nor uplifted banners, and it is he who cuts to pieces the hostile armies, and slays the foes of the Aryans.

His ten personifications represent him as embodied in various courageous and fearless animals, in a gallant youth and brave man, wearing a golden-hilted sword,—of course a chief or leader. He is source of manliness, of the death of foes, of the perpetuation and continuance of the Aryan power. He is self-reliant and by himself averts or repels danger.

What is this, that is so personified, and of which the horse, the bull, the youth, the man and the eagle are fit types, and by it distinguished or characterized.

Verethraghna is a compound word, i. e. *vere+thra+ghna*.

From *tār* springs, in Sanskrit, by the affix of an *a*, and with the suppression of its own vowel, as in the weak cases, and before the feminine character, *i*, the neuter suffix, *tra*, and thence the feminine *trā*. The neuter form is principally used, and like the feminine *trā*, of rarer occurrence, forms substantives that express instruments, which are, as it were, the immediate accomplishers of an action. Examples are, *ne-tra-m*, “an eye,” as “conducting,” or “instrument of conducting” (root *nī*); *çrō-tra-m*, “ear” (root *çru*, “to hear”); *ga-tra-m*, “limb” (root, *gâ*, “to go”); *vas-tra-m*, “garment” (root, *vas*, “to put on”); *ças-tra-m*, “arrow” (root, *ças*, “to slay”); *yōk-tra-m*, “band,” (root, *yuj*, “to bind”); *dañsh-tra*, “tooth” (root, *dañs*, “to bite”); *vak-tra-m*, “mouth,” as “instrument for speaking;” *pak-tra-m*, “holy fire,” “that which cooks;” *khanitra*, “a spade;” *dhartrā*, “a house;” *dātra-m*, “a sickle.”

The Zend changes the suffix *tra* into *thra*, leaving it, however, unaltered after sibilants. Thus, we have *yaoschdāthra*, ‘means of purification;’ nominative accusative—*thre-m*; *doithre-m*, ‘eye,’ as ‘seeing.’ The Zend uses the formations in *thra*, *tra*, also in the sense of abstract substantives; as, *darethrem*, ‘possession,’ ‘reception,’ ‘retention’ (Sansk. *dhar*, *dhri*, ‘to keep’); *maréthrēm*, ‘mention’ (Sansk. *smar*, *smṛi*, ‘to remember’); *khāthrēm*, ‘splendour;’ *khāçtrēm*, ‘taste’ (Sansk. *svad*). (Bopp, §§816, 817).

Vīra, i. e. *vīri+a*, probably for original *vāra*, is, in Sanskrit, an adjective, meaning “heroic, strong, powerful, eminent;” and a noun, meaning “a hero, a brave man, a soldier, heroism, fire.” *Vīr*, properly a denominative, derived from *vīra*, “to be valiant, to show one’s heroism.” Compare the Latin *vir*; Gothic *van*; Anglo Saxon, *wer*. Thence, *vīratara*, “a distinguished hero;” *vīratā*, “heroism;” *vīravant*, “abounding in heroism;” *vīrāya*, “to show one’s heroism;” *vīrya*, “strength, power, fortitude, heroism, dignity, splendour.” I am inclined to think that the original meaning of *vīra* was “virility.” *Amoghavīrya* means “of unfailing virility.” And this original meaning inheres in the Latin word *vīri*.

-*Ghna*, i. e., *han+a*, latter part of compound, adjective and substantive, means "striking, killing, destroying, a murderer;" *han* meaning, "to strike, wound, kill, destroy." The Vedic participle of it is *jighna*; frequentative, *jamñgha*, "to strike repeatedly;" causative, *ghâtaya*, "to cause to be killed." As the latter part of a compound, -*han* means "killing, having killed;" its feminine being -*ghni*, its genitive being -*hanas*, instead of -*ghnas*.

Vērēthraghna, therefore, means "Heroism that wounds and kills;" i. e., "heroism in war," or "warlike heroism, the heroic spirit in war." And it is the same as *vritrahan*, only because *vritra* meant "a hero," or a "brave fighter," and not because that word became the specific name of the demon of the clouds, antagonist of Indra.

With this meaning, of "heroism, courage, bravery," all the texts that I have quoted consist, and the various bodies assumed are but symbols of the courage which animated each.

Vanaya, in Sanskrit, causative of *van*, means "to hurt, to kill." I do not find any word, with the meaning of "strike or smite," from which *Vanainti* can be derived.

THE RESURRECTION AND FUTURE STATE.

His soul shall I, who am Ahura Mazda, carry all three times over the bridge to Paradise. (*Yaçna xix. 10.—Haug.*)

The word translated by "paradise," here, is *Vahista*; elsewhere translated, sometimes, "the best place."

The souls of the good go joyfully to Ahura Mazda, to the Amësha-Çpëntas, to the golden throne, to Paradise. (*Farg. xix. 105, 107.—Haug.*)

Here, the word rendered by "paradise" is *Garô-nemâna*, followed in Spiegel by "the dwelling of Ahura Mazda."

Dr. Haug, who finds a philosophical theory in the Gâthâs, says (*Essays, 265*):

The idea of a future life, and immortality of the soul, is expressed very distinctly already in the Gâthâs, and pervades the whole later Zend literature. The belief in a life to come, is one of the chief dogmas of the Zend-Avesta. Closely connected with this idea, is the belief in heaven and hell, which already Zarathustra Spitama himself clearly pronounced in his Gâthâs. The name for heaven is *Garô-demâna*, i. e., 'house of hymns,' because the Angels are believed to sing there hymns. . . . *Garô-demâna* is the residence of Ahura Mazda, and the most blessed men. Another more general name for heaven is *Ahu Vahista*, i. e., 'the best life,' afterwards shortened to *Vahista* only, which is still extant in the modern Persian *Behesht*, i. e., 'Paradise.' Hell is called *Drûjô-demâna*, i. e., 'house of destruction,' in the Gâthâs. It is chiefly the residence of the Poets and Priests

of the Deva religion, i. e., the Rishis of the Brahmans (*Yaç.* 46. 11). The later name is *Duzhaka*, which is preserved in the modern Persian *Duzah* (Hell).

Though in the Gâthâs there is no particular statement made of the resurrection of the dead, yet we find a phrase used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of resurrection and the restitution of all life that was during the duration of creation lost. [This is the expression *frashem kerenaon Yhûm*, (*Yaç.* 30. 9), 'they make the life lasting,' i. e., 'they perpetuate life.' At page 143, he translates this by 'the life of the future.' Spiegel has it, 'to further this world.]

Out of this phrase, the substantive *frashô-kérëti*, i. e., 'perpetuation of life, was formed, by which, in all the later Zend books, the whole period of resurrection and palingenesis at the end of time is to be understood. That this event was really included in the term of *frashô-kérëti*, one may distinctly infer from *Vendidâd* 18. 51, where Çpênta-Armaiti is invoked to restore 'at the happy time of perpetuation of life,' the seeds lost, etc. [In Spiegel's translation, the phrase is, 'at the time of the resurrection.']}

The same word occurs in the *Farvardin Yasht*, verse 58, where the lights of the sky, that once stood motionless,

now go forwards to the far-winding of the way, to reach the winding which proceeds from the good Frashô-Kérëti. [Here Spiegel says], *Frasho-Kérëti* is the time of the resurrection. The meaning appears to be, that, by the help of the Fravashis, the sun and moon hold on their course, and measure out the time which must elapse before the resurrection.

Pras means (Sanskrit), 'to extend, enlarge, lengthen.' The present participle in Sanskrit, is *prasat* or *prasant*; in Zend, *frashat*, or, as is usual, *frashô*, 'extending, enlarging, etc.' *Kérëti* and *kérënaon* are from *kérë*, Sanskrit, *kar*, *kri*, 'to make.' The suffix, *ti* forms abstracts, with an original participial meaning. (*Bopp.* §844).

According to the examples there given, *kérëti* means "the making." As in the compounds *nmanô-paiti*, "master of the place;" *nmanô-pathui*, "mistress of the place," *frashô*, I suppose, is in the genitive, and the compound means "causer of extension, or, of lengthening."

There is certainly nothing in the word that even hints at immortality; and it might as well be said to mean "time to get up in the morning," as "time of resurrection."

To give peace to the country, by the expulsion or subjugation of the Drukhs and the native tribes, Turans and others, was to increase the security of life, and so to lengthen life. I was forced to believe that the idea of peace, safety and immunity was present, wherever the Spiegel-Bleek translation used the word "immortality;" and I explained that word as necessarily meaning lengthening of life, by means of the safety and immunity that follow peace.

Dr. Haug's own reading, "they make life lasting," does not even hint at immortality.

The following verses are from the *Yaçna Haþtanhâiti*.

3. That reward, Ahura-Mazda, that Thou hast given to those who have obeyed the same law as I have; that give also to us, for this world and that beyond. May we thus attain to that which is so, to union with Thy purity, to all eternity.

Now, in regard to all such words as those rendered by "heaven," "paradise," "immortality" and "eternity," the question is not what they came to mean some thousands of years after their use in the old Bactrian poems. We have already seen enough to know that the Zend words are derived from forms older in many cases than the Sanskrit, and no doubt used in their original and more simple meanings. It is to be hoped that some competent scholar will in time arise, who will thoroughly compare the two languages, trace the Zend and Vedic words to their original forms, and reproduce for us the Zend-Avesta in its original meaning.

The word translated by "world" does not mean "world;" the words rendered by "heavenly" and "heaven" do not mean what these words express to *us*, and I think I have shown that many other errors may be corrected by reference to the Sanskrit original forms.

It is absolutely certain that wherever they occur, the words "this world and that beyond" mean the Aryan mother-country and its first colony or allied settlement. Union with the *purity* of Ahura Mazda means possession of the true faith, and the phrase rendered "to all eternity" can hardly have meant more than "life-long" or "abiding and permanent."

And, in the verses that follow, 6 to 11, we find confirmation of this. They read,

Let the men of the true faith, Mazda Ahura, who are devoted to the true faith, warriors as well as husbandmen, have permanent power and happiness. For us, to our joy, so may relationship, worship and friendship be, that we may rise up and be your servants, Mazda Ahura, as of the true faith and sincerely devout, with sacrifice and offering.

xli. 3. May we attain Thy good Kingdom, Mazda Ahura, forever.

But this is by no means what we understand by "The Kingdom of Heaven." It simply means the superiority and dominion, the rule over the land, which is the gift of Ahura to the faithful.

4. Thou art our Ruler, possessed of the good Kingdom for men, as well as for women.

5. The Wisest among beings in both worlds.

7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Mayest Thou be to us life and body, Thou, the Wisest among the creatures in both worlds; may we show ourselves worthy, may we live, Ahura Mazda, in joy in Thee a long life, may we be devoted to Thee, and be mighty. Rejoice us long and well, O wisest among beings.

14, 15, 16, 17. What reward Thou hast given to my equal, according to the law, O Ahura, that give to me also, for earth as well as for heaven. May we thus come under Thy rule, Pure One, for all eternity.

[So in *Yaçna vii. 61 to 64*]: What reward Thou hast given to such as are of the same law [religion] as myself, O Ahura, give that also to me, for earth as well as for Heaven. May we also come under Thy authority, and that of Asha, for all eternity.

I have already quoted the sentences of the *Gâthâ Ustvaiti*, *Yaçna xlvi.*, in which the bridge Chinvat is named, as a real bridge or pass, between the Aryan and Turanian lands. In the same *Yaçna* is this passage:

16, 17. Frashaöstra, take thou there the reward, O Hvô-gvâ, with which we also are content, for happiness, there, where Ârmaiti is enthroned with Asha, there, where are the wished-for realms of Vohû-Manô, there, where Mazda Ahura dwells in the self-chosen place.

Read by itself, this passage would seem clearly to have reference to the habitation of Deity or the Gods, in that undefined locality known to us as "Heaven." But this immediately follows:

17. There, where also only the measured will be spoken, not the unmeasured [where, as well as in the Mother Country, invocations to the Deities will be repeated in measured verse alone, and not in prose], through [by] the wise Jâmâcpa Hvo-gvâ. Continually he comes to you with prayers, the offerings of obedience, he who divides between good and bad creation [expels the infidels from the land occupied by the faithful or forbids them to intermix with each other], ye Wise Thinkers, Asha and Ahura Mazda.

It is, therefore, a particular land or country, in which Ahura Mazda dwells, Vohû-Manô rules, and Ârmaiti and Asha are enthroned, and it is in that country that Frashaöstra, a leader of the faithful, is told to take his reward. These rule and dwell there, because their devotees, the Aryans, possess the land; and in the next two verses it is declared that Zarathustra shares what is his with those who, assisting or co-operating with him, steadfastly do good service, in punishing the oppressors of the Aryans; and that whoso, actuated by religious zeal openly struggles to carry into effect the fixed purposes of Zarathustra, "to him they grant as reward the world beyond" (possessions in the province or colony), with a share of all acquisitions of Zarathustra.

xlvii. 1, 2. When the coming Asha shall smite the Drukhs, when there comes what was announced as delusive, immortality for men and Daevas, then shall Thy profitable [productive, prosperous] land increase, O Ahura.

The gloss refers this to the resurrection; but it seems to me to mean that when, by the aid of Asha, the Aryans shall overcome the Turanians, Scyths or Tâtars, and that success shall have been achieved by Zarathustra and his allies, which prophets of evil and the faint-hearted pronounced chimerical, then the fertile land of the Aryans shall increase in production and population. Immortality for men and Drukhs means peace, which, permitting the quiet cultivation of the soil, affords that which sustains life, and exempts both faithful and infidel alike from the murderous ravages of war.

In the next verse (2), Zarathustra asks,

Before that reaches to the double bridge, how shall the Pure, O Mazda, smite the wicked; for that is acknowledged in the world as a good accomplishment. [To reach the double bridge, meant, I think to carry their conquering arms to a bridge or pass between the Aryan and Turanian countries; and the meaning of the sentence seems to me plainly to be, 'Until we have freed the land of infidel rule, even to the bridge on the frontier, teach us, the true believers, and enable us, to defeat the infidels; since all the people are agreed that this is a consummation devoutly to be desired.']}

In the *Crosh-Yasht*, which is of much later date than the Gâthâs, and expresses a superstitious vereration for them, the doctrine of a future existence is more definitely expressed.

Yaçna lxx. 64 to 71. Here, these words, the best, Ahura Mazda has taught Zarathustra:

These, O Zarathustra, utter at the final dissolution of life. If Thou, O Zarathustra, utterest these words at the final dissolution of life, then I bring, I, who am Ahura Mazda, Thy soul away from the most evil place. As far in breadth and length as this earth. Now this earth is as broad as long. If Thou wilt, O Pure, Thou who art pure in this world, that Thou shouldst let thy soul wander further over the bridge Chinvat, and it should arrive pure in Paradise, make to sound [repeat aloud] the Gâthâ Ustavaiti, whilst Thou wishest hither hail [while wishing to be received here with welcome].

Vispered viii. 6, 7, 8, 9. We praise the bridge Chinvat. We praise Garô-nmânem, the dwellings of Ahura Mazda. We praise the best place of the Pure, the shining, wholly brilliant. We praise the best arriving at Paradise.

Chinvat had become, at this date, 'the bridge to which all the souls must arrive. The good pass over it easily; the wicked fall off into Hell. *Garô-nmânem* is the dwelling of Ahura Mazda, the highest in the heavens.'

Yaçna xix. 9 to 15. Whoso in this corporeal world, O Holy Zarathustra, utters to me the portion of the Ahuna Vairyâ, recites uttering, delivers reciting praises delivering, his soul I bring three times over the bridge to Paradise, I who am Ahura Mazda, unto the best place, unto the best purity, unto the best lights. But whoso in this corporeal world mutilates this portion of the Ahuna Vairyâ, to me in the recitation, O Holy Zarathustra, his soul I take, I who am

Ahura Mazda, away from the best place, so far as the length and breadth of this earth; now this earth is as broad as long.

Vendīdād; Fargard xviii. 14 to 17. Call him an Athrava—thus spake Ahura Mazda—O Pure Zarathustra, who the whole night through asks the pure understanding, which purifies from sins, which makes large and affords rewards at the bridge Chinvat; which makes us to reach the place, the purity, and the goodness of Paradise.

Fargard xix. 89 to 107. Creator, where are those Tribunes, where do they assemble, where do they come together, at which a man of the corporeal world gives account for his soul? Then answered Ahura Mazda; after the man is dead, the wicked evil-minded Daevas do work, in the third night, after the coming and lighting of the dawn, and the brilliant sun arises, the Daeva Vizaresho by name leads the souls bound, the sinful-living, of the wicked Daeva-worshipping men; to the ways which were created by time, comes he who is godless, and he who is holy, to the bridge Chinvat, the created by Ahura Mazda, where they interrogate the consciousness and the soul regarding the conduct practiced in the corporeal world. Thither comes the beautiful, well-created, swift and well-formed, accompanied by a dog [*çpānavati*] This leads away the souls of the pure over the Harabérzaiti, over the bridge Chinvat it brings the host of the heavenly Yazatas. Vohū-Manō arises from his golden throne. Vohū-Manō speaks: ‘How hast Thou, O Pure, come hither? From the perishable world to the imperishable world?’ The pure souls go contented to the golden thrones of Ahura Mazda, of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, to Garo-nemâna, the dwelling of Ahura Mazda, the dwelling of the Amēsha-Çpēntas, the dwelling of the other pure.

Professor Spiegel retains the singular translation, “with the dog,” because it is attested by tradition, “although *Çpānavaiti* seems rather compounded of *çpānō*, ‘holiness,’ than *çpā*, ‘a dog.’”

Khordah Avesta: Fragment xxxviii. (22.) Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda. . . . When a pure man dies, where does his soul dwell during this night? Then answered Ahura Mazda: Near his head it sits itself down, reciting the Gāthā Ustavaiti, praying for happiness for itself: ‘Happiness be to the man who conduces to the happiness of each! May Ahura Mazda create, ruling after his wish.’ On this night the soul sees as much joyfulness as the whole living world possesses.

Where does the soul dwell throughout the second night? Then answered Ahura Mazda: Near his head it sits itself, etc. (as in verse 2). Also in this night, this soul sees as much joyfulness as the whole living world.

Where does his soul stay throughout the third night? Then answered Ahura Mazda: ‘Near his head, etc. . . . Also in this night, etc. (as in verse 2).

7. When the lapse of the third night turns itself to light, then the soul of the pure man departs, recollecting itself at the perfume of plants. A wind blows to meet it from the mid-day region, a sweet-scented one, more sweet-scented than the other winds.

8. Then it goes onward, the soul of the pure man, receiving the wind in its nostrils, ‘Whence blows this wind, the sweetest scented which I have ever smelt with the nostrils?’

9. In that wind there comes to meet him* his own law, in the figure of a maiden, one beautiful, shining, with shining arms; one powerful, well-grown, slender, with large breasts, praiseworthy body; one noble, with brilliant face, one of fifteen years, as fair in her growth as the fairest creatures.

In the next verse Haug translates by "religion," the word which Bleeck translates "law." Evidently the word means that in the soul which was expressed in the conduct and manner of life of the party.

10. Then the soul of the pure man speaks to her, asking: "What maiden art thou, whom I have seen here as the fairest of maidens in body?"

11. Then his own law replies to him: "I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, words and works, thy good law, the own law of thine own body [thy own religion which was in thy own body.' *Haug*]; which would be in reference to thee (like) in greatness, goodness and beauty, sweet-smelling, victorious, harmless, as thou appearest to me.

12. Thou art like me, of well-speaking, well-thinking, well-acting youth, devoted to the good law, so in greatness, goodness and beauty, as I appear to thee.

13. If thou hast seen one there practice witchcraft, practice unlawfulness and bribery, fell trees, then thou didst set thyself down, while thou recitedst the Gâthâs, offeredst to the good waters, and to the fire of Ahura Mazda, whilst thou didst seek to satisfy the pure man who came near and from far.

14. Thou hast (made) the pleasant yet more pleasant to me, the fair yet fairer, the desirable yet more desirable, that sitting in a high place, sitting in a yet higher place, in these, Humata, Hûkta, Hvarsta [which Spiegel terms 'Paradieses']. Afterwards men praise me, and ask Ahura Mazda, praised long ago.

These two verses are, in substance, according to *Haug*:

The soul then is advised by her genius, appearing in the shape of that girl, to take rest beneath the trees of the beautiful grove (to which that wind had carried her up), to recite there the sacred prayers, to worship Ahura Mazda, etc.'

15. The soul of the pure man goes the first step, and arrives in Humata; the soul of the pure man takes the second step and arrives at Hukhta; it goes the third step, and arrives at Hvarsta [which stations are styled by *Haug*, the Paradieses 'good thought,' 'good word,' and 'good deed']; takes the fourth step, and arrives at the eternal lights ['stars without beginning.' *Haug*].

16. To it speaks a pure one deceased before, asking it: How art thou, O pure deceased, come away from the fleshly dwellings, from the earthly possessions (?), from the corporeal world, hither, to the invisible; from the perishable world, hither, to the imperishable, has it happened to thee (to whom hail!) long?

17. Then speaks Ahura Mazda: Ask not him whom thou askest, he is come on the fearful, terrible, trembling way, the separation of body and soul.

18. Bring him hither of the food, of the full fatness, that is the food for a youth who thinks, speaks and does good, who is devoted to the good law after death; that is the food for the woman who especially thinks good, speaks good, does good, the following, obedient, pure, after death. ['They enjoy the most splendid meals, which shine like gold.' *Haug*].

*The own good thoughts of the religious man's soul. (*Haug*.)

This is not a very sublime idea of the delights of heaven; but the whole passage is singularly poetical, and one may be allowed to doubt whether it really concludes with a direction by Ahura Mazda, to supply the soul with food, either of full fatness, or that shines like gold.

To the inquiry where the soul of a wicked one who dies, dwells throughout the night, Ahura Mazda replies that it runs about near the head, uttering the prayer Ké maím (*Yaçna xlvi.*); and sees that night as much unjoyfulness as the whole living world. The same is said as to the second and third nights. At daybreak after the third, the soul goes to the impure place, recollecting itself continually by the stench. An ill-smelling wind blows on it from the north region. It meets a hideous ugly female, who is its own evil-mindedness. At the fourth step it arrives at the darkness without beginning, and after it has been questioned, Aíra-Mainyûs orders food for it mixed with poison, fit for evil doers, and indocile and disobedient harlots.

Haug's translation of the passage cited above from *Fargard xix.* of the *Vendídád* materially differs from that of Spiegel. Compare the following:

89. Creator of the fenced estates with living beings, thou true! What events will be, what events will take place, what events will be met with, when a man gives up his soul in this world of existence?

90. [Instead of 'the wicked evil-knowing Daevas do work'], the running, evil-doing devils make destruction (of his life).

94, 95. Carries the soul tied towards the country of the worshippers of the running Devas [which Haug says, in a note, is India]. It goes on the old paths, to the bridge of the gatherer.

And in the latter verse, or 29 of his own translation, Haug renders the phrase which Spiegel translates into "corporeal world," by "fenced estates, i. e., worlds." And this confirms the conclusion to which I had come before seeing Haug's book, that what was rendered "the corporeal world" in so very many passages, meant the Aryan land, which Yima is said to have "enclosed."

Serosh (Çraošha), in Haug's translation, it is, who comes with the dog, the nine-knotted hook, with cattle and the bareçma twigs. *He* meets the souls of the good ("pure," in Spiegel's translation), after dismissing the sinful souls of the bad into darkness, and when they are crossing Harô-bérêzaiti, he guides them over the bridge of the Gatherer; and

the souls of the good go joyfully to Ahura Mazda, to the Immortal Saints [an unwarrantable rendering of the name Amêsha-Çpêntas], to the golden throne, to Paradise.

"The immortal saints" is a simply preposterous phrase, when thus substituted for the proper designation of the divine emanations; for "saints," in English applies only to holy men who have died and are canonized.

In the *Zamyad Yasht*, "the potent kingly majesty" [victorious superiority] is said to have

united itself with Kavi Huçrava, for robust strength, for the majesty created by Ahura [the superiority and dominion over others], health, heavenly good offering, wise, gathering, shining, white-eyed, helping out of distress, manly, for wisdom for future attaining to Paradise.

The epithets applied to the offering or sacrifice are very absurdly rendered; but the wisdom by which one secures a future entrance into paradise seems, according to the common meaning attached to the phrase, not to be the natural issue or fruit of kingly majesty. But if "wisdom" means here, as it does elsewhere, skill and good fortune in arms, as a leader, and paradise a happy, peaceful and prosperous land, there is Aryan common sense in the passage.

Khordah Avesta. xiii. Viçpa Humata [all good thoughts]. 1. All good thoughts, words and works are done with knowledge.

2. All evil thoughts, words and works are not done with knowledge.

3. All good thoughts, words and works lead to Paradise.

4. All evil thoughts, words and works lead to hell. [The original Zend word, here rendered hell, might enable us to determine whether it meant what we understand by that English word.]

5. To all good thoughts, words and works, Paradise—so manifest to the pure.

In the *Ormazd Yasht*, the Amēsha-Çpēntas are said to be "a reward for the pure who attain to incorporeality."

We may say with certainty, after reviewing these passages, that those from the earlier books had no reference to another life, a resurrection or immortality; and that the later texts are only fanciful additions to the misunderstood older ones.

But the immortality of the Fravashis was no doubt an original tenet of the doctrine of Zarathustra; and thus all true believers were regarded as immortal. Even in the later books, there is no trace of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; and the "soul" which survives and goes to the bridge Chinvat, is not the Fravashi, but only the vital soul, which, being the vitality of the body, is represented as still needing and receiving food.

The Fravashis are immaterial, and not cognizable even by the thought. They emanate from Çpēnta-Mainyû and have a strictly spiritual and immortal existence. And there is no trace of the later doctrine of the deterioration of these spirits by their descent to the body and their union with it. Their nature always continues divine.

The soul [vital being] of the pious man [it is said in *Fragment 22*, of the *Kh. Av.*], goes the first step, and arrives in *Humata*; takes the second step, and arrives at *Hukhta*; goes the third step, and arrives at *Hvarsta*; takes the fourth, and arrives at the eternal lights. [These three places are called, in parentheses, 'Paradieses.']}

The third of these names is probably from the Sanskrit *svar*, "the sun, splendour, heaven, paradise, and the space between the sun and polar star."

Suma, Sanskrit, means "a flower;" and *sukha*, "happy, joyful, etc.," "joy, pleasure, paradise."

The ultimate destination of the "soul," it is clear, was the region of the stars; which are often termed, "the lights without beginning."

THE ARYAN LAND.

I have already given my reasons for believing that Zarathustra taught and ruled in Bactria; and that this was "the corporeal world," the "earth," etc., of the books of the Avesta. In *Yaçna xlivi. 16*, Zarathustra asks Ahura Mazda to make manifest to him, to enable him to find, "a wise lord for the creatures in both worlds," meaning beyond any question, a man to govern the people or lead the troops of the Aryans of both portions of the Aryan country, probably Bactria and Margiana, or perhaps only Eastern and Western Bactria.

So, the earth consisting of Seven Kareshvares, I am satisfied, is the Aryan country, and I think it is Bactria. In *Fargard xix.* of the *Vendîdâd*, these Kareshvares are named and praised, as they are in *Vispered xi.* and *xii.* They are, Arezahê, Çavahê, Fradadhafshu, Vîdadhfshu, Vôurubarsti, Vôuru-jarsti and Qaniratha or Qaniratha-bâmi. The first six seem to be coupled together in three pairs; why, we have no means of knowing. In the *Vendîdâd*, for example, we have "that Kareshvarê Arêzahe Cavahê;" and so with each other pair.

There is no doubt that the “earth,” consisting of these, is only the Aryan country. In *Yaçna lx.* we find:

How shall we drive away the Drukhs from here, how smite them away from all Seven Kareshvares?

And we know that the Drukhs were the Scythians or Tâtars who had invaded the country.

In the *Mîhr-Yasht* we have a description of this Aryan country. On the east of it is Hara-bêrêzaiti, the high mountain or range, over which Mithra and the sun rise. The light first seizes on the summits, and then “surrounds” the whole fertile Aryan land, where wise rulers “order round about the lands,” and mountains, affording much pasturage, supply springs for the cattle; where there are deep canals for irrigation, full of water, and broad, deep rivers hurry to Iskata and Pouruta, to Mouru and Haraera, to Gau, Çughda and Qâirizâo, and to the several Kareshvares,—a country abounding in cattle and with many rivers. It is said in the same Yasht that “Mithra rides from the Kareshvare Arezahê to the Kareshvare Qaniratha;” from which it seems that these are at opposite extremities of the country.

Each Kareshvare is named in a separate verse of the *Rashnu-Yasht*, and the Sea Vôuru-Kasha and the Tree Çâêna in the middle of it are called Kareshvares.

In the *Farrardin Yasht*], a great river flows to the sea Vôuru-Kasha, as large as all that flow from the high range Hukairyâ to that sea.

There are in the Aryan land a thousand canals and channels, each forty days' journey for a man on horseback, and these are supplied from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha. There are also

flowing waters, [that] hasten, going in many streams, the banks of which or the lands along them, are fertile and productive.

Haôshyanha the Paradhata, Takhma-Urupa and Yima each ruled [it is said in the *Zamyad Yasht*], over the Seven-portioned earth. And Franracê the Turanian aimed to subjugate, and did overrun all the Kareshvares.

We find in this Yasht mention of the Sea Kañçu which is

in connection with Haêtumat, as the Mountain Ushidhâo, about which many waters connected with [rising in] the mountains, flow around.

The *Bundehesh* places the Sea Kañçu in Sejestan. Haêtumat here is a great river, the Hilmend. In the first *Fargard* it is the eleventh country created by Ahura Mazda, and is supposed to be the valley of the Hilmend, the Etymander of the classics.

Yaçna xxxviii. gives us four names of rivers, Azi, Mâtaras, Agenayô and Dregudâya; and we have seen several others mentioned, in connection with the different heroes who dwelt beyond or on them. It is useless to repeat the names, as none of them can be identified or their locality determined.

Of the mountains, Hara-bérëzaitî, and Hukairyâ are the most frequently named. The former, it seems, was on the east of the country; the latter on the south. Ushidarëna is also several times mentioned. Others named in the *Sirozah* are Açnavanta, Chaêchaçta, Raevoûta, which are named also in the *Atas Behrâm Nyâyis*.

The river Ardvî-çûra flows down from Hukairyâ (*Rashnu Yasht*, 24). [In the same (23), Rashnu is said to be] at the great Hara, the very aspiring, lofty, where neither night nor darkness are, neither cold wind nor hot, neither dissolution which draws to itself many deaths, nor filth created by the Daevas, nor do clouds ascend the high mountains. [The *Mihr-Yasht*, 50, repeating these expressions, says that 'Ahura Mazda has created for Mithra a dwelling on Hara-Bérëzaiti.']}

In the *Second Gâthâ*, *Yaçna Haptanhâiti*, xli. (7), 24, "the Taêra of the Hara-Bérëzaiti" is praised; and Professor Spiegel says that "Taêra is the mountain opposite Alborj, on which the sun finishes his course."

In the *Ormazd-Yasht*, the mountain Ushi-darëna, "which bestows understanding," is praised by day and night, with gifts brought amidst prayers.

In *Fragment 4* appended to the *Khordah-Avesta*, "the excellent gold-mine created by Mazda," is praised, and the mountain Çäkerêta created by him.

The *Zamyad-Yasht* contains a long list of mountains. Commencing with "satisfaction be to the mountain Ushi-darëna, created by Mazda, possessing much brightness," it says:

1. As the first mountain, O Holy Zarathustra, there stood on this earth the height Haraiti. This surrounds the whole of the region flowed round by water towards the east (?). The second mountain is Zérédhô, below Arédhô-Manusha. This also 'surrounds' the whole of the water-surrounded region towards morning(?)

The notes of interrogation indicate the translator's uncertainty as to the meaning; but it may be deemed certain that these are ranges of mountains on the east of the Aryan land, from which many streams flow.

2. From there forth, are grown up the mountains Ushidhâo, Ushidarëna (and nine others named).

3. And Adarana, Bayana, Iskata, which is above the eagles; Kanço-tafedhra, Vafra, two mountains Hamankuna; eight mountains Vaçna; eight strong mountains [large high peaks] Fravankū; four Vidhwana.

In each of the verses 4 and 5, eleven are named; none of the names being met with elsewhere.

6. At which, Jatara, Adhutavāo, Taêra, [nine in all], and the mountain Frâpayāo, and Udrya and Raêvaô, 'on account of their nearness and superintendence have men retained the names of the mountains.'

These words, Spiegel says, are doubtful. The meaning seems to be, immediately under these peaks are villages, to which, because they are near the peaks and overlooked by them, the names of the mountains have been given.

7. There are also four mountains [ranges], and fifty, and two hundred and two thousand [a vast indefinite number of] peaks.

The Bolor Tagh, at its junction with the Hindū Kūsh range of mountains, forms an angle in which the waters of the Amoo or Oxus are collected, and from which they fall into Lake Aral. In like manner, from the knot formed by the junction of this chain with the Tian-Shan, those of the Sir Daria (Jaxartes) have their rise, and fall into the same lake. The Bolor Tagh range lies east of the Ancient Bactria, and down from it flow the Chegenian, Sirkhab, Amoo and other streams, which unite to form the Oxus; other head waters of which river come from the Hindū Kūsh or Paropamisus, the immense range of mountains south of Bactria, which continues westward to and beyond the Caspian. The two ranges unite almost at right angles, and are of great width, with an immense number of peaks of great height. They are described as of most rugged and irregular form, and the passes through them few and very high above the sea. The summits of the Hindū Kūsh or Indian Caucasus, rise above 20,000 feet. The Oonna pass, to the northwest of Cabūl is 10,000 feet above the level of the sea; the Kaloo pass, further to the west, more than 12,000; the Karatookul above 9,000; and the Sikkim pass, at the headwaters of the River of Balkh, which probably was once a source of the Amoo, has an elevation of about 8,000. It is quite likely that "the other world," often mentioned in the later writings, was the country south of the Paropamisus, afterwards known as the Paropamisade, on the headwaters of the Etymandrus, Ochus and Margus rivers, now Herat and other portions of Cabūl; and that "the bridge Chinvat, where a great battle was fought," was the Sikkim pass.

The Amoo, Oxus, or Jiboon has one of its principal sources in Lake Siricol, at an elevation of 15,000 feet above the sea, in Latitude $37^{\circ} 27'$ North, and its course is estimated at 1,300 miles. It formerly fell into the Caspian, which once, indeed, extended much further to the eastward, and it and the Aral were one sheet of water, very probably fresh.

The great river Ardvî-çura, the sea Vôuru-Kasha, the wide extent of irrigated country, the division of the country into seven Kareshvares, the large number of rivers flowing into the Ardvî-çura, all suit no other country inhabited by the Aryans, except Bactria, and the description of the mountains is equally suited to it, and unsuited to any other country. The height Haraiti, which "surrounds the region towards the east, flowed round by water," is unquestionably the Bolor Tagh, and the streams which flow from that great range and form the Oxus, do, making great bends, "flow round" a great extent of country. Zérêdhô, below Arêdhô-Manusha, is, no doubt, the Indian Caucasus, southeast of Bactria, uniting at a very obtuse angle, and with a vast mass of mountains, with the Bolor Tagh. It also, forming that angle, surrounds a great extent of country, through and round which, three or four of the principal tributaries of the Oxus flow, and in these ranges and masses of mountains tower up the great number of giant peaks, named in the *Zamyad Yasht*.

In the *Mihr-Yasht* (v. 104), as we have seen, mention is made of the Eastern and Western *Indies*; the word rendered "Indies" being, as I learn from Dr. Haug, *hindvo* =, he says, *sindhavas*.

Syand, in Sanskrit, means "to drop, distil, flow, run," and from this Benfey thinks, are derived *sinduka*, "a small tree;" *sindura*, "a sort of tree;" *sindhu*, "the Indus, the ocean, the country along the Indus; an elephant, a river in general;" and *sindhu-ja*, "river- or sea-born."

So that the meaning of the phrase in question is, taking the oldest meaning of the word, from the river on the eastern border to that on the western. The whole phrase is, *hacha ushaqtara Heñdva avi daoshaqtarem*. There is really no reason for translating Heñdva by "Indies." There was no Eastern Indies, nor Western Indies, in those days. The Punjaub was called *Sapta Sindhavas*, "the seven rivers," and that name did not include any country beyond the Sutlej. The Indus (Sindhu) country, was then the only Indies.

Ancient Bactria lay between the Hindu Kush Mountains on the south, and the river Oxus on the north, in north latitude, chiefly 35° to 37° , and between 65° and 75° west longitude. It is now known as Koondooz, Balkh, and a part of Ghorat and Haharuimak. Its latitude is about that of North Carolina. The principal sources of the Oxus are in the mountains east of it, and many streams, flowing from the mountains on the south, traverse the country, and fall into the Amū or Oxus, which anciently emptied into the Caspian at the Gulf of Balkaun. The old channel remains, to make

this unquestionable. It is the opinion of Major Abbott (*Journey from Heraut to Khiva*) that the Jaxartes and Oxus united, to the southward of the Sea of Aral (then a mere shallow bay of the Caspian, or perhaps of the Caspian and Euxine conjoined), and that the waters of this sea are 295 feet lower now than they were then. The principal streams that flow north into the Oxus are six in number, dividing the country into six parts, called in the Zend-Avesta "Kareshvares."

If, as Major Abbott supposes, the Euxine and Caspian were once an isolated single sea, lowered afterwards and separated by means of an outlet made for the Euxine, this, and the changes of course of the two rivers and of the outlet of the Oxus must have made great changes along that stream.

Mohan Lal, in his travels, describes that part of Bactria into which he emerged from the Hindu Kush, as a mixture of villas, meadows, crystal canals, and gardens containing fruits of all sorts. He journeyed along the bank of a beautiful river, under the cool shade of fruit-trees. In the hills, near the village of Duab, a deep stream ran swiftly to the north, and fertilized the whole valley. The next day his route lay, for thirty miles, through a beautiful valley, along the River Duab, a tributary of the Oxus. The route he travelled was that of the caravans of Bokhara and Kabul, and no doubt that by which the Indo-Aryans descended into Kabul, on their way to the Punjab, from which Mohan Lal had come, by the way of Peshawer and Kabul.

After traversing several passes in the mountains, one of them (the Kotal Shutar Gardan), twelve thousand feet above the sea, "so high," the Emperor Babar says, in his *Memoirs*,

and the wind there so strong, that the birds being unable to fly are obliged to creep over the top, and are often caught by the people [he saw at the summit of the Kotal or Pass Rui], the head of the Hindu Kush, lying northeast, covered with snow [perhaps] the lofty mountain Hukairyā, from which the great river Ardvi-çura flowed.

This was on the twenty-seventh of May; and the weather at once changed, and the air had an Indian warmth. Descending, and fording the Duab, he passed through beautiful and fertile villages, extending on each side. Numerous handsome gardens produced delicious fruits, in great quantities. The soil was irrigated by brooks, conducted from the river and fountains, and edged with red grass.

Thus this portion of the Ancient Bactria answers to its description in the Zend-Avesta, as an irrigated land, a land traversed by many canals and channels. At Haibak, twenty miles further, a river waters the fields and gardens.

All day, on his journey to Haibak, Mohan Lal's route was very agreeable. Nothing was seen, for the whole twenty miles, except meadows containing

fruit trees, and Dar Daman, a village on the way, was beautified by orchards and streams.

The winter at Khulum, somewhat south of Balkh, is cold and snow falls for three months; but the summer is extremely hot, burning the faces of the people black. On the third of June he found the thermometer stand "in the day at 88 degrees, and in the open air it reached 93 to 97." On the fourteenth of June, on the Oxus, he found it stand at 95 in the open air; but the nights were cold. That degree of heat is common, in June, in the cities of New York and Washington, and in Iowa and Illinois, over 100 degrees is not uncommon.

Balk, anciently Zariaspa and afterwards Bactra, lies in a plain, on the Bactras, now the Balk, river. Coming from the south, the way to it, for fifteen miles, is almost entirely through plains, bordered on both sides with beautiful gardens, the road crossing two or three streams.

Balk was formerly a very large and populous city. It is now a mass of ruins. But it is said then to have been the mother of cities, and to have been peopled by the son of Noah. So says Mohan Lal: but it is not probable that the name of Noah is much known there. The buildings, in former days, extended as far as Mazar, fifteen miles; and their roofs were so near each other, that a goat climbed up one of the roofs in Balk, and descended the next day at Mazar, whither his owner followed him, by the same route.

Balk is but a few miles from the Oxus, and as one follows the course of the river, downward, from it, he passes through ancient ruins, alternating with deserts, and crosses many brooks shaded with plants. At Hamdabad, twenty miles from Balk, dirty rivulets water fields of melons, and melon and wheat-fields extend far beyond. The fertile plain continues sixteen miles further, to Murdian, south of which is a range of hills that commences at Mazar, on the other side of Balk, and ends southwest of Murdian. Beyond Murdian lies a desert. There is thus a rich level plain for a distance of fifty-one miles, from Mazar to Murdian, lying between the hills and the Oxus, and evidently alluvial. The fort of Chuchuk, between Hamdabad and Murdian, is situated in a vast and beautiful plain. A ditch of water, broader than that of Delhi, flows round the Citadel, and gives an appearance of security to its walls, which overlook and command the surrounding country for about ten or twelve miles.

On this route are villages, set among fine gardens of different kinds of fruits. Fields of corn cover the country, and water runs in every place. Everywhere the land is fit for agriculture, though uncultivated. All the way from Mazar, the country is naturally fertile.

The water washes every spot, and is conducted by Hazrat Ali, through the mountain of Band Barbar, which stands at the distance of one day's march from Bamian.

The water is divided into eighteen rivers, which are commonly called ‘*the eighteen streams of Balk.*’ It is a great pity [says Mohan Lal], that such a fine, level and rich country, abounding with water, is left to the negligence of savages, who take no trouble to till it.

If we now refer to *Fargard ii.* of the *Vendîdâd*, we shall find it said, of the “region,” “circle” or enclosed arena of Yima:

At the top part of the region he made nine bridges, six in the middle, three at the bottom.

These correspond with “the eighteen streams of Balk.” This arena was four-cornered, and of the length of a “riding-ground” perhaps a long day’s ride, on each side, which would very well correspond with the size of this magnificent plain. That Yima “made dwelling-places there, with floors, pillars, court-yards and enclosures,” indicates that he builded a city.

Here, then, in this magnificent alluvial plain, abounding everywhere with water, was the first Seat of Iranian Empire. There Yima established his capital, and there Zarathustra taught a new faith, and by its assistance and by his own courage, persistence and energy, he emancipated his people from the Tâtar domination.

It was with reason that *Ardvi-çura*, the Amū, Oxus, or Jiboon, was said to be as great as all the rivers of the land together. The Bolor Tagh, at the angle of its junction with the Hindu Kush, forms the space in which all the waters of the Oxus are collected, and from which they fall into Lake Aral, as formerly they fell into the Caspian. The Hindu Kush or Indian Caucasus, lying south and east of Bactria has summits that rise above 20,000 feet, and one in Latitude $35^{\circ} 40'$ North, Longitude $68^{\circ} 50'$ East, eighty miles north of Kabul, is of much more considerable elevation, though its exact height is not known. This range of mountains is more barren and destitute of forests than the Himalaya. The sources of the Oxus fall from the passes which connect its valley with those of the Kabul and the Helmund. The Oonna pass, to the northwest of Kabul, connects all these valleys, and is 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. The Sikkim pass, at the headwaters of the river of Balk, has an elevation of about 8,000 feet.

One of the principal sources of the Oxus is in Lake Siricol, at an elevation of 15,600 feet above the level of the sea (in Lat. $37^{\circ} 27'$ North, and Long. $73^{\circ} 40'$ East). The course of the river is estimated at 1,300 miles, and it falls into Lake Aral by numerous mouths. Little is known of the affluents of this river, and their sources. On the south side, they are, among others, the Sirkab or Goree, the Kholoom, the Ardishar or Dehar, and the Balk. On the ancient maps, only the Icarus and Bactras have names.

The fall of the upper course of the Oxus averages about fifteen feet to the mile. Of course it has great rapidity. Its waters are deep and turbid,

and yet on the upper course it is frozen every year. Where Mohan Lal crossed it, on his way from Balk to Bokhara, some seventy miles below Balk, it was not fordable at any season. It was divided into two currents, one running slowly, with a depth of twelve feet, the other rapidly, by the right bank, with a depth of eighteen. The water was very muddy, the river six times as wide as the Jumna, and it took two hours and twenty-five minutes to cross it, in a boat rowed by strong men. The sand, Mohan Lal says, gathered from the bed of the river, yields a great quantity of gold.

Mithras [in the *Mihr-Yasht*], rises over Hara bérézaiti before the sun crowns its peaks. [The place referred to, therefore, was west of a great mountain-range, and in sight of it; and the land over which the light spreads from the east, is one]: Where excellent rulers order round about [enclose] the lands, where mountains, great, and with abundant grass, abounding in water, afford wells for the cattle; and there are canals, deep, full of water, where running streams, broad with water, flow rapidly to Iskata and Pouruta, to Mouru and Haraeva, to Gau, Çughda and Qâirizâo; to Arezahe, to Çavahé, to Fradadhafshu, to Vidadhafshu, to Vouru-basti, and to Vouru-jarsti, to this Kareshvare Qaniratha, the lofty.

These are the Seven Kareshvares; and Qaniratha, "the lofty," "this one," must have been the eastern-most one, included the valleys of the mountains, and so more elevated than the others.

"Gau, in which Sugha is situated," is Sogdiana, the country north of the Oxus, between it and the Jaxartes, east of Lake Aral. Mouru is supposed by Spiegel, Haug and Bunsen alike, to be the modern Merv, the Margiana of the ancients, Margush of the inscriptions, and lying to the southwest of Sogdiana. Haraeva may be the Haroyu of the first Fargard, i. e., Herat, west of Merv. Pouruta, Spiegel thinks, is the country of the Paruëtai, a people whom Ptolemy places in the north of Arachosia; and he says that "Qâirizâo, in the cuneiform inscriptions, Uvárâzmi, is the modern Choaresm." Major Abbott gives the name of the country north of the Oxus, and west of Bokhara, bordered by the Caspian and Aral, as Kharasm, and Lake Aral is known to the southern Asiatics by the name of Kharasm.

That the rivers run to Sogdiana and Margiana and the other regions named, conclusively proves that the Aryan land of the Zend books was the eastern part of Bactria.

The soil in the vicinity of the City of Bokhara, Mohan Lal informs us, is rich and productive, although most of that between it and the Oxus, on the route to Balkh, is a dry desert. At Bokhara corn, fruits and silk are plentiful, and the last is a profitable article of commerce. Tobacco and rice are cultivated, opium is produced abundantly, and mulberry trees are plentiful.

On the road from Bokhara to Marv and Masha'd in Khorasan, Mohan Lal found fertile land near the Oxus, on both sides of it; and Major Abbott

tells us of a fertile clay plain on the Oxus, two hundred miles in length by an average of sixty in width, which produces grain for the bulk of the Tâtar people. Over this, water is distributed by numerous canals. This is in Khiva, and the Oxus on the east intersects it, from Huzzarusp to the Sea of Aral. It contains 12,000 square miles, and produces melons, apples, pears, peaches, apricots and grapes.

Between the Caspian and Khiva is a vast plateau, often elevated several hundred feet above the present level of that sea. The basin of the Caspian is formed of shell limestone; and the plateau contains, in the limestone of which it is formed, only three shells, cockle, mussel and spirorbis, which are also the sole productions of the water of the Caspian.

If these vast strata had been deposits of the ocean, they must have contained other and different shells. They are, therefore, deposits of the Caspian, and if the plateau has not been upraised, that sea must now be depressed more than 1,000 feet below its ancient level, but this supposition is irreconcilable with the features of the neighbouring land. When these shells were deposited, the Caspian could not have been united with the ocean.

Lieutenant Alexander Burnes (*Travels into Bokhara*) tells us that the country, from Cabul to Balkh, is still called by the natives Bakhtur Zumeer, or the Bactrian country. He wound for three miles among the ruins of Balkh, before reaching a Caravanserai in the inhabited part of the city. It stands on a plain, six miles from the hills, and is a perfect mine of bricks. All over the surrounding country are inequalities in the plain, that may be ruins and rubbish. Eighteen aqueducts conveyed water from the river, for irrigation, which are now dried up. On his route from Balkh to the Oxus, on the way to Bokhara, he rode thirty miles from Balkh through a rich country, everywhere intersected by canals.

He crossed the Oxus nearer Khoju Salu, finding the land for two miles in width along the river intersected by canals, after he had passed through a wide desert. The only arable land is on the rivers, and without irrigation there is no cultivation anywhere, in Bactria or Bokhara.

After crossing the Oxus, it being the middle of June, he found the heat intense, the thermometer rising to 103, and at Kurshee to 108 above zero. Day broke at twenty minutes after three, and there was a long twilight. There was more reason for adoring there, than in most other climes, the Deity Ushas.

On the north side of the Oxus, along his route from Bokhara to Persia, at Betik, he found verdant fields irrigated by the Oxus.

He does not believe that the Oxus ever ran into the Caspian; and thinks that what are supposed to be the dry beds of the river, are the remains of old canals of Kharasm. Near them are ruins, showing that the country was once inhabited and cultivated.

The river has a second bank; from one and a half to two miles from it on each side; the land between these and the river being at times inundated. The aqueducts sometimes extend to the distance of four miles from the river.

Bokhara is an open champaign country of unequal fertility, and small extent, surrounded by a desert. The city of Bokhara lies to the northwest of Balkh, at a distance of 260 miles; and a large part of the way, the road runs through vast deserts of sand. But the soil under the sand is a hard firm clay, and there are remains of aqueducts and buildings. As I have said, the sand has been drifted over the country by the wind.

Khanikoff (translated by the Baron de Bode), and Sir Alex. Burnes, gives us interesting information in regard to this country. The Zer Affshan, which runs a little north of Samarcand, and to the west of the City of Bokhara, is the second river of the Khanat. It heads in the mountains east of Samarcand, and runs west, *with many channels and canals*, and then bends and runs south into Lake Denghiz (25 miles long), its whole course being almost 620 versts (408 miles). The headwaters of three of the principal branches are in the Karatan Mountains. Its current is so swift above Samarcand, that no boat or raft can be floated down the stream. Along it is a cultivated strip of country, its whole length. There are a hundred canals, on the Zer Affshan, from above Samarcand, on both sides, deep, long, with the water running swiftly in them, and like natural branches of the river, which many of them, indeed, seem originally to have been.

The level of the river was once much higher, and where the City of Bokhara now is, was once a marsh of rushes. The river was once called Mazaf, and afterwards Sogd; and its whole valley is very beautiful.

At Samarcand there is a vast space of ruins. Three rivers from the mountains run into the city, and formerly fed innumerable canals. The whole valley in which the city lies is covered with gardens and orchards. Lucerne grows in the fields, for it can only grow where the land can be irrigated. That the grasses have to be cultivated explains the frequent mention in the Zend-Avesta of the *production* of "fodder." In all the country from Samarcand to Bokhara, wheat, rice, barley and millet grow, there are thirteen kinds of grapes; apricots are produced in profusion, as large as apples; prunes, quinces, mulberries, almonds, apples, pears, cherries; peaches, pomegranates and figs are abundant; melons grow in great profusion; and silk, cotton and tobacco are staple products.

The Zer Affshan or Sirafshan is also called the Zohik. The Kurshee runs parallel with it, and its valley is a sheet of gardens and orchards, in places six miles in width on one side of the river and sixteen on the other, through the whole of which water is distributed by canals. Anciently, both these rivers fell into the Oxus; many of whose affluents now sink in the sand. But everywhere in the sandy country water is to be had by digging

to a little depth, the sand being merely superficial. Lake Denghiz, into which the Zer Affshan runs, is very deep, and its waters now probably cover what was once the deepest portion of a great lake, into which, perhaps, the Oxus flowed.

The Jaxartes is now called Sir Daria, and the Oxus, Amū Daria; and Khanikoff gives us the following names of some of the canals from the Sir Affshan; Kari Dariya, Ak-Dariya, Vafkand Dariya, Narupay and Ankha.

The principal towns of ancient Sogdiana were Marakanda, now Samarcand, the capital. In the time of Alexander, the name of the river in whose valley it stood, given it by the Greeks, was Polytimetus, "very affluent or excellent," Kureshata or Kuropolis, to the northeast, on a tributary of the Jaxartes, built by Kuros and destroyed by Alexander; Alexandria Ultima, on the Jaxartes, probably near the modern Khojend, founded by Alexander as a border fortress; Alexandria Oxiana, probably near the modern Kurshee; Tribactria, north of the Oxiana Palus, perhaps near Bokhara, and Bagoé in the northwest, on the border of the desert.

The latitude of Samarcand is $39^{\circ} 32'$ and that of Bokhara, $39^{\circ} 25'$, the river bending to the north, between them. Naples, Pekin, Constantinople, Madrid, Rome, Bordeaux and Trebizond, all are further north than either.

At the City of Bokhara, the thermometer is occasionally as low in winter as 18° below zero, and often at zero and below, but in the summer, the heat is very great, and intermittent fevers are very prevalent from the end of August until frost. The thermometer, at the city itself, is seldom higher than 90° , and the nights are always cool, it being 1,200 feet above the sea. The great plain of Toorkhistan is about 2,000 feet above that level, declining westward to the Aral and Caspian.

What is most noteworthy in respect to Bokhara, next to the vast extent of its ancient system of irrigation, is the constant serenity of the atmosphere and its clear sky. The heavens are brightly-blue, without a cloud; the stars shine with uncommon lustre, and the Milky Way with a glorious radiance. A star only three or four degrees above the horizon will be distinctly visible, although the moon is shining.

Snow lies on the ground during three months in the winter, and rains fall heavily in the spring.

Burnes gives the latitudes, of Bokhara, $39^{\circ} 43'$; of Khoju Salu on the Oxus below Balkh, $37^{\circ} 27' 45''$, and of Balkh, itself, $36^{\circ} 48''$.

As it is possible that the Upper Oxus country may have been the land of the Seven Kareshvares, I annex a map of that portion of Bactria. There the Oxus freezes over, and above Khūndūz beasts of burden cross it on the ice. It even freezes over annually below Khiva.

The divisions of that region are Khūndūz, Khūlūm, Herbuk, Buduk-shan, and north of Khūndūz and Budukshan and beyond the Oxus are the small states in the hill-country, of Hissar, Khūlab, Dūrwaz, Shūgnan,

and Wukhan. Those south of the Oxus have a pleasant climate and prolific soil, and are watered by rivulets flowing into the Oxus. Budukshan has beautiful vales, clear, bright rivulets, romantic glens, beautiful landscapes, fruits, flowers and nightingales. It lies along the Oxus. The small states north of that river are all mountainous. Hissar is finely watered, and produces rice largely.

Between Budukshan and Yarkund is the high plain of Pamir. In the centre of this elevated table-land lies Lake Siricōl or Surikūl. The whole tract is level, with short, rich pasture. The snow does not disappear in the summer from the hollows, and the winters are so severe that the people cover their hands and even their faces with sheep-skins. They are Kergizzes, have no grain, and live on flesh and milk. In 1638, Captain Wood found faint but marked traces of the creed of Zarathustra in Wukhan.

It will be seen, by the map, that two streams unite, to form, as it were, the Badakshak or Gosga, from the northeast, and the Ak Suray from the southeast. Between these, and extending to the south of the latter, is Khündūz, and the city of that name is on the south side of the Ak Suray. Further west, the river Goré, and then the river of Balkh flow into the Oxus from the south. On the north side, four streams flow into it, the easternmost of which is the Karfinigan or Hissar, near which, some distance up it, is the town of Hissar. The other three are not named on the map. Between these eight rivers are seven divisions or parts of the country, which may have been the Seven Kareshvares.

Toorkhistan extends from Balkh to the shores of the Caspian, filling the space between that sea and the Aral, and north of a line from Balkh to Astrabad on the Caspian. It is a desert of sand, in which there are no towns or villages.

Airyana Vaēja must have been the valley of Samarcand and the country east of it to the heads of the valleys of the Caucasus. The second country, Gaū, in which Sugha is, must have been Bokhara; the third, Môuru, Merv, or Margiana; the fourth, Bakhdi, the eastern part of Bactria, on the heads of the Oxus; and the fifth, Nisai, between Môuru and Bakhdi, the western part of Bactria, including the plain of Balkh.

In Chapter 31 of the *Farvardin Yasht*, vv. 143, 144, we find praised in succession, the pure men and women of the true faith, in the Aryan, Turānian, Cairimian, Çanian and Dâhian regions in succession. It appears from this that the Turānians were only one native tribe, occupying a particular and probably limited country, and part of whom, at least, were converted. We also find the Fravashis of several Turanians praised in this Yasht. In verse 126, the Fravashis of three pious men among the Çaēnos are praised.

THE ARYAN EMIGRATIONS.

The first Fargard of the *Vendīdād*, of which I have already spoken, as well as of the translations of it by Dr. Haug and Professor Spiegel, contains nothing that gives direct sanction to the notion of Haug and Bunsen, that it is a recital of the successive emigrations of the Aryans. It is, as Spiegel says, geographical, and it is also of much later date than the Gâthâs, and, perhaps, than many other parts of the Zend-Avesta. But it also embodies ancient traditions, and the countries which it names as created by Ahura Mazda, are all Aryan countries, i. e., countries invaded and conquered by one or the other of the two younger branches of the Great Race, the Indo-Aryans and the Medo- or Bactro- or Irano-Aryans. And it is natural to conclude, at first thought, that these countries are named in the order in which, according to the traditions, they had been occupied or colonized. Yet this may not be so, and they may only have been named with reference to their locality, commencing with that farthest north.

Dr. Haug divides the *Vendīdād* into three parts. The first (*Fargards 1, 2 and 3*) is, he says, only introductory,

and formed very likely part of a very ancient historical or legendary work of a similar kind as the *Shâhnâmah*.

The division into verses of this Fargard, by Professor Spiegel, differs from that by Dr. Haug.

Vv. 1, 2, 3, 4; Spiegel. Ahura-Mazda spake to the Holy Zarathustra: 'I created, O Holy Zarathustra, the (home-) place, a creation of pleasantness, not anywhere (else) where joy.' [His first translation of this was: 'A place, a creation of delight, (but) nowhere was created a possibility (of approval).] 'For had I not, O Holy Zarathustra, created the (home-) place, a creation of pleasantness, not anywhere (else) where joy, the whole corporeal world would have gone after Airyana-Vaêjâ.'

V. 1. Haug. Ahura Mazda said to the hallowed Zarathustra: 'I created, Most Holy Zarathustra, into a delicious spot, what was hitherto wholly uninhabitable. For had I not, most Holy Zarathustra, converted into a delicious spot, what was hitherto uninhabitable, all earthly life would have been poured forth after Airyana Vaêjô.'

[Haug says]: The meaning of the verse is this: In the earliest times Airyana Vaêjô was the only cultivated country; all the rest was a desert. But as there was a danger of Airyana Vaêjô being overflowed by every living thing that existed in this desert, habitable regions were created in other parts of the earth.

This passage is followed by what Haug considers a supplemental addition, for purposes of explanation or correction.

Such passages have generally been considered [he says], as mere glosses: But judging even from the etymological peculiarities, they must be older than the last version of the Vendīdād, or at least than the last collection. [Of this verse there is no Huzvaresh translation]; and in the glosses that precede the translation of the third, no reference is made to it whatever. [Spiegel says that the words of the verse are certainly not a gloss.]

Westergaard prints the verse as if it were genuine, but Bunsen considers it as an addition of the Zendist. It is this:

4. *Spiegel*. . . . A place, a creation of delight, not so delightful as the first (have I created); the second, as opposition of the same (has Añra Mainyus created).

2. *Haug*. Into a charming region (I converted) one which did not enjoy prosperity, the second (region) into the *first*; in opposition to it is great destruction of the existing cultivation.

The meaning, Haug says, is this:

Ahura Mazda transferred into a delightful region those districts which had previously been deserts and therefore not an agreeable residence; but to all these there were evils attached which were drawbacks to their being inhabited. The expression, 'I created into a first the second region' may mean—The desert, the wasted, I raised into a paradise, or at least into a country next to a paradise.

Then this follows:

5 to 12. *Spiegel*. The first and best of regions and places have I created, I who am Ahura Mazda; the Airyana-Vaējā of the good creation. Then Añra-Mainyus, who is full of death, created an opposition to the same; a great serpent and winter, which the Daevas have created. Ten winter months are there, two summer months, and these are cold as to the water, cold as to the earth, cold as to the trees. After this to the middle of the earth, then to the heart of the earth, comes the Winter; then comes the most evil.

Haug. Vv. 3, 4. As the first best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahura Mazda created Airyana Vaējō of good capability; thereupon in opposition to him, Añgrō-Mainyus, the death-dealing, created a mighty serpent and snow, the work of the Daevas. Ten months of winter are there, two months of summer. ['Seven months of summer are there; five months winter there were; the latter are cold as to water, cold as to earth, cold as to trees; there (is) midwinter the heart of winter, there all around falls deep snow; there is the direst of plagues.'].

The later interpreters [Haug says], thinking the words 'two months of summer, ten of winter' not suitable to the first land of blessing, the real paradise, altered them into 'seven months of summer, five of winter,' in direct contradiction to the words of the original, a thing of frequent occurrence in the Vendīdād, and a manifest

indication of its being a later modification of expression which either appeared out of character or too strong. But this change has not yet banished the severe cold from Paradise. Its existence must be admitted, and attempts were made to describe its effects in more detail; for the words 'cold as to water, etc.' to the end of the verse, are additions of the Zendist. These details are out of character altogether with the original.

It is said more than once, elsewhere, that Zarathustra sacrificed in Airyana-Vaējā. If this was a *name*, applying specially and solely to the original Aryan land, the cradle of the race, there would be an irreconcilable contradiction, since Zarathustra arose long after the emigration to Bactria, under Yima.

Vaj, Sanskrit, means "to increase, to be strong, to strengthen;" *Vāja*, "a wing, food, battle, speed, the feather of an arrow, sound, clarified butter, water, rice." Another *vaj* means "to go." From the first *vaj* are, probably, the Latin *vegere* and *augere*, *vigor* and *vigere*, *Vājin*, i. e., *vāja+in*, "swift, a sacrificer, a horse, an arrow, a bird." *Vijaya* means "victory, overpowering, name of an auspicious hour." *Vaējō*, Zend, is said to mean "pure," but I cannot find its derivation in that sense, nor that of *airyana* in any sense.

[Ahura Mazda says], I created a place, a creation of delight; nowhere was created a possibility; [or], I created the place, a creation of pleasantness, not anywhere where joy; [or], I created into a delicious spot what was hitherto wholly uninhabitable.

If I had not [he adds], all mankind would have gone after Airyana Vaējā; [or], if I had not, all earthly life [all living beings] would have been poured forth after Airyana Vaējō.

[And then], I have created the first and best of regions and places, the Airyana Vaējā of the good creation; [or], As the first and best of regions and countries, I created Airyana Vaējō of good capability.

[Is it not, perhaps, the meaning], I created a place, a creation of delight, where before no pleasure was possible. If I had not, all the world would have emigrated to find a desirable country. I created the first and best of countries, the desirable country, creation of the powers of good.

I use the term, "desirable country," not even by way of conjecture, but as an illustration. *Airyana Vaējā* is of unknown meaning, but I do not believe it is a name.

At all events, it describes, if it is not the name of, the first country created. *Aīra Mainyūs*, by way of antagonism, created a great serpent and winter or snow. Spiegel says that

this country must be placed in the farthest east of the Iranian highlands, at the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. In later times [he says, and quotes from the Minokhired], it becomes a purely fabulous region.

[Haug says]: It becomes altogether a mythical country, the seat of Gods and heroes, where there is neither sickness nor death, frost nor heat, as is the case in the realm of Yima. In the chapter before us, however, we may still discover the historical background. In Airyana Vaējō there are ten months of winter. But winter, as being one of the ten curses of Ahriman, has no connection with the paradise in which, according to the legend, only happiness and bliss were found. This notice, however, is exactly suited to regions in the far North, or in a very high situation, and it is a primeval reminiscence of the real cradle of the Iranians. Thus, in the region of Airyana Vajēō, the real historical reminiscence of their early home has been merged in the description of a happy paradisiacal original state of mankind, not as is presented to us in various popular tales.

I do not think that the meaning is that Añra Mainyūs changed the climate of the whole country. If he had that power, he could have destroyed every country created by Ahura Mazda, and was His superior and master. The original Aryan land lay at the foot and in the high valleys of the Indian Caucasus. In the still higher regions, on the summits of the huge mountains, and even in the very high valleys, the snow disappeared for a very brief season only in each summer. And it was this ten months of winter and snow, upon the mountains, that Añra Mainyūs created. And this winter's cold in the mountains and upon them, descends into the valleys, freezes the rivers, chills the earth and kills the herbage, even to the centre and heart of the Aryan land. That is what is meant by the middle and heart of the earth, to which the winter comes, and then there is the most evil, i. e., discomfort.

The second country created was '*Gau*, the dwelling-place of Sughda' (*Spiegel*); '*Gāū*, in which Sughda is situated' (*Haug*). This, [Spiegel says], is Sogd, as the name shows. [Haug says], it is evidently Sogd, Sogdiana, the Fire-land, that is the land where the sacred fires were especially lighted. [It is in the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, where Samarcand is situated.] The course of the Aryans [he says], was now to the southwest.

It is the Steppe country, now Toorkhistan, stretching westward from the foot of the mountain range, to the Caspian, and, of course, the first into which the mountaineers descended with their herds, following the course of the two great rivers. If called "fire land," this was, probably, if not certainly, on account of the inflammable wells or oil-springs near the Caspian and Aral.

The antagonism or mischief here created was a "wasp" or fly, that killed the cattle.

3. *Mouru*, the high, the holy (*Spiegel*); the strong, the pious Môuru (*Haug*). Apparently the modern Merv (*Sp.*); the present Merv, the Margiana of the

classics, Margush of the inscriptions, to the southwest of Sogdiana; the place of wild animals, especially *birds*, as the name implies (*Haug*).

4. *Bakhdhi*, the beautiful, with lofty standards (*Sp.*): the happy Bâkhdi with the tall banner (*Haug*). The modern Balkh (*Sp.* Bakhd), or the 'fortunate spot,' is Bactra. The 'tall plumes' indicate the imperial banner (*Haug*).

5. *Nisâ*, which lies between Mouru and Bakhdhi (*Sp.*): Nisâi [between Mouru and Bâkhdi] (*Haug*). The determination of this locality is a disputed point. The most probable opinion is that of Burnouf, that it is the region Νησαῖα, which touched on Hyrcania and Margiana. Only then there is this difficulty, that the place must lie between Mouru and Bakhdhi, which does not seem compatible with the positions above assigned to those localities (*Sp.*). The City of Nisaea is situated on the upper Oxus (*Haug*).

6. *Harôyu*, which is rich in clans (*Sp.*): *Harôyu*, the dispenser of water (*Haug*). Harôyu, called Hariva in the cuneiform inscriptions is the 'Αρεία of the Ancients, the region about Herat, which, according to W. Ouseley (*Orient. Geog.* p. 217 n.) was formerly called *Heri*, a name which is still preserved in the name of the River *Herirud*, and agrees very well with the older appellations (*Sp.*). Harôyu is Herat, of which frequent mention is made subsequently. Hariva, in the cuneiform inscriptions (*Haug*).

7. *Vaêkereta*, the dwelling-place of Dujak (*Sp.*): *Vaêkereta*, in which Duzhaka is situated (*Haug*). Vaêkereta was taken by the Huzvaresh translators for Kabul. Ritter offers the conjecture that the expression *dujakô shayanêm* might denote the term Dushak. My opinion that *Dujaka* must be taken as a proper name, is confirmed, etc. (*Sp.*): *Vaêkereta* is no doubt Sejestan (*Haug*).

Here Aîra Mainyûs created a Pairika, Khnanthaiti or Khnathaiti, who attached herself to Kérêçâçpa.

8. *Urva*, which is full of pasture-grounds (*Sp.*): *Urvâ*, abounding in rivers (*H.*): Not yet more accurately determined (*Sp.*): Urva is proved by Haug to be Cabul (*Bunsen*).

9. *Khnënta*, the dwelling-place of Vehrkâna (*Sp.*): *Khnënta*, in which Vehrkana is situated (*Haug*): Vehrkâno, according to the Iranian vowel changes, by which the old *v* corresponds to *gu* in the modern language, is the modern Gurgan (Jorjan of the Arabians), with which it is identical. In the inscription of Behistun, it is called Varkâna (*Sp.*): Khnenta is, perhaps, Candahar (*Haug*).

Khan, Sanskrit, meant "to dig," and *khani*, "a mine." *Khnenta* meant, probably, "the mining land," and must have been a mountainous region.

10. The beautiful *Haraqaiti* (*Sp.*): The happy *Haraqaiti* (*Haug*).

Both Spiegel and Haug agree, and it has never been doubted, that this is the Harauwatis of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Arachosia of the classics.

11. *Haetumat*, the brilliant, the shining (*Sp.*): *Haetumat*, the wealthy and brilliant (*Haug*). [Spiegel says that] Haêtumat becomes in Sanskrit, *Setumat*, i. e., 'provided with bridges,' but that whether the meaning of the word in Zend is the same cannot be positively affirmed, as *Haetu* is not met with.

He, Haug, and Bunsen all agree that by *Haētumat* is meant the valley of the present Hilmend, the Etymander of the classics.

12. *Ragha*, which consists of three tribes (*Sp.*): *Raghâ* with the three races (*Haug*). *Raghu*, the well-known town in Media, is mentioned by Darius in the inscription of Bisutun (*Sp.*).

It is called in the text, *thrizantu*, *thri* meaning "three" and *zantu* being the same word as the Sanskrit *jantu*, "a creature," from *jan*, "to bring forth, to produce." It probably meant, at first, the children or family, and afterwards the clan or tribe, all of the same blood or descendants of one ancestor.

13. *Chakhra*, the strong (*Sp.*): *Chakhra*, the strong, the pious (*Haug*). *Chakhra* may possibly be the country which Firdusi calls Chihrem (*Sp.*): Where *Chakhra* was is doubtful. Butler, Lexicon, *voce* Charkh=a circle; (from the Zendish *Chakhra*=a wheel), states that it is the name of a city in Khorassan (*Haug*).

Haētumat was, no doubt, part of what was afterwards called the Paropamisade, and part of Drangiana (the whole of it called Aria), lying between the Etymander and the rivers west of it that ran into the Arior Palus. It lies west of Arachosia, or India Alba. *Ragha* was, undoubtedly, Ragiana, in the northeastern part of Media. *Chakhra* was probably Choarene (part of Parthia), and Choromithrene, Media, south and southwest of Rhagiana. *Khnenta*, in which was Vehrkana, was, perhaps, Hyrcania, the mountainous country southeast of the Caspian.

14. *Varena* with the four corners. (*Sp.* and *Haug*). Lassen identifies Varena with the *Fa-lu-nu* of a Chinese writer, and looks in it for a part of Cabul. Roth seeks it in the southeast of the Aryan territories. The Parsee traditions place it in Taberistan (*Sp.*). [According to Haug, Varena is Ghilan, in Media.]

Thraētaōnô, who killed the snake Dahâka, was born for Varena. His killing Zohak, the tyrant, is invariably supposed in the modern legend, to have taken place on the Alborj, or more properly, on the Mountain of Demavend, to the south of the Caspian. The meaning of the phrase, "with the four corners," in the original, is probably not ascertainable. It may mean that Varena was square in shape, and this would pretty well apply to either Persis or Carmania. And it may mean that at one corner of it, are the corners of three other countries, as, at the northeast corner of Carmania are the corners of Parthia, Gedrosia and Aria.

15. *Hapta Hendū* (*Sp.*): *Hapta Hindu*, from the eastern Hindu to the western (*Haug*).

The Vedas call India *Sapta Sindhas*, "the Seven Rivers." These are the Indus, and its affluents in the Punjab, the Hydaspes, Hyphasis (or Bibasis), Acesines, Hydraotes, Hesidrus or Zaradrus, and, perhaps, the chief tributary from the west, the Choaspes or Suastus. The modern name of the Hesidrus is the Sutlej; of the Acesines, Khenab; of the Hydaspes, Jelum; of the Hydraotes, Rabee; of the Hypanis or Hyphasis, Ghaira.

Ghilan is a modern province of Media. Rhagiana contained the celebrated Nisæan plains; and Ragæ was reputed the largest city of Media. Persis corresponds with the modern province Fars. Carmania still retains its ancient name in Kerman. Parthia is now Khorassan. Hyrcania corresponds with Astrabad, part of Khorassan, and the eastern part of Mazanderan. It was fertile in every sort of fruit and grain, and well-wooded, but much infested with wild beasts.

Aria lay to the east of Parthia, and north of Drangiana, corresponding with the southern part of Khorassan. Its fertility was very great, and it was especially celebrated for its wine. Its principal town, Artacoana, Herat, on the Arius, was founded by Alexander, on the site of the older capital. Drangiana corresponds with Sejestan, its chief river, the Etymandrus, Helmund, rising in the Indian Caucasus and flowing to the southwest into the Lake Aria, Zumah. Gedrosia is now Beloochistan, lying between Carmania and the Indus.

Arachosia, a mountainous and fertile province, corresponds with Kandahar, the north of Beloochistan and the south of Kabul. The Paropamisadæ inhabited the mountain ranges of the Paropamisus, Hindū Kūsh, and the modern province of Kabul. This district is intersected in every direction with mountains, which are capped with snow for the greater part of the year, and contain beautiful and fertile valleys. Bactria is Balkh, and Sogdiana, part of Independent Tartary and Bokhara. Margiana corresponds with the northern part of Khorassan. It is, for the most part, a sandy waste, interspersed with oases.

16. To the east of Rañha, which is governed without kings (*Sp.*): Those who dwell without ramparts on the Sea Coast (*Haug*). Rañha, doubtful, but not to be confounded with the Ragha previously mentioned (*Sp.*): As the Caspian was the sea nearest to the old Iranians, we must here understand the shores of that sea. The Indian Ocean is out of the question, in consequence of the mention of cold. But the more probable supposition is, that the author had in view the boundaries of the earth, and that Rangha means the circumambient ocean (*Haug*).

[The] 'opposition' [created there by Añra Mainyûs, was] 'winter, created by the demons' [and hoar-frost the defilement of the land] (*Sp.*): Snow, the work of the Daevas, and earthquakes which make the earth to tremble (*H.*).

We elsewhere find mention made of the Steppes of Rañha, which Spiegel there thinks is the Jaxartes. It is singular that after reciting the countries to the southwest and southeast, the last one mentioned should be placed near that river or the Caspian, but winter or snow could hardly be predicated of the Indian Ocean.

I can find no derivation for *Rañha* or *Rangha* with the meaning of "sea" or "ocean." *Raṅg*, Sanskrit, means "to go, to move;" *raīgh*, "to go, to move swiftly," and as I find no other origin for *Rañha*, I think it was a river. It may be the Araxes, and the country referred to, Armenia, and it is quite likely that this was the last country conquered. Armenia consists of a complicated knot of mountain ranges, the center and cradle being a high plateau, and the Araxes bounds it on the south.

As we have seen, only two of the ancient heroes are named in this *Fargard*, and these very briefly. Of these, I shall speak hereafter. As to the countries named, the reader has the interpretations and notions of Spiegel, Bleek, Haug and Bunsen, and can form his own opinion as to the nature and value of the record. I think there can be no doubt that Airyana Vaējâ of the good creation, was the valley of the Zer Affshan, in which, amid the vast ruins of its old greatness, Samarcand stood, a great city, as Balkh also was, in the time of Alexander. Gau, in which was Sughda, almost as certainly, was the lower valley of the same river, in which Bokhara stands. Môru was, it is natural to suppose, Merv or Margiana, across the Oxus, and to which, once in possession of Bokhara, the Aryans must soon have found the way. Bâkhdi, I think, was eastern Bactria, and the lofty standards or banner were probably the mountains that reared their mighty crests to the sky, glittering with perpetual snow, on the south and east of it, and Nisa or Nisai, I think, was the country about Balkh, where colonists coming up the Oxus from Margiana, and those led across the heads of the Oxus by Yima, probably met and settled.

THE SEA VÔURU-KASHA.

In the *Yaçna Haptanhâiti*, which is the Second Gâthâ, Verses 28 and 29, as translated, are:

We praise the pure ass which stands in the midst of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha: We praise the Sea Vôuru-Kasha. Spiegel says that Verse 28 proves that the second part of this chapter, from verse 18, is a later addition. The three-legged ass [he says], is well known in the later Parsee mythology, but no mention of that curious animal is to be found in the earlier writings.

I wish he had told us what the original Zend word is, which is rendered “ass,” that we might have seen how nearly it resembles the word for mountain, as we elsewhere read of a mountain standing in the middle of the same sea.

In *Yaçna lxiv.*, which is also of later date, Ardvî-çura is praised as a river,

as great as all the waters that flow through the Aryan land, with strong current, from the high Mountain Range, Hukairyâ, down to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha.

15. All flow unto the boundary-Sea Vôuru-Kasha, every one flows into the midst of the same.

16. From whence Ardvî-çura has made them flow out, has poured them out, who has a thousand canals, a thousand channels, each forty days' journey long for a rider. The flowing of this, my water alone, comes to all the Seven Karesh-vares.

20. It brings from this, my water alone, continually thither, in summer as in winter.

Here, in connection with the irrigation by canals, Ardvî-çura becomes the Goddess, by whose favour the irrigation is effected. The expression, “the boundary sea” suits the Caspian, which was the boundary of the Aryan country, north of the Oxus, and of Margiana. Other passages seem to show that it was a river, as it might be as far as the word “sea” goes, which in the Veda is applied to rivers. There are, in fact, no large seas in any of the countries occupied by the Aryans, except the Caspian and Aral, into which large rivers run, and these were then one sea.

Vendîdâd: Fargard v. 54. I bring away the water, I, who am Ahura Mazda, from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, with wind and clouds.

55. I bring it to the corpses, I, who am Ahura Mazda; I bring it to the Dakhma, I, who am Ahura Mazda; I bring it to uncleanness, I, who am Ahura Mazda; I pour it over the bones, I, who am Ahura Mazda; I bring it away secretly, I, who am Ahura Mazda.

56. I bring these things to the Sea Pūitika; they are seething in the midst of the sea.

57. The waters, purified, flow from out the Sea Pūitika, to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha.

58. To the tree Hvapa,

59. There grow my trees, all, of all kinds.

60. These, I cause to be rained down from thence, I, who am Ahura Mazda.

61. As food for the true believers, as forage for the cattle, created by the Good.

Probably, the phrase rendered "rained down," really means distributed or poured over the land by irrigation, as the reference is certainly to the waters that flow from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha. And I suspect, as the word rendered "trees" clearly means plants, grain or whatever grows from the earth, that the tree Hvapa is a mis-translation, a tract of country of that name under cultivation being meant.

In Note 13 to *Fargard xix.*, the meaning of Vôuru-Kasha is said to be "having far shores."

Fargard xxi. 12 to 15. It shall rain down, with the rain, fresh water, fresh earth, fresh trees, fresh remedies, fresh preparation of remedies. As the Sea Vôuru-Kasha is the meeting of the waters.

30, 32, 34. As the Sea Vôuru-Kasha is the meeting of the waters, lift up thyself, go from the air to the earth, from the earth to the air. Lift up thyself, arise, thou for whose birth and increase Ahura Mazda has created the earth [the rising, v. 34].

In the *Tistar Yasht*, of the *Khordah Avesta*, the Star Tistrya, "shining [or receiving his seed] from the navel of the waters," is said to glide softly to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, like an arrow. It is, "the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the strong, beautiful, deep, rich in waters." Tistrya, going there, purifies the waters, the strong winds blow, and then Çatavaêça causes the water to go down to the country of the Seven Kareshvares. Tistrya fights the Daeva Apaôsha, at the Sea Vôuru-Kasha.

He unites the sea, he divides the sea, he makes the sea flow full, he makes the sea diminish, he comes to the sea at all shores, he comes to the middle of the sea.

He and Çatavaêça uplift themselves out of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, and then the vapours gather themselves on high at the Mountain Hendava, which stands in the midst of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, and the clouds spread therefrom, and rain, snow and hail fall on the Seven Kareshvares. Tistrya goes

to all the circles of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the strong, beautiful, deep, with deep waters, to all beautiful channels, to all beautiful outlets; then they bring the waters out of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the flowing, friendly, health-bringing, and these he distributes there among the regions.

In the *Rashnu-Yasht*, Rashnu is said to be

at the Kareshvare, the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, at the Kareshvare, the Tree Çâêna, which stands in the midst of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, which is called by the names Hubis, Erêdhwo-bis and Viçpo-bis, on which are placed the seeds of all trees.

In the *Farvardin-Yasht*, Ardvî-çûra is

great and far-renowned, who is as great as all the other waters which hasten to the Aryan land, which flow down mightily from Hukairyâ, the lofty, to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha.

7. All purify themselves in the great Sea Vôuru-Kasha, each flows through the midst of the same, where Ardvî-çûra, the spotless, makes them flow out. She pours them out, she, the spotless, who has a thousand canals, a thousand channels

65. If one brings water out of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha and the Majesty, created by Mazda, then go forward the bold Fravashis of the pure,

66. Longing for water, each for his kinsfolk, for his clan, for his confederacy, his region, saying thus: 'Our own region to be quickened and to be rejoiced.'

Zamyad Yasht: 51. This Majesty spread itself abroad to the Sea Vôuru-Kasha; there, the navel of the waters, with swift horses, seized it, the navel of the waters, with swift horses, desired it: 'I will seize this Imperishable Majesty, to the depths of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the deep, in the depth of the canals, the deep.'

52. We praise the great Lord possessing women, the shining navel of the waters, having swift horses, valiant, profiting at call [conferring benefits when entreated], who created mankind, formed mankind, who is worthy of honour under the water, most hearing with the ears when one offers to him.

55, 56. The Strong Kingly Majesty which the destroying Turanian Franraçê desired from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha then rose that outflow of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, which bears the name of Huçravâo.

59. . . . Then flew this Majesty away Then arose the outflow of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the canal which bears the name Vaihazdâo.

62. Then {flew this Majesty away Then arose the outflow of the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, the water which bears the name Awzdânva.

"The navel of the waters" is mentioned in the *Farvardin Yasht* in connection with Mithra and his favours to the Aryan land.

Here [it is said], will in future, the navel of the waters, the strong, promote all that is chiefest for the regions, and those who keep themselves allied.

In the *Gâh Uzîren*, satisfaction is invoked for

the Great Lord, the navel of the waters, and the water created by Mazda; the Great Lord, possessing women, shining, the navel of the waters, having swift horses. [And in *Yaçna ii. 21*], the Great Lord, possessing women, shining, the navel of the waters, possessing swift horses [are wished for with praise].

The "navel of the waters" is clearly not Vôuru-Kasha, but that supposed source or reservoir from which the sparkling springs burst up, of which the mountain streamlets were born, whose rapid movement caused the possession of swift horses to be attributed to the navel from which they flowed, or, it is the atmosphere.

In the *Zamyad Yasht* another sea is mentioned, *Kańcu*, or "the Water *Kańcuya*," from which Ačtvat-Ěrētô, son of Viçpa-taurvi uplifts himself, who, at a later day, became the expected and coming Saviour, but was, in fact, a leader among the Aryans—"The Strong Kingly Majesty," it is said, "which belongs to the Aryan regions" (the victorious potency that flowed from Ahura Mazda), "which united itself with what is mighty there" (there, in a province or colony at a distance from the original land?), "namely, with the Sea *Kańcu*, which is in connection with" (adjoining, on the confines of), "Haêtumat, as the Mountain Ushidhâo, about which many waters, connected with [rising in] mountains, flow around."

67. To it hastens, to it goes, food, kingdom in horses, shining furtherance, the fair, fortunate, strong, increasing with many pastures, right, golden. To it hastens, to it goes the shining, majestic, washing away the white skins (?), and drying up the many hindrances.

68. There joins itself to it, the strength of the horse, of the camel, of a man; the Kingly Majesty; there is on it so much more Kingly Majesty than the un-Aryan regions here could destroy at once.

69. Would here perceive destruction, would perceive hunger and thirst, cold and [unintelligible] Then is the Kingly Majesty the Saviour of the Aryan regions.

The general meaning of these passages seems clear enough. The reference is to an Aryan settlement or colony further south than Bactria.

The Bundelesh [Spiegel says], places the Sea *Kańcu* in Sejestan. Here [he says], it is evidently the Sea Zareh, into which the river Haêtumat (Hilmund) flows.

Verses 67 and 68 describe the growth of the Aryan power and people there. Food becomes abundant, horses abound, victories are gained and the Aryan power extended, the country is beautified, the colony strong and prosperous and extensively cultivated. "The shining, majestic," means the Aryan power and glory, given by Ahura, the Kingly Majesty. What is meant by the phrase, "washing away the white skins," we can only conjecture. "Drying up the hindrances" is overcoming obstacles, sweeping away hostile opposition, and the former phrase probably refers to the disappearance of the dark-skinned infidels before the white Aryans. The colony becomes wealthy and strong in horses, camels and men, and

by the Kingly Majesty, conqueror, and strong enough to defend itself against its un-Aryan neighbours.

The “Sea” Vôuru-Kasha was certainly a real stream or an expanse of water, between which and the smaller “Sea” Pûitika there was a connection and it supplied the water by which the Seven Kareshvares were irrigated. As we have seen, little is said of it in the Gâthâs, and the mountain, tree and ass in the middle of it were probably later additions. If Bactria was the Aryan country, and Vôuru-Kasha and Pûitika were seas and not rivers, they must have been the Caspian and the Sea of Aral. But there are great difficulties in the way of this theory. The irrigation of the land was from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, and that is simply impossible. Besides, the canals were only filled when the waters were raised by the rains, and ran with rapidity, as we have seen, and this seems to make the conclusion inevitable that Vôuru-Kasha was a river, which overflowed its banks, and the country along the Pûitika, also, by its back-water.

It is recited in the *Zamyad Yasht*, as we have seen, that the Turanian Frañraçê three times endeavoured to possess himself of the Kingly Majesty, and was three times defeated, and at each defeat, an outlet or canal for irrigation was made, to convey the water from the Sea Vôuru-Kasha—the first, Huçravâo; the second, Vaihazzdâo; the third, Awzdânva.

It is indisputable that Vôuru-Kasha was an actual river or sea. It was the source of the supply of water for irrigation, for the whole Aryan country. To suppose it to have been any existing sea, in the countries occupied by the Irano-Aryans, pre-supposes that if such sea is now salt, it was then fresh water. Supposing that difficulty overcome, we are met by the fact that it was when the abundant rains fell, that the irrigation was had, the waters then flowing into the canals, and that, if this supply failed, there was no water for the land. That could not have been the case, if the water was taken from a sea.

No sea was the boundary of Bactria, nor of any other Irano-Aryan country.

The Caspian is bounded on the east by a desert, and there were no colonies in its vicinity. It is far from certain that the Oxus ran into it; and, if it did, that sea could not have been connected with the irrigation of the country. One is at first inclined to believe that it was the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, and the Aral, the Sea Pûitika, but the high country between these two seas forbids the conclusion that the water ever flowed from the canal into the Caspian.

How could it be said that Tistrya, the stars that caused rain, united and divided a sea like the Caspian, and caused it to flow full and diminish?

I am very strongly inclined to believe that Ardvî-çura was the Zer Affshan, Sogd or Zohik. Its name and the description of its waters suit

that river. At that day, it flowed, no doubt, into the Oxus, or into a lake of considerable size and depth, which has since shrunken in its dimensions to Lake Denghiz, twenty-five miles long, into which the Zer Affshan now empties its waters, and through which the Oxus must then have run. If the site of Bokhara was once a marsh, it was before then, no doubt, covered with water. There may have been two such lakes, such as are seen on many rivers, mere expansions of the river, and, of course, fresh, and these, filled with water in the spring and diminishing in depth in the summer and autumn, may have been unbroken sheets of water at the former season, and in the latter, have been broken up by islands and bars, left bare by the partial draining and lowering of level. Or, as the Indus was called a sea, Vôuru-Kasha may have been the Oxus itself, and Pûitika a branch of it. And Kañcu may have been another, rising near the Mountain Ushidhâo, in the vicinity of which many streams arose, and by which passed the road to Haêtumat, over the Hindû-Kûsh.

The canals and channels for irrigation, along the Zer Affshan, answer the description in the Zend-Avesta, as to their length and number, much better than those in the vicinity of Balkh. Their length is said to be as great as the distance which a mounted man can ride in a day, and, also, it is said that they are innumerable.

If we cannot be certain whether the final settlement made by Yima was at Samarcand, at Bokhara or at Balkh, we have, at least, some facts to guide us to a conclusion. He went from a mountain region, to escape from the severity of the winter. He was guided by the stars, and went an unknown route, and to the southward, and his migration had three successive stages; for he first made the Aryan domain one-third larger, then two-thirds longer, and then double as large as it was before. He settled in a land of many streams, and where many cattle could be fed, and the lands could be irrigated. The probability is that he crossed the head-streams of the Oxuš, from Airyana Vaêjâ, and settled in Bactria, in the plain of Balkh. Zarathustra was probably reared at Samarcand, and emigrated thence to Bactria, when, as the Veda says, Yama, having opened the way, every man could find a road for himself. The great number of mountain peaks named in the Zend-Avesta, indicates a country near the Hindû Kûsh, and the valley of the Zer Affshan could not, in any way that I can see, be described as consisting of Seven Kareshvares.

In the *Rashnu-Yasht*, not only the Sea Vôuru-Kasha, but the "Tree" Çâêna, that stands in the midst of it, is called a Kareshvare. Also, this "tree" is called by the names *Hubis*, *Êrêdhwo-bis* and *Viçpo-bis*, and on it are "placed" the seeds of all "trees."

Now, as it is a hundred times repeated that the earth, or Aryan country, consists of Seven Kareshvares, it is absolutely certain that a

Kareshvare is a tract or extent of country. In Bactria, it is quite as certain, the word designated a body of land lying between two rivers, or, perhaps, the valley and alluvial bottom of a river. In the latter sense, *Vôru-Kasha*, as a *Kareshvare*, would mean the valley and alluvial land of that stream.

But how could a *tree* be a *Kareshvare*? And how could a tree grow in the middle of a deep river? And how could the seeds of all plants, grain, etc., be "placed" on a tree?

Haug renders *Kareshvare* by "zone," but gives *Kareshva* as the imperative ("make!") of *kérē*, "to make," which is the Zend form of the Sanskrit verb *kṛi*, "to make, to do, to till, to cultivate," the old form of which was *kar*, as is seen in the Vedic forms *karomi*, *karshi*, *karasi*; whence, also, *kara* and *karaṇa*, "making, causing, producing." *Vâr* and *vâri* mean "water." *Kareshvare* probably means "land cultivated by irrigation," "irrigated land," "alluvial valley land," i. e., the valley of a stream, cultivable by the aid of irrigation.

Vouru means "large, wide, etc.," as in *Vouru-gaoyaoitis*, "having wide fields or pastures." *Kaç*, *kas*, Sanskrit, "to go;" *kâç*, "to shine;" *kaçin*, "shining." The termination *a* forms abstracts, and *Vôru-Kasha* may mean "wide-flowing, wide-running or -going, wide-shining."

Hu, is the Sanskrit *su*, "good." *Ērēs*, in Zend, means "night," and *ērézu*, "straight, direct." Both are from the Sanskrit *r̥iju*, "straight, right." But I cannot find authority for deriving *ērēdhwo* from that root. I find, however, *râdh* (probably *râ+dha*), whence *râdhnu* and *râdhyā*, "to make merciful, favourable or agreeable, to be merciful or favourable," whence the perfect participle passive, *râddha*, "accomplished, perfect," and *râdhas*, "favour, bliss, joy, pleasure, wealth," a Vedic word. From this, we have the Zend *ērēdhwo*.

Viçpa, Sanskrit, *viçva*, is "all, every one, whole, universal."

Bis, *oibis*, *ibis*, is the termination of the instrumental case, plural, its meaning being "by, with, or through" the noun to which it is affixed.

Thus, *Hubis*, *Ērēdhwo-bis* and *Viçpô-bis* seem to be epithets of *Çaêna*, and to mean "with good," "with abundance or contentment," "with everything."

San and *Çan*, Sanskrit, mean "to give." Possibly *Çaêna* may be from this root, and expressive of fertility. *Svapa* and *svâpa*, Sanskrit, mean "sleep." I must leave it to others to find out the meaning of these names *Hvapa*, *Hendava* and *Çaêna*, and of the *ass*. If the whole reference is not to a fertile island in the river, it is little worth while to endeavour to ascertain what the meanings are.

LEGENDARY.

YIMA, THE SON OF VIVĀṄHĀO.

Fargard ii. of the *Vendīdād* contains the legend of Yima, the son of VivāṄhāo, and it is by far the most interesting one of the Zend-Avesta, because it contains an account of the first Irano-Aryan emigration across the Oxus. Yima is the Jamshid or Jemscheed of the later Persian legends and fables.

Spiegel or Bleeck says:

That the Yima of the Vendīdād is identical with the Yama of the Vedas, only that in the latter Yama is represented as the ruler of departed souls who live under his sovereignty in another world, in the enjoyment of all bliss and happiness; whereas, in the Persian mythology, Yima's kingdom is placed on this earth, in the fabulous region of Airyana Vaējā, and its inhabitants consist of a limited number only, who dwell with Yima in a state of felicity, exempted from all the curses of Añra Mainyūs.

There is no doubt of the complete identity of Yima and Yama, but in all else that is said here by Professor Spiegel, there is very little that is not erroneous, as well in regard to the character and legend of Yama in the Veda, as in respect to the character and meaning of the Second Fargard, which, for example, depicts, not the present state of Yima and his "congregation," but a condition of things under him in the remote past, and it is not mythological, but historical.

We have also, in the *Essays*, Dr. Haug's translation of this chapter, which he entitles, "Yima, or Jamshid, the King of the Golden Age."

This Fargard is thus translated by both: I follow Dr. Haug's numbering of the verses, he making 43, and Spiegel 143.

1. *Spiegel.* Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda, Ahura Mazda, the Heavenly, the holy, creator of the corporeal world, the pure! with whom, first of mankind, hast Thou conversed, Thou, who art Ahura Mazda? Besides me, Zarathustra, to whom hast Thou taught the law, which is derived from Ahura, the Zarathustrian?

Haug. Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: Ahura Mazda, Thou Holiest Spirit, Creator of the estates with living beings therein, Thou True! With what other man didst Thou, Ahura Mazda, converse first besides me, who am Zarathustra (i.e., before me)? [Pazend: Whom didst Thou teach the Ahurian Zoroastrian faith?]

2. *Spiegel.* Then answered Ahura Mazda: To Yima, the beautiful, the owner of a good flock, O pure Zarathustra; with him, first of mankind, have I

conversed, I, who am Ahura Mazda. Besides you, Zarathustra, I have taught to him, the Zarathustrian law, derived from Ahura.

Haug. Then Ahura Mazda told: With Yima, the happy, of great wealth, true Zarathustra, with him I conversed first among men, I, who am Ahura Mazda, besides thee (i. e., before thee), Zarathustra. [Pazend: Him, I taught the Ahurian Zoroastrian faith.]

3. *Spiegel.* Then spake I to him, O Zarathustra, I, who am Ahura Mazda: Obey me, O Yima, the fair, son of Vivañhāo, as the recorder and bearer of the law. Then answered me, Yima, the fair, O Zarathustra: I am not the creator, nor the teacher, nor the recorder, nor the bearer of the law.

Haug. Then I spoke unto him, Zarathustra, I, who am Ahura Mazda: Be, O happy Yima Vivanghana, my promulgator, and bearer of the faith (the Zoroastrian religion). Then he, Yima, the happy, answered me, Zarathustra! Neither am I fit nor known as promulgator and bearer of the faith.

4. *Spiegel.* Then spake I to him, O Zarathustra, I, who am Ahura Mazda: If thou wilt not obey me as recorder and bearer of the law, then enlarge my world, make my world fruitful, obey me as protector, nourisher, and overseer of the world.

Haug. Then I spoke unto him, Zarathustra, who am Ahura Mazda: If thou, Yima, shalt not be my promulgator and bearer of the faith, then wall in and fence my estates; then thou shalt be the conservator and the herdsman and the protector of my estates.

5. *Spiegel.* Then answered me, Yima, the fair, O Zarathustra: I will enlarge Thy world, I will make Thy world fruitful, I will obey Thee as protector, nourisher and overseer of the world. During my rule, there shall be no cold wind, nor heat, no disease nor death.

Haug. Then he, Yima, the happy, answered me, Zarathustra: I shall wall in Thy estates; I shall fence Thy estates; I shall be the conservator of Thy estates, and their herdsman and their protector; in my empire, there shall not be cold winds, nor heat, nor fogs, nor death.

Ahura is represented as proposing to Yima to serve him by promulgating, teaching, committing to memory and bearing to a distance, the religious teachings of the Mazdayaçnian faith. This, Yima declines, but assents to the request that he shall serve Ahura by enlarging the Aryan country (by colonization), and making it productive, and by being the protector, the benefactor and the ruler of the Aryan land or of a new and fertile province. The object of the recital was not simply to state that Yima was no teacher or apostle, but a leader of emigration, an enlarger of the Aryan realm, making it more productive, prosperous and powerful, but its meaning is that not teaching or religious service only is the service of the Deity, but it is also religious and acceptable service to enlarge the boundaries of the country, acquire new territory, and increase the production and wealth of the whole land.

Here, as everywhere else, "the world" is the Aryan land. The walling in and fencing the "estates" of Ahura Mazda, is merely absurd. Yima, as

will be clearly seen hereafter, led a colony of emigrants into a new country, and occupied, conquered and improved it.

6. This is a Zend verse, given by Haug, and not by Spiegel. What it contains is a mere disconnected interpolation, relating to Yima's subsequent misconduct and fall.

7. *Spiegel.* Then I brought forth to him, the arms of victory, I, who am Ahura Mazda. A golden plough, and a spear made of gold. Yima is there to bear rule.

Haug. Then I, who am Ahura Mazda, brought forth instruments, a golden sword and a goad decorated with gold. Yima is to bear the royal dignity.

I have noticed in many passages that the words "there" and "here" are not superfluous, but the former refers to another country or a remote province, and the latter to the mother-land. "There," in the country which Yima was to colonize, he would be chief or king, and it is to be one of a temperate climate, neither vexed by excessively cold winds, nor by extreme heat, not unhealthy, and where men would be long-lived.

Ahura Mazda gave him the arms whereby to achieve each conquest—but it is not certain what they were, whether a plough and spear, or a sword and goad, or a ring and scimetar (according to the Gujerat translation). And *çufra*, which Spiegel renders by "spear" or "lance," Roth thinks means "a fan" or "winnowing machine," comparing it with the Sanskrit *çûrpa*. Spiegel says:

I consider the words identical, but in the Avesta, a derivative meaning is required.

Is "spear" a derivative meaning of a word that means "a winnowing van"?

Sûrpa and *çûrpa*, Sanskrit, mean "a winnowing basket," and *sûpa* means, among other things, an "arrow." I have not succeeded in finding any word from which *çufra*, in any one of the meanings given it, can be derived.

8. *Spiegel.* After that, Yima had for a kingdom, three hundred countries to (his) share. Then was his earth full of cattle, beasts of burden, men, dogs, birds, and ruddy burning fires. There was not room for the cattle, the beasts of burden and the men.

Haug. Then the sway was given to Yima for three hundred winters (i. e., years). Then the earth was to be filled with cattle, oxen, men, dogs, birds, and red blazing fires. Nor did find room therein, cattle, oxen and men.

Then follow, in Spiegel's translation, verses 23 to 27; 23 reciting that Yima had for a kingdom, six hundred countries; and verse 26, that he had

nine hundred. Otherwise, these passages merely repeat verse 8, above. Haug has them further on.

9. *Spiegel.* After this, I sent word to Yima: Yima, the fair, son of Vivañhāo, this earth has waxed full of cattle, etc., the cattle, etc., find no room for themselves.

Haug. Then I made known to Yima: Yima Vivanhana, thou happy, the earth having fallen to thy lot, is to be filled with cattle, oxen, men, dogs, birds and red blazing fires.

Whether Yima had 300, 600 and 900 *countries* to his share; or had sway for 300, 600 and 900 *winters*, is uncertain. Windischmann reads, "After that, 300 [600-900] winters passed over King Yima." It hardly seems likely that it would be said that he ruled 300 years, then 600, and then 900. I think that the meaning of the whole is, that more and more districts were annexed to the Aryan Empire by continual increase and conquest. And, as the country enlarged, the population increased and multiplied, until room was wanting. The country was over-populous; and Ahura declared this to him, to induce him to emigrate. Of course, the round number of countries or winters are mere exaggerations of the composer of the legend.

10. *Spiegel.* Then went Yima forth to the stars, towards midday, to the way of the sun. He cleft this earth with his golden plough [shovel—*Windisch.*]; he bored into it with the spear, saying: With love, O Čpēnta-Armaiti, go forth and go asunder at my prayer, thou supporter of the cattle, the beasts of burden and mankind.

Haug. Yima went up towards the stars, when the sun was on his way at noon (*rapithwa*); he touched the earth with his golden sword; he pierced her, speaking thus: Become wide, Holy Earth! Increase and burst, O producer of cattle and oxen and men.

Keeping his course by the stars, Yima left the mother-land, and journeyed southward; and in the country which he reached, he ploughed and dug up the ground, i. e., settled in and cultivated the country.

11. *Spiegel.* Then Yima caused this earth to cleave asunder a third part greater than it was before. Then Yima made the earth cleave asunder two-thirds greater than it was before; after that, Yima made the earth cleave asunder three-thirds greater than it was before. On it strode forward the cattle, the beasts of burden and the men, according to their desire and will, as it is ever their will.

Haug. Then Yima made the earth, extending herself and by one-third larger than she was beforehand; there; the cattle and oxen and men walk according to their own pleasure [just so as it is their pleasure].

12 to 19. *Haug.* Then the sway was given to Yima for six hundred years, etc. . . . Yima made the earth by extending herself, by two parts larger, etc.

. . . . Then the sway was given to Yima for nine hundred years, etc. Yima made the earth, extending herself by three-thirds larger than she was beforehand.

All this is given by Haug as Zend. All the preceding verses are Avesta, except the sixth.

20. *Haug.* [Zend.] Then Yima established truth during the first thousand years, for such long a time as the creation of celestial spirits remained pure.

The cleaving asunder or extending herself of the earth, "cleft" by the plough, is simply the extension of the Aryan settlement and cultivation in the new region, south of the Oxus, which finally becomes as large and extensive as the mother-country. And, as time passes, settlements are pushed forward, the Aryans and their herds moving onward with restless advances, stayed by no obstacles, according to their own good pleasure, desire and will, "as it is ever their will," and always has been, from that day to this, to seek ever "fresh fields and pastures new," new regions to conquer and colonize.

21. *Spiegel* (42). The Creator, Ahura Mazda, produced a congregation, the heavenly Yazatas, the renowned in Airyana Vaējā, of the good creation.

Haug. An assembly was held by Ahura Mazda, the Creator, with the Celestial Spirits, by him, the renowned in Airyana-Vaejō of good qualities.

Spiegel. [Zend.] Yima, the shining, the possessor of a good flock, produced a congregation of the best men, the renowned in Airyana-Vaējā, of the good creation. To this congregation, came the Creator, Ahura Mazda, with the heavenly Yazatas.

Haug. [Zend.] An assembly was held by Yima, the King, of great wealth, with the best men, by him, the renowned in Airyana-Vējō of good qualities. To this assembly, came Ahura Mazda, the Creator, with the Celestial Spirits, he, the renowned in Airyana-Vējō of good qualities.

Spiegel. [Avesta.] To this congregation, came Yima, the shining, the possessor of a good flock, with the best men, the renowned in Airyana Vaējā of the good creation.

Haug. [Avesta.] To this assembly, came Yima, the King of great wealth, with the best men, he, the renowned in Airyana-Vaejō of good qualities.

This "congregation" or "assembly" of the best men of the mother-land was the party or body of men, with their families and cattle, collected by Yima, and which, under his leadership, moving southward, crossed the Oxus, and settled in Bactria, in the valleys, probably, of the Bolor range of mountains, on the headwaters of the Amoo and Sirkhab rivers; for, we shall see that the country inhabited by them was subject to excessive cold and heavy snows. With them, Ahura Mazda sent also a large band of

intellectual beings, to be worshipped, Yazatas, to be their protectors and to assist them, and he too went with them.

22. *Spiegel.* [Avesta.] Then spake Ahura Mazda to Yima: Yima, the fair, son of Vivañhāo, upon the corporeal world will the evil of winter come; wherefore a vehement destroying frost will arise. [Zend]: Upon the corporeal world will the evil of winter come; wherefore snow will fall in great abundance, on the summits of the mountains, on the breadth of the heights.

Haug. [Avesta.] Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima: O happy Yima Vivanhana, upon the world of animated beings, the evils of winter will come, and consequently a strong deadly frost. [Zend]: Upon the world of animated beings, the evils of winter will come, consequently much snow and ice will fall on the highest mountains, on the summit of the heights.

23. *Spiegel.* From three (places) O Yima, let the cattle depart—if they are in the most fearful places, if they are on the tops of the mountains, if they are in the depths of the valleys—to secure dwelling-places.

Haug. [Zend.] From three places, Yima, go the cows away, from the most baneful place (desert), and from the tops of mountains, and from the chaps of valleys, into the well-fastened cottages.

24. *Spiegel.* Before this winter, the country produced pasture; before flow waters, behind is the melting.

Before the coming of winter, there is pasturage. During the winter, there is none. Before winter the streams flow free, and in the spring, the snows melt and they flow again, but during the winter they are frozen up. The conditions of things in autumn and spring is stated, as if to say, it is not so, but wholly otherwise, in the winter.

Clouds, O Yima, will come over the inhabited regions, which now behold the feet of the greater and smaller cattle [i. e., even in the inhabited valleys, where the cattle and flocks now feed and their footmarks are seen, the clouds will come, pouring out snow and depriving them of food].

Haug. [Avesta.] Before this winter, the country was bearing pasturages; water overflowed them, after the ice had melted and tanks were formed. There Yima considered about the world of animated beings, to descry a place for cattle, goats and sheep.

Here, the translations so completely disagree, that the meaning is uncertain, and even to conjecture it, we must reject one or the other. Spiegel's seems to me by far the more likely to be correct. I do not believe that the original speaks of water overflowing the pastures, or of the formation of tanks. Nor do I think that an unusual or extraordinary winter is predicted. The ordinary winter of the country is described, as making emigration advisable, if not necessary. Every winter the pasturage disappeared, of course. Every winter, certainly, the snow fell on the summits of the Bolor Tagh, from eighteen to twenty thousand feet in

height, and in all the valleys, and the waters of the upper streams and of the lakes, from which they flowed, became solid ice.

Naturally, as the people became numerous and strong, they extended themselves southward and westward, and we come now to a poetic description of the place selected for his followers by Yima.

25. *Spiegel*. Therefore, make thou a circle of the length of a race-ground to all four corners. Thither bring thou the seed of the cattle, of the beasts of burden, and of men, of dogs, of birds, and of the red burning fires; therefore, make thou this circle the length of a race-ground to all four corners, as a dwelling-place for mankind; of the length of a race-course to all four corners, for the cows giving milk.

Haug. [Avesta.] Then make this district of the length of one day's journey; bring hither the seeds of cattle, oxen and men, and dogs and red blazing fires. [Zend]: Then make this district of the length of one day's journey on all the four sides, to be a dwelling-place of men, of the length of one day's journey on all the four sides, to be a pasturage for the cows.

The word rendered by "circle" and "enclosure," by Spiegel, and by "district" by Haug, is *Varem*. Spiegel says that

it is to be taken in the sense of the French *arrondissement*. The word commonly translated by 'district' is *vis*. 'Perimeter' [Spiegel says], best expresses the meaning of *varem*.

Vara, Sanskrit, i. e., *vṛi+a*, has, among other meanings, that of "surrounding," and *varaṇa*, i. e., *vṛi+ana*, means "an enclosure raised on a mound of earth," "a causeway, a bridge," also "surrounding." One of the meanings of *vṛi* and *vṛi* is "to surround," and others are "to screen, cover, conceal." Hence, *āvrita*, "enclosed, surrounded, invested."

What the length of a race-ground, race-course or riding-ground is, we do not learn from Spiegel. Haug renders the word or phrase by "a day's journey," which is probably nearer the meaning. Certainly, indeed, for the length of a race-course will not at all suffice.

26. *Spiegel*. There collect the water to the length of a *Hatra*; there let the birds dwell, in the everlasting, golden-hued, whose food never fails. There make thou dwelling-places, floors, pillars, court-yards and enclosures.

Haug. [Avesta.] There first make the water flowing down the way of the size of a *hathra*; there fix marks on a gold-colored spot, with imperishable food; there build houses composed of mats and poles and walls and fences.

[*Anquetil* says that] a *hathra* is about 1,000 paces more than a *parasang*. A *parasang* (Gr. παρασάγγα), is a Persian linear measure, of 30 *stadia*. A *stadium* was $606\frac{3}{4}$ English feet, or somewhat less than an eighth of a mile. This would make the *parasang* 6,069 yards, and the *hathra* 7,069 or thereabouts, somewhat over four miles.

Whatever the measurements, it is clear that the *Varem* of Yima was a tract of country, near a river, and alluvial, and which was cultivated by irrigation. It was fertile, for food never failed there; with bright skies and scenery that glowed with golden hues—a land beloved by the birds. There Yima caused permanent dwellings to be builded, with floors, columns, courts and walled grounds. And Ahura said further to him:

27. *Spiegel.* Thither bring thou the seed of all men and women, who are on this earth, the largest, best and most beautiful. Thither bring the seed of all kinds of cattle, which on this earth are the largest, best and most beautiful.

Haug. [Zend.] Thither bring the seeds of all males and females, who are the greatest, best and finest on this earth. Thither bring the seeds of all kinds of cattle, which are the greatest, best and finest on this earth.

28. *Spiegel.* Thither bring the seeds of all kinds of trees, which on the earth are the tallest and sweetest-smelling. Thither bring the seeds of all foods, which on this earth are the sweetest and best-smelling. Make all these in pairs and inexhaustible, even to the men who are in this circle.

Haug. [Zend.] Thither bring the seeds of all trees which are the highest and most odoriferous. Thither bring the seeds of all kinds of food which are the most eatable and odoriferous. Make in the whole of the district imperishableness, because these men live in these districts.

It is not probable that the composer of this legend represented Ahura Mazda as ordering or advising Yima to make cattle, trees and all kinds of food "imperishable," "because these men live in these districts." But Dr. Haug evidently regards it as entirely unnecessary to suppose the possession of common sense by the composers of the Zend-Avesta. It is more important, in the estimation of Professor Spiegel, that a given number of words should mean something, but not indispensable. That the seeds of trees and the seeds of all kinds of food are to be furnished "in pairs," does not seem to strike him as even slightly unusual.

It is evident, at any rate, that these lines contain what is really a description of what Yima did. And it appears that he selected as colonists, men and women, as he selected cattle, on account of their physical excellencies—the large, robust, healthy and vigorous, of both sexes. He filled the *Varem* with cattle, and had the land abundantly cultivated, making the supply of food abundant.

29. *Spiegel.* Let there not be strife or vexation; no aversion, no enmity; no beggary, no deceit; no poverty, no sickness; no teeth exceeding the due proportion; no stature exceeding the due proportion of the body; no other of the tokens which are the tokens of Añra Mainyûs, which he has made amongst men.

Haug. [Avesta.] There shall not be overbearance nor low-spiritedness, neither stupidity nor violence, neither poverty nor deceit, neither puniness nor deformation, neither too large teeth, nor bodies beyond the usual measure. Nor shall there be one of the other signs through which men use to become defiled by the evil spirit.

"Strife and vexation" (*Sp.*), represent the Zend *frakavo* and *apakavo*. *Fra* and *apa* are prepositions—the former equivalent of the Latin *pro*, "before, in front, forth," etc., and *apa*, "from, away from, without," etc. *Apakriyā*, in Sanskrit, is "a wrong (unseasonable) act, wrong manner;" *apakārin*, "mischiefous," *apakāra*, "injury, malice." Spiegel agrees with Professor Roth in deriving both the words from the Sanskrit root *ku*, "to shout," whence *kavatnu*, in the Vedas, "an opprobrious epithet." I do not see how "strife or vexation" could become the meanings of a derivative of that root, and I think it more likely that *kavo* is the same as the Sanskrit *kava*, which, and *ku*, its contracted form, mean, as the former part of compound words, "inferiority, wickedness," etc.

30. *Spiegel*. At the upper part of the region, make nine bridges; six in the middle, three at the bottom; to the first bridge, bring the seed of a thousand men and women; to the middle, of six hundred; to the lowest, of three hundred. Hither (bring) those who are in the enclosure with the golden lance. Round about this enclosure (make) a lofty wall, and a window that gives light within.

Haug. [Avesta.] In the uppermost part of the country, make nine bridges; in the middle, six; in the undermost, three. To the bridges in the uppermost part, bring the seeds of a thousand men and women; to those of the middle part, those of six hundred; and to those of the undermost part, those of three hundred. And round about these districts make golden pillars, and furnish the whole on its frontier with a shining door, having its own light from inside.

31. *Spiegel*. Then thought Yima: How shall I make an enclosure as Ahura Mazda has said? Then said Ahura Mazda to Yima: Yima, beautiful, son of Vivañhāo, tread on this earth with the heels, strike it with the hands, so as to cause the man-inhabited earth to cleave asunder.

Haug. [Avesta.] Then Yima considered: How shall I make the district ordered by Ahura Mazda? Then Ahura Mazda spoke unto Yima: Thou happy Yima Vivañhana! With thy heels extend this earth; with thy hands, make her asunder like as men now extend the earth in cultivating.

[That is, plainly and surely], Travel and by emigration extend the Aryan domain. And let the people with their hands extend the production of the land and enlarge the arable land, as here in the mother-country, men do, cultivating the soil.

33 to 38. *Spiegel*. Then made Yima the enclosure, etc. [61 to 92 (*Sp.*) are here repeated].

Haug. Then Yima made the district [25 to 30 repeated].

39. *Spiegel*. Creator of the corporeal world, pure one! Of what kind are the [lights, O Holy Ahura Mazda, which give light] in the circle which Yima has made?

[The words in brackets are not in the Huzvaresh translation. Though not absolutely necessary, they are desirable for the sake of clearness. *Spiegel*].

Haug. [Zend.] Creator of the fenced estates with living beings therein! Which then are those lights, O True Ahura Mazda, which shine there in those districts which Yima has made?

40. *Spiegel*. Then answered Ahura Mazda: Self-created lights, and created in rows (order). Of a single kind and course are seen the stars, the moon and the sun. [Here follow in the text some words which are evidently a gloss on verse

124. Roth translates them: ‘All the everlasting lights shine from above, all the created lights from below.’ *Spiegel*.

Haug. [Zend.] Then Ahura Mazda answered: Self-created lights and created ones. [Pazend: All unbegotten lights shine from outside, all begotten ones from inside.] Once a year one sees there stars, moon and sun, rising and setting.

41. *Spiegel*. These have for one day what is a year. Every forty years two human beings are born of every two human beings, a pair, one male and one female child. In like manner of the kinds of beasts. These men lead the most delightful life, in the circle which Yima made.

Haug. [Zend.] And they think a day what is a year. Every forty years a couple gives birth to two men. [Pazend: A pair, male and female.] The same is the case with the cattle. Those men enjoy the greatest happiness in those districts which Yima has made.

42. *Spiegel*. Creator of the corporeal world, Pure One! Who has spread abroad the Mazdayaçnian law in this circle which Yima has made? Then answered Ahura Mazda: The bird Karshipta, O Holy Zarathustra.

Haug. [Zend]. Creator of the fenced estates with the living beings therein! Who was propagating there in these districts which Yima made, the belief in Ahura Mazda? Then Ahura Mazda answered: The bird Karshipta, O Zarathustra Spitama.

43. *Spiegel*. Creator of the corporeal world, Pure One! Who is their master and overseer? Then answered Ahura Mazda: Urvataş-Narô, and Thou, O Zarathustra.

Haug. [Zend.] Creator of the fenced estates with the living beings therein; who is their nourisher and master? Then Ahura Mazda answered: Urvataş-Narô, and Thou, who art Zarathustra.

Neither Haug nor Spiegel says anything as to the meaning of “the bird Karshipta” or “Urvataş-Narô.” The former “spread abroad the Mazdayaçnian law” in the circle which Yima made. Of course, there is *some* meaning concealed in this. Yima did not expound or teach that law. He is represented as declining to do so, and electing to be the protector, nourisher and ruler of the people. And yet he was the first of mankind with whom Ahura Mazda conversed, and to whom he taught the Mazdayaçnian law.

Thus it is positively recorded that Zarathustra was not the apostle or revealer or first teacher of the creed and faith that bear his name. And, in corroboration of this, he nowhere in the Gâthâs claims this distinction for himself. This, of itself, is sufficiently interesting, and brushes away at once most of the theory of Dr. Haug.

And certainly one cannot help being anxious to know what is meant by the enigma contained in the statement that neither Zarathustra nor Yima was the first expounder, apostle and evangelist of the Ahurian creed and faith, but that it was “the bird Karshipta” that spread it abroad.

There is nothing to help us to a solution, except the etymology of the name. Will that do it? I find the following in Benfey:

Karçana, i. e., *kṛiç+ana*, ‘fire;’ *karsha*, i. e., *kṛish+a*, ‘dragging;’ *karshaka*, i. e., *kṛish+aka*, ‘a cultivator;’ *karshaṇa*, i. e., *kṛish+ana*, ‘tillage, cultivated land;’ *karshin*, i. e., *kṛishi+n*, ‘a cultivator;’ *karshu*, i. e., *kṛish+u*, ‘a furrow;’ *kárshaka*, i. e., *kṛishi+aka*, ‘a husbandman;’ *kṛi*, whence Vedic, *karshi*, ‘to make, do, perform, sacrifice, to cultivate, to tell, to compose;’ *kṛish*, ‘to draw furrows, to plough;’ *kṛishṭa*, ‘ploughed;’ *phâla-kṛishṭa*, ‘tilled ground;’ *krishaka*, ‘a husbandman;’ *kṛishi* and *kṛishī*, ‘ploughing, agriculture;’ *kṛishṭaja*, ‘cultivated.’

Pati, ‘a master, an owner;’ *pat*, ‘to be powerful, to possess;’ *pata*, ‘flying.’ Whether *karshipta* is compounded with this is doubtful. Like *gerepta*, ‘seized, taken,’ past participle passive of *gerew*, it may be a participle, and have an active meaning. Roots that in Sanskrit end with *ā* or in a diphthong to be changed into *ā*, receive before *aya* the affix of a *p*; e. g., *stháp-ayā-mi*, from *sthā*; *yāp-ayā-mi*, from *yā*; *rāp-ayā-mi*, from *rā*; and to the roots which, in Sanskrit, irregularly annex a *p*; in the causal, belongs *ri*, i. e., *ar*, ‘to go,’ whence *arpayāmi*, ‘I move.’ (Bopp, §§747, 748.)

The Zend *kerefs*, accusative *kehrpem*, is from the Sanskrit root *kṛi*, *kar*.

The participial suffix *ta*, feminine *tā*, is identical [Bopp holds], with the denominative base, *ta*, and it is often joined to the root by a vowel of conjunction, *i.* The feminine of this suffix forms abstract substantives from substantives and adjectives; and the masculine or neuter *ta*, with the conjunctive vowel *o* forms, from substantives, adjectives, which can be taken as the passive participles of to-be-pre-supposed denominative verbs; as e. g., *phalitas*, ‘furnished with fruit,’ from *phala*, ‘fruit;’ whence might spring a denominative *phalayāmi*, ‘supplied with fruits;’ which would form a passive participle *phalitas*. (Bopp. §827.)

In Zend, *karstis* means “the ploughing,” and *karsta*, “ploughed.”

I think that *Karshipta* is “husbandry, cultivation, agriculture,” and that the extension of the true faith is ascribed to it, because to it was owing the colonization of new regions, and the support of the people, and of the troops that subdued the unbelievers.

We are not informed what the word is that is here translated by “bird,” but I suppose it to be the same that is so rendered in the phrase, “the bird that works on high,” and in “the bird Çaena.”

I have already spoken of the former—of the “bird” of the *Çros Vâj*, “which works on high, who is appointed over the other creatures” and “derived from Çpênta-Mainyû.” Here, it may mean “causer of production,” or it may mean “which advances, goes forward.”

According to Haug, *urva* and *urvan* mean “mind, soul.” But also he, as well as Bopp and Muir, give *urvara* the meaning of “tree.” In Sanskrit, *uru*, feminine *urvî*, means “large,” and also, in the *Râmâyana*, “the earth.” *Uras* is “the breast.” *Urvata* must mean “greatness, courage, manliness,

firmness, resolution, intrepidity, etc." *Nara*, in Sanskrit is "man." Also, "the Eternal, the Divine Imperishable Spirit pervading the universe." *Nara* is *nṛi+a*; and *nṛi* also means "a man," and "men, mankind." Some of the compound words of which it forms a part, cause me to think that it means man as an *intellectual* being. In Zend, *nar*, *nairyā* and *nairo* all mean "a man," and *nairi*, "a woman." And *naro* may mean, sometimes, simply "individual," as I find in several passages, the word "man" used in the translation, when it applies to a Deity. *Urvataṭ-Narō*, I think, means "magnanimity" (a word of like composition in the Latin, i. e., *magn'-animi+tas*), "greatmindedness, heroism." *Urvataṭ-Narō* and Zarathustra are master and overseer (watcher-over, to protect) the people of the circle of Yima; i. e., Zarathustra's greatness of soul rules them.

Bodily deformity, we learn by this *Fargard*, was considered a mark set upon men by Añra Mainyûs. This was simply the forcible expression of the instinctive aversion and sense of dislike which is so general as to be almost universal, at the sight of personal deformities. Even large and projecting teeth and disproportionate limbs were marks of the Evil One.

Spiegel and Bleeck call this chapter "historical," and yet they say that "the difference between day and night is unknown to the blessed in Yima's Circle." But it is evidently a tract of country inhabited by men, and where there are herds of cattle; where the sun, moon and stars shine; where there are many bridges over waters; and where Zarathustra, himself, governs.

That there were *nine* bridges in the upper part, *six* in the middle, and *three* at the lower part, has *some* meaning. It can only apply to a country where several streams, coming from various sources, and of considerable size, unite at different points, and finally form one. The chapter contains an intermixture of the fanciful and hyperbolical, as in the notion that every pair produces a pair of children, one of each sex, and it was no doubt an ancient legend, ornamented and enlarged in a country remote from that described in it, and unknown to the composer.

There is certainly nothing in this legend to support the theory of Dr. Haug that Zarathustra was the founder of the Mazdayaçnian faith, and no hint that the emigration under Yima was the consequence of any schism or persecution, or was followed by any war between the Irano- and Indo-Aryans, and we shall see hereafter that the memory of Yima was revered, after his death, and even in the days of the first singing the hymns of the *Rig Veda*.

In *Yaçna ix. 11* to 20, it is said that first among all the Aryans, Vivañhâo prepared the Haöma, and thereby "this holiness became his portion, this wish was granted to him," that a son was born to him, Yima, the bright (illustrious, famous), ruling over many people, "the most majestic of

beings" (the most powerful of the Aryan chiefs), "who most gazes at the sun among men," since, on account of his rule, men and cattle were long-lived, water and vegetation were not dried up, and the supply of food was never exhausted. In the wide realm of Yima, there was neither excessive cold nor heat, nor old age nor death, nor misery caused by the Daevas. Father and son walked along, fifteen years old in countenance, each of the two, so long as Yima of the good rule, the son of Vivañhâo, governed.

The "holiness" that became the portion of Vivañhâo, was the good fortune, gift of the divine beneficence.

That Yima gazed most at the sun, of all the Aryans, means that he emigrated to a country further south, and where the summers were longer, and the sun seemed to come nearer the zenith. And this is confirmed by the immediate recital of the benefits received from the more genial influences of the sun.

I do not understand the phrase, "Father and son walked along," to allude to Vivañhâo and Yima, but to all fathers and sons in his realm, and that they went about there, the father seeming to be no older than a youth of fifteen, and, in that respect, and by the face, not to be distinguished from his son.

In the *Aban-Yasht* (7), Yima, the brilliant, having a numerous people, offered to Ardvî-çûra, on the Mountain Hukairyâ, a hundred male horses, a thousand cattle, ten thousand small cattle, and prayed that he might be the chiefest ruler over all the regions (all the divisions and parts of the Aryan land), over Daevas and men (native infidels), sorcerers and Pairikas; over the Çathras, Kaoyas and Karapanas; and that he might win from the Daevas, wealth and power, stores of grain, and herds, the means of sustenance, and the glory of victory; and all this was granted to him.

In the *Gosh-Yasht*, 2, Yima Khshaêta offered to Drvaçpa, on the same mountain, the same offering, and she granted his prayer for fat cattle for his people, long life for them, freedom from hunger and thirst, old age and death, hot wind and cold, for a thousand years.

Farvardin-Yasht. 130. The Fravashi of the pure Yima, the son of Vivañhâo we praise, the strong, having a numerous people, for preventing the calamities that will be sought to be inflicted by the Daevas, and the drought that destroys the pasturage, and the fatal epidemics.

In the *Ram-Yasht*, 4, Yima offered to the Flame, on Hukairyâ, on a golden throne, on a golden foot-stool, with bareçma and abundant food; and the Flame granted his prayer, that he might be

the most majestic of born beings [sovereign over the Aryan people], the most beholding the sun, of men [the word rendered by 'beholding', perhaps meaning, as elsewhere, 'fond of' and that he might make his people long-lived or rather,

give them peace and quiet, and also the cattle; the water and vegetation not drying up, and food never-failing]. And [it is said], in all his realms there was neither cold nor hot wind, old age nor death, nor misery created by the Daevas [or, perhaps, 'discontent'].

In the *Ashi-Yasht*, Yima offers to Ashis-Vaṇuhi, with the same prayer as in the *Gosh-Yasht*.

Zamyad-Yasht. §7. "The strong Kingly Majesty" [the Divine Sovereignty] united itself with Yima, who reigned for a long time over the seven-regioned land, over men and Daevas, etc., and won large spoil from the Daevas, and much glory; and under whose rule there was exhaustless food in profusion for all, and men and cattle had peace and quietness, and there was neither drought, nor cold, nor heat, old age nor death, nor discontent created by the Daevas; all which were the fruits "of the absence of the lie, formerly, before he, untrue, began to love lying speech," i. e., on account of the entire suppression of the false religion, up to the time when, embracing it he began to utter false doctrine.

When this took place the majesty flew away visibly from him, in the form of a bird, and when he no longer saw it, then Yima, who had become disaffected, and had wandered in the paths of error, fell affrighted down upon the ground.

It first went away from him in the form of a bird, flapping its wings and was taken possession of by Mithra.

It seems that the legend was, that, by repentance Yima regained his sovereignty, and afterwards relapsed again; for it is added, that when the majesty departed from him a second time, it went in the same way, and was taken possession of by Thraētaōna, because he was the most successful soldier, except Zarathustra alone.

A third time it left Yima, in the same manner, and the valiant-minded Kêrêçâcpa took possession of it, because he was the mightiest among brave men, except Zarathustra.

These are plainly historical traditions; and we learn from them that Yima, son of Vivañhâo led the Irano-Aryans into Bactria, and subjected to his rule the native tribes that occupied all the seven subdivisions; after which peace and abundance prevailed under his rule for many years. But he finally fell away from the true faith, lost his supremacy thereby (in which, however, at that time, no one succeeded him, the sovereignty being said to have vested in Mithra); that by repentance and a return to the true religion, he regained his power; again relapsed, and the supremacy, taken from him,

was given to Thraētaōna, as the most successful soldier. Again, probably at Thraētaōna's death, Yima regained power; relapsed again, was succeeded by Kērēçāçpa, another bold soldier, and disappears from the scene.

The supreme chief was probably elected as the Germano-Aryans elected their kings, by the acclamations of the armies. No one knows how some of the American Indian tribes elect or select their chiefs. Perhaps, as the bees do their queen. But, in some way or other they succeed in selecting their wisest and best men; a faculty of which civilization seems to deprive mankind.

Yima, therefore (the Yemsheed of the Persians) is a genuine Indo-Aryan hero, entitled to be named "first." The heroes and sages of that people became immortal in tradition, and were as real personages as Alfred the Saxon.

Of these heroes, *Yima* is the first and oldest. Dr. Haug says that

he is identical with the *Yama* of the Veda. *Yima Khshaēta* and *Yama Rājā* are, [he says], the same names and epithets—*Yima* being identical with *Yama*, and *Khshaēta* meaning the same as *Rājā*, 'King.' The family name of both [he says], is the same: *Vivāñhāo*, i. e., son of *Vivanghvat*, in the Zend-Avesta, and *Vaivasvata*, i. e., son of *Vivasvat*, in the Veda.

The Hymn (*Rig Veda* x. 14. 1. *Ath. Ved.* xviii. 1. 49), is addressed to Yama (called "Vaivasvata, Son of Vivasvat"), and commences thus:

Worship with an oblation, King Yama, son of Vivasvat (*Vaivasvatañ Yamañ rājānañ*), the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams (*pravato mahīr anu**), and spied out the road for many. Yama was the first who found for us the way. This home is not to be taken from us. Those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers departed Depart thou, depart by the old ways, whither our early fathers departed Go ye, depart ye, hasten from hence. The fathers have made for him this place. Yama gives him an abode distinguished by days and waters and lights. [Compare the description of Yima, enclosure, with its window or door, and lights]. . . . Then approach the benevolent fathers, who dwell in festivity with Yama.

Nothing can be clearer than that the first verses of this hymn represent Yama as having gathered a body of Aryans together, and emigrated across a great river to another land, finding out or pointing out the way for many to follow him; to which those of the present time could now go by roads of their own choosing. The roads leading there had now become old ones,

*In the *Atharva Veda*, xviii. 4, 7, the same expression occurs, and the translation is, 'They cross by fords the great rivers, which the virtuous offerers of sacrifice pass.'

and the country so strongly populated that the Aryans were no longer in danger of being expelled from it.

Afterwards, as appears by this very hymn, as well as by others, although this language was retained, it came to have another meaning, and the emigration of Yama and the fathers to be considered a departure from this life; and he as the first of mortals who died, and discovered a way to the other world, where he feasts with the Gods, is a King, and dwells in celestial light, in the innermost sanctuary of heaven. The ancestors dwelt there with him, and were adored in connection with him.

Let this reverence be today paid [it is said in *Rig. Veda x. 15. 1*], to the fathers who departed first, and who last, who are situated in the terrestrial spheres, or who are now among the powerful race.

And in the later books he was identified with death. (See *Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, 284 to 305.)

The Irano-Aryans retained the original tradition, and never made Yima a Deity. There is no doubt of his identity with Yama; and it is to be remembered that the *Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Mandalas* of the *Rig Veda* are much more modern than those that precede them, dating, at least as to much of their contents, from a time subsequent to the true Vedic period.

The passages that I have quoted from the Vedas strengthen my conviction that the Irano-Aryan emigration from Sogdiana to Bactria preceded that of the Indo-Aryans into Kabul and thence to the land of the Seven Rivers. This is corroborated by the fact that the Zend forms of words are often nearer the old originals than the Sanskrit.

The figurative expressions used in regard to Yima and to Bactria, or rather the fertile plain in the vicinity of the site of Balkh, gave birth, naturally, to the later myths that Yima brought the golden age upon earth, and founded a place of delight, like the Greek Elysium and the Semitic Aghdan [Eden], styled the *Vara* of Yima; and that he was so pure that he could gaze at the sun, which blinds other men who are less pure.

Through the hyperbolical expressions used in the Second *Fargard* and elsewhere in the Zend-Avesta, it is easy to see the simple historical facts of the legend, and thus the Zendic books, dead to the world for ages, and all memory of their language and its alphabet lost, rescued at last, almost as if by a miracle, from the silent custody of the dead past and of oblivion, unexpectedly explain to us the meaning of a legend in the ancient books of the Indo-Aryans, the venerable Vedas; of the history of that separation of the two branches of the same race, which caused the formation, out of the old mother-tongue, of the sister languages, Zend and Sanskrit, and the development and growth of two great systems of religious faith.

THRITA.

Fargard xx. of the *Vendîdâd* contains an account of Thrita, the first physician, with a few invocations, which, Spiegel thinks, are interpolated.

Zarathustra inquires of Ahura Mazda,

Who is the first of mankind, that was skilled in medicine? Of the acting, the sovereign, the able, the brilliant, the strong, the first established, who kept back sickness to sickness, death to death; who kept back Vazémnô-Açti?

The epithets used undoubtedly are, in the original, appropriate to characterize an active and skilful and successful physician. The Gujerat translation gives us, instead of "acting," "wise." Probably the original meant active or energetic. For "sovereign" it gives us "successful;" for "able," "fortunate." The "first established," "first-just," which is nonsense. The gloss says,

The meaning of first-established (*paradhâta*) is, that he first introduced government into the world [which is equally nonsense. That he kept back sickness from sickness, Spiegel says, means that he prevented sickness from spreading.]

It follows that keeping back death to death means that he prevented death from spreading. *Vazémnô-Açti*, the Gujerat translation renders "smiting scimetar." It is simply *fever*, as we have seen.

"Who kept back Vazémnô-Açti, who kept back the heat of the fire from the body of men?" This "heat of the fire," is fever, of course; and it is probably explanatory of the meaning of the word *Vazémnô-Açti*. The racking pains of malarial fever may very well be compared to the keen thrusts of a scimetar.

Ahura Mazda replies, that *Thrita* was the man who did all this; that he desired, as a favour from Khshathra-Vairyā, a means to withstand sickness, death, pain, and fever-heat, "the evil rottenness and the dirt" that Añra Mainyûs has brought to the bodies of men. Then Ahura brought forth the healing trees, by hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands, "round about the one Gaokeréna." The Huzvaresh translation explains the Gaokeréna as the white Hom, of which the *Bundehesh* says,

Near by this tree (namely, *jat-bés*), grows the white Hom in the Source of Ardvîsur, whosoever eats of it becomes immortal. It is called the tree Gokaru. [According to the *Minokhired*], it grows in the Sea Var-Kash (Vôru-Kasha), in the most hidden part, and the fish Kharmani moves continually round it, to keep off the frogs and other evil creatures which seek to destroy it.

Then "this body of the man" is lauded and praised; and sickness, death, pain, fever and wickedness (the evil rottenness and dirt) are cursed.

Through whose increase do we smite the Druj? We smite the Druj through increase. Whose reign is strengthening for those like us, O Ahura? These verses [Spiegel says], seem corrupt, and the translation is doubtful.

Then some one says,

I combat sickness, death, suffering, fever, evil corruption, dirt which Añra Mainyus has created in the bodies of these men, all sickness and all death, all Yatus and Pairikas, all the murderous wicked. Hither may the wished-for Airyémâ come for joy to the men and women of Zarathustra. The joy for Vohû-Manô: May he grant the reward to be desired after the laws. [To be prayed for in accordance with the Ritual, or, to be asked for as the effect of the true doctrine and practice]. I wish the good purity of the pure. Great be Ahura-Mazda. ['These three verses,' Spiegel says, 'are an interpolation, written in the dialect of the second part of the Yaçna.]'

[The last verse is]: May Airyémâ, the desirable, smite every sickness and death, all Yatus and Pairikas, all the slaying wicked.

I have heretofore endeavoured to ascertain the meaning of the name Airyémâ or Airyama; and have commented on the next *Fargard*, in which he is spoken of as healer or physician.

Dr. Haug says that Thrita,

one of the Sâma family, of which the great hero Rustem was an offspring, is the same as the Vedic Trita. [He says of Trita]: He is said, in the Atharva-Veda, to extinguish the illness in men, as the gods have extinguished it in him; he must sleep for the gods.

In the *Taittirîya Samhitâ*, *Black Yajur-Veda*, he grants a long life. In the *Rig Veda*, any evil thing is to be sent to him, to be appeased by him.

This circumstance is hinted at in the Zend-Avesta, by the surname, Sâma, which means 'apeaser.' He is further said to have been once thrown into a well, whence Brihaşpati [praying] rescued him. The Indian tradition makes him a Ṛishi, and ascribes several songs of *Rig Veda* to him (as for instance, the 105th of the first book). There are some traits to be discovered in the ancient hymns, which make him appear rather like a god than a mortal man. He drinks Soma, like Indra, for obtaining strength to kill the demon Vritra; and, like him, cleaves with his iron club the rocky hole where the cows are concealed.

I have said of Trita, in *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans*:

Trita, the son of the waters, is several times mentioned (in the *Rig Veda*). He harnessed the horse given by Yama, slew the mutilated Vritra; is named with Vayu and Agni; and is supposed, in one note, to be a name of Indra; in another, of Yama; and in other places, is evidently a Ṛishi. [In *Mandala viii. 12. 16*, we find: 'Whether, Indra, thou enjoyest Soma, along with Vishnu, or with Trita Aptya, or with the Maruts.']}

Dr. Haug says, further,

Thraētaōna (*Feridun*) is completely to be recognized in the Vedic Trāitana, who is said to have severed the head of a giant from his shoulders. [But the mere resemblance of the two names goes a very little way to prove their identity]. His father is called Athwyâ, which corresponds exactly with the frequent surname of Trita in the Vedas, viz., Aptya. Both Trita and Trāitana seem to have been confounded in the Veda [which I do not find so], whereas, they originally were utterly distinct from one another. Trita was the name of a celebrated physician, and Trāitana that of the conqueror of a giant or tyrant; the first belonged to the family of the Sāmas, the latter to that of the Aptyas. In the Zend Avesta the original form of the legend is better preserved.

This is very well, if mere speculation; but very insufficiently demonstrated as fact. Dr. Muir says (*Sansk. Texts. v. 117*), that

in the earlier period of Aryan religious history, Indra either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province; and that the Zend legend assigns to Trita the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra; but this God Trita disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra.

That is clearly based on an erroneous assumption, for Thrita, in the Zend legend, is not a deity at all, but a man.

This Trita Aptya (it is said in *Rig Veda x. 8. 8.*), knowing his paternal weapons and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed, and slaying him, he carried off the cows, even of the son of Tvaṣṭṛi. And in *x. 99. 6*, a loud snorting monster with three heads and six eyes is mentioned as having been overcome by Indra or Trita. (Muir, v. 230.)

Trita [the *Lexicon* of Böhtlingt and Roth says], is the name of a Vedic god, who appears principally in connection with the Maruts, Vāta or Vāyu and Indra, and to whom, as to these other Deities, combats with demons, Tvaṣṭṛa, Vṛitra, the serpent, and others, are ascribed. He is called Āptya, and his abode is conceived of as remote and hidden; hence arises the custom of wishing that evil may depart to him. He bestows long life. Several passages show the lower and certainly later view, of Trita, that he fights with the demons, under the guidance and protection of Indra, and thus lead to the conception of a Rishi Trita. (Muir, v. 336.)

I venture to think, notwithstanding, that Thrita and Trita were the same; and that he was a Rishi, afterwards deified, and at last taken for a deity in fact. I cannot find in the *Rig Veda* any evidence that the worship of Indra had superseded any older worship of another deity with the same functions. That he and Agni alike were an advance upon the worship of the stars, I have no doubt.

Thrita is called the greatest public benefactor, or the most useful of the Ćāmas. Ćama, Sanskrit, means "cure," "convalescence;" from *ćam*, "to grow calm, be appeased;" *pra-ćamaya*, "to heal." I think that Ćāmas means "healers."

I wonder that Dr. Haug, who so laboriously prepared himself, by the study of Sanskrit, to interpret the Zend-Avesta, and who accuses Spiegel of following an obsolete method and slavishly adhering to the modern versions, traditions and glosses; and who proclaims that only by means of the Sanskrit is the sure and true interpretation of the Zend to be arrived at, should talk of the family of the Çamas, when the meaning of the word in Sanskrit was so easily ascertained, and so certain. It is very like his notion that Zarathustra was a family name, or surname, and Spitama the real name of the Bactrian liberator, after whom, it follows, we ought to designate his religion as the Spitamian creed.

I do not find *aptya* in Benfey. *Apatya*, Sanskrit, means "offspring," and *āpti*, "acquisition."

Benfey gives us *Trita*, as simply the name of a deity. *Tri*, Sanskrit, is "three," *tritaya* and *tritva* "a triad." May not the Vedic *Trita Aptya* have been, literally, "the three-fold offspring," the triad produced by Indra, i. e., light-giving? May they not be the three stars in the belt of Orion; and may not Ushas driving away sleeplessness to them allude to their rising at early daybreak at a particular time of the year. But it is harder still to conjecture what was meant by the three-headed and seven-rayed, that *Trita Aptya* slew. The three stars may have been three sons of one Rishi, translated to the sky, as the *seven Rishis* were, becoming the stars of Ursa Major.

That the word *Gaōkērēna* meant the White Hom, I do not believe. The Sanskrit, *go*, Zend *gao*, had, among other meanings, that of "earth;" and *kara* and *karaṇa*, i. e., *kri+a* and *kri+ana*, each meant "making, causing, producing." "Round about the one *Gaōkērēna*" meant, I believe, "everywhere around on the one productive land." The healing "trees" were medicinal plants, herbs and shrubs.

Through the increase caused by Thrita, i. e., the vigor and strength which restoration to health gives, the Drukhs are defeated; and his success is strengthening for the Aryans. Airyema also comes for joy to the people, men and women; and this may be merely the prayer Airyema; for elsewhere we have seen that the most eminent and successful practitioners of the healing art were those who healed by prayer and devotion. This is the reward to be desired after the law; i. e., the healing to be effected or sought for by devotion and worship; and it is joy for Vohū-Manō, because all prayer and uttered praises are from him.

A little additional information is given in regard to Thrita, by verse 125 of the *Farvardin Yasht*, where it is said,

The Fravashi of the pure Thrita, who possesses most of one kind, the spreader of the extended region, praise we;

by which it appears that by colonization or conquest Thrita had extended the Aryan domain, and either governed a larger extent of country than any one else, or more people of one race.

THRAÊTAONÂ TO VÎSTÂÇPA.

Yaçna ix. At the time of the morning dawn came Haöma to Zarathustra, as he was purifying the fire and reciting the Gâthâs. Zarathustra asked him, ‘Who, O man art Thou, Thou who appearest to me as the most beautiful among all mankind, endowed with thine own life, majestic and immortal?’

Then aswered the Haöma, the pure, who is far from death [whom death does not come near]; ‘I, O Zarathustra, am Haöma, the pure, who is far from death. Pray to me, Thou Pure One! Make me ready for food! Praise me with songs of praise, as also the other chiefs have praised me.’

Then said Zarathustra; ‘Praise be to the Haöma! Who first, O Haöma, prepared thee, of all the Aryans? What gifts of the divine beneficence thereby became his share? What wish of his was granted?’

So Zarathustra asked, in succession, who were the second, third and fourth of the Aryans to prepare the Haöma, etc. And the answers to these questions are the following legends:

1. That of *Yima* as I have given it.
2. That of *Thraêtaonâ*, who smote the serpent Dahâka.

Vivañhâo first prepared it; and a son was born to him, *Yima*.

Athwya prepared it next, and a son was born to him, with valiant clan, *Thraêtaonâ*.

3. *Thrîta*, the most profitable [the greatest benefactor], of the Çamas, prepared it next and two sons were born to him, Urvâkhshya and Kérêçâcpa; the legend of the latter of whom follows:

4. *Pôurushâçpa* next prepared it, and Zarathustra was born, whose deeds are recited.

Thraêtaonâ is derived, no doubt, from the Sanskrit *trâ* or *trai*, “to protect, to preserve;” compounded perhaps, with *tanu*, “small, delicate, the body, a person.”

The account given of him is:

Who smote the serpent Dahâka [*Azhi-Dahâka*], which had three jaws, three heads, six eyes, a thousand strengths, the very mighty Druj, derived from the Daevas, the bad for the world, the evil [the oppressor of the Aryans, the wicked], which Añra Mainyus brought forth as the mightiest Druj in the Aryan country, for the destruction of the true faith in the land.

Thraêtaonâ, it is said, was the ancestor of Manoscihr, and the royal family of the Kâvyas. The Snake Dahâka was, no doubt, originally, a Tâtar or Turanian tribe, in the Aryan land, the most numerous and powerful in it, composed of three bands, or having three villages or settlements. The “thousand strengths” probably meant that they could put a thousand horsemen in the field, or, perhaps, merely a large force, an indefinite number.

Dâsa, Sanskrit, means "a slave," and *dasyu*, "a chief or ruffian." The termination *ka* is to be taken in a demonstrative or relative sense. Examples are, in Sanskrit, *ján-aka*, "father," "as begetter;" *khan-i-ka*, "digger;" *çuṣhka*, "dry," Zend *hush-ka*. The Dasyus are, in the Vedas, the hostile native tribes; and may have been the same as the Dahakas. At all events, I have no doubt the Serpent Dahâka was either a tribe of Toorkhs or their leader.

It is easy to understand how they came to be designated as "the Serpent Dahâka." The tribe had probably adopted a serpent as their badge or emblem, and called itself "The Tribe of the Serpent;" as the American Indians adopt, each band for itself, some bird or animal for a *totem*, and the chiefs bear the names of beasts and birds.

The third who prepared the Haöma was Thrita,

the most profitable of the Çamas [he was most 'profitable' who did most for the people. He was favoured with two sons, Urvâkhshya and Kéręçâçpa, the one 'a disposer in relation to custom and law,' a legislator or civil ruler, the other, 'endued with higher activity,' a man of action, a soldier, 'bearer of the Club Gaeçus.'] He smote the serpent Çruvara, the poisonous, green, which destroyed horses and men. On which the green poison flowed of the thickness of a thumb; *on which Kéręçâçpa cooked his food in a caldron*, about the time of mid-day; then it burnt the serpent, and he took himself off; away from the caldron sprang he; he went back to the hurrying waters. Backwards fled amazed the bold Kéręçâçpa.

It would be impossible to have much respect for the intellect of a people that could listen reverentially to such a tale as that is, as told in the translation. The snake, scalded with a ladleful of hot liquid, part of Kéręçâçpa's intended dinner, "takes himself off" to the swift river, and thereupon the bold Kéręçâçpa flees amazed to the rear. Whether he lost his dinner, is not said. On this exploit his fame reposes.

[Spiegel says that] the Çamas are a family. In the Shâh-Nâmeh, Çâm is the oldest of this race; but in the Avesta their ancestor is Thrita, spoken of in *Vendî-dâd xx.* as the first physician. So also he was 'the most *profitable* of the Çamas.' The circumstances of the case [the Professor says], appear to have been these: the huge serpent was lying on the bank of a river, and Kéręçâçpa, deceived by the green colour, mistook the monster for land, and lit a fire on his back to cook his dinner. [Of course it is understood that his back was so broad as to accommodate Kéręçâçpa as well as his caldron, and that its outlines were beyond the reach of his vision, although the green poison flowed from his fangs no thicker than one's thumb]. The heat disturbed the serpent, who forthwith plunged into the water, and Kéręçâçpa naturally drew back, somewhat startled. [It does even seem that he 'smote' the snake.]

The origin of the legend was, no doubt, the repulse across the river-boundary of the country, of some invading band of unbelievers. The

lameness of the denouement cannot otherwise be well accounted for. Or it may have had as little real foundation as the fable of the Lernæan Hydra slain by Hercules.

The fourth to prepare the Haōma was *Pourushaçpa*, to whom was born Zarathustra,

created against the Daevas, devoted to the belief in Ahura, the renowned in Airyana-Vaējo. Thou, as the first, O Zarathustra, hast recited the Ahuna-Vairya, which spreads itself abroad four-fold. [So called, because it belongs to the so-called Chathrusāmrûta, that is, it must be recited four times.] And the other with mighty voice. Thou madest that all the Daevas hid themselves in the earth, O Zarathustra, which before were going about on the earth in the shape of men; Thou, the mightiest, strongest, most active, swiftest, the most victorious amongst the heavenly beings [the men whose souls come from Ahura].

[Professor Spiegel says], Zarathustra is the chiefest among the heroes enumerated, for not only has he destroyed single monsters, like them, but has so completely annihilated the whole host of Daevas, that from henceforth they have no corporeal bodies, but only souls. Hence the weapons wherewith the souls of the Daevas can now be smitten, are not corporeal, but spiritual, namely, the words of the Avesta, which Zarathustra has given to men.

The meaning of all that is plain enough. Zarathustra, in the Gâthâs and elsewhere, called the infidel enemies of the Aryans, "Daevas." When these had been finally expelled, and ceased to be dreaded, or were for the most part subjugated, the Aborigines ceased to be spoken of as Daevas, and the word was confined to the evil spirits, to whom alone it had at first belonged.

From these legends it is plain that the first Aryan emigration was from a cold and mountainous land southward, into a climate not tropical, but temperate. That before the Aryans had established themselves there as undisputed masters of the country, they had a long struggle, and met with reverses; and that they achieved final success under the military leadership of Zarathustra.

In the Gâthas and these legendary fragments we find no evidence of any schism caused among the Aryans by the introduction of the Ahurian faith. Wherever Zarathustra lived, the whole Aryan population seems to have been of that faith, and to have accepted him, not only as their religious instructor, but also as their military chief and civil ruler.

It seems also, from these legends and the absence of schism, that the Iranian emigration was not the separation, either in the Indus country or any other remote from the original cradle of the race, and long after a first joint movement from that original home, of the Iranian and Indo-Aryan branches of the great family. On the contrary, it seems to have taken place from that original home itself. It was from a cold and mountainous

country, which, according to all the information we can gather, must be that in the neighborhood of Samarcand.

And the people had not been so long removed, and had not gone to such a distance, as to have lost their ancient manners and habits. We find no mention of cities or towns. Their political system was that of a confederation of clans. They were chiefly horsemen. Their wealth consisted in horses, cattle and camels. Agriculture was encouraged and rewarded as the most laudable of all employments, but they seem to have had no wealth of sheep. They were still, for the most part, herdsmen, living largely in tents, although Zarathustra encouraged them to build permanent homes, and driving the cattle to considerable distances, into the Steppes beyond the Oxus probably, for fresh pasture.

I think, for these reasons, that the birthplace of Zarathustra was in a country near their original home. That country, near to the Steppes, and of a temperate climate, neither excessively hot nor cold, could only have been Bactria. It was certainly a land traversed by many streams, that ran across it, because we find mention made of many chiefs, living beyond different rivers. Perhaps, before the Irano-Aryans emigrated, the race had spread westward from the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and even reached the great clay plain, two hundred miles long, at this day, by sixty wide, traversed by many canals of irrigation; but Yima, it is certain, led his body of emigrants across a large river, and from a cold and mountainous region.

The separation of the two branches must have taken place at a very remote period; for it is certain that in the time of Zarathustra, the Zend and Sanskrit had become very different languages, partly by the slow process of change, and partly by inter-mixture with the tongues of the native tribes; and the two families of the race had almost no names of deities in common.

It is now impossible to determine which of the two languages most resembled the ancient tongue from which they were developed. In some cases the older forms are found in the Zend. The Latin, I may remark also, seems to have older forms than the Greek. And it is certain that many of the original roots are lost in the Sanskrit, and meanings assigned to one root which originally belonged to different ones. An exhaustive comparison of all the derivative languages is a task reserved for some great scholar. It is evident that the Vaidic and Ahurian faiths were formed, almost entirely, after, and probably very long after, the separation. Of the pre-existent faith, very little is retained by both. Each has the same philosophic ideas, which may be deemed essentially Aryan, of emanation of substances from substance; each essentially the same mode of personifying attributes and qualities; each those ideas of manifestation and self-limi-

tation, of divine creation and action by intermediates, which afterwards received its most definite expression in Plato's idea of the Logos, in the doctrines of Philo as to the Logos, and in the Sephirothic personifications of the Kabalah. That Hakemah, the Divine Wisdom, *is* the Very Deity, manifested *as* wisdom, in one aspect, and, as it were, through one aperture; and that the Logos was with God, contained in God and was God, are but applications and developments of the Avestic notions in regard to the Amēsha Çpēntas and the Vedic tenets as to the manifestations of Agni and Indra.

It is doubtful whether even a single deity, embodying the same conception, meaning the same thing, was common to the two faiths. Asha-Vahista was more than the Spirit of Fire; and is not identical with Agni. Ushahina, in the Avesta, and Ushas, in the Veda, are the same thing, the Dawn; but the conceptions embodied in the two are not identical.

The Avestic Haōma is the Vaidik Soma, and as to this plant and its juice, the notions of the two creeds are so very much alike that they must have been a part of a previous common creed, held by the ancestors of both races. Both had the same ideas as to the efficacy of prayer and praise; the Maṇtras of the one and the Maṇthras of the other were alike sacred and divine; praise and prayer with one were Brahmanaspati and Brihaspati, and with the other Maithra-Çpēnta; devotion or worship being the Çraōsha of the latter.

It was one and the same imaginative intellect which in the Indus country personified heat as Vishnu, gave him a human form, described him as striding vastly, made him a warrior aiding Indra against Vṛitra, the cloud-demon, preventer of rain; endowed him with generative power, because it is heat that causes the egg to hatch and the animal fœtus to grow, and, as so endowed, fancied him as having the prepuce always retracted, i. e., with his generative vigor never relaxed; thus making inevitable in later ages the worship of the Lingam and the Phallus; and that, in Bactria, gave human forms and powers and attributes to the potencies and qualities of the deity, and investing worship or devotion, as Çraōsha, with the human form, made him a warrior engaging in bodily conflict with the Daevas.

To the common ancestors of both, Indra, the Light-God, was a beneficent deity, and the Devs, or celestial luminaries, denizens of Dyaus, the sky, were divine and good beings; and one of these names was retained by both races,—by the one in a good and by the other in an evil sense. Indra, I think, was not.

The religious and moral teachings of the two creeds were singularly alike, in general character and spirit. Each race sacrificed to the deities, and deemed them present at the sacrifices, offered prayers, and sang sacred

hymns; but we find no Zaōthra or Bareçma at the Indo-Aryan sacrifice, and no clarified butter at those of the Irano-Aryans. We hear nothing of bards by profession among the Iranians, nor of Rishis translated to the skies and shining there as stars. The Atharvas of one and the Athravas of the other were priests; but the mode of sacrificing was not the same for both. There are in the Veda no mysteriously sacred and effectual prayers, like the Ahuna-Vairyā and Ashem-Vohu. There are no demons of the clouds in the Avesta, holding back the water; no Vṛitra smitten by Indra with the thunderbolt.

I conclude that neither abandoned the deities of the other, and forgot their names; but that each grew independently, out of an ancient worship of the sun, moon and stars, and other objects of nature, portions of which remained unchanged in each; that Mitra and Mithra were originally the same name, and designated the morning-star, becoming afterwards light in one, while it continued to be the Planet Venus in the other; that perhaps each worshipped the fire, as their ancestors had done, the old name for it becoming Agni for one and Asha for the other.

I conclude that Zarathustrianism was not a reform of the Vedic faith; but an advance, as that was, from an older faith. The Vaidic Deities, with few exceptions, were not known to the common ancestors of the two races, any more than the Amēsha Čpēntas and Ahura Mazda were. That they were entirely unknown to the other branches that emigrated is very certain. We find no traces of them among the Kelts, Goths, Germans, Sclaves, Greeks or Latins; though the old name of the sky became *Zeus* for the Greeks and *Divus* for the Latins.

As will be seen elsewhere, I doubt whether the Daevas were the Vedic Devas at all.

The *Gosh Yasht*, addressed to *Drvāçpa*, contains several ancient legends, really historical.

The first is, that the *Paradhata Haōshyañha* sacrificed to her on the top of a high mountain, and prayed to be enabled to smite the Mazanian Daevas, that he might not fear, and they might be forced to bow themselves in terror, and hasten away, terrified, to darkness. His prayer was granted; and this Yasht thus preserves the name and memory of one more Aryan hero, who defeated the Tātar horsemen, called Daevas because held to be inspired by them and creatures of Añra Mainyûs, forced them to flee, and drove them back to their home in the north.

Para, in Sanskrit, means, among other things, “exceeding, highest, ancient, pre-eminent, superior, higher, distinguished, greatest.” Benfey says that *dhaṭa*, the “scale of a balance,” is probably a dialectical form of *dhartṛi*; and *dhartṛi*, i. e., *dhri+tri*, in *Rig Veda v. 9. 3*, means “preserver.” Also, *dhâ*, means “to carry, bear, nourish, preserve;” and *dhâtri*, “creator,

bearer, preserver." *Dhṛi* is "to bear, carry, maintain, support;" and the causal *dhâraya*, "to bear, support, keep." *Paradhata*, therefore, means "the distinguished or greatest protector or preserver."

And in the Yasht he is described as "the nourisher, bringer of offerings, the dispenser, the offerer, the implorer of beneficent female deities for favours;" as all the others are to whom she grants favours.

In the same way we are told that *Yima Khshaēta* gave the Aryans fat herds, long life, abundant provisions, and a temperate climate for a thousand years.

In this Yasht it is recounted that *Thraētaōṇa*, in Varēna the four-cornered, slew the Serpent Dahâka, the Very Strong Druja, derived from the Daevas, the oppressor of the Aryans, the mightiest Drukha, created by Añra-Mainyûs. He was also enabled "to drive away as a conqueror those who profit him [who serve, obey, follow, or give material aid to this snake-chief of the Tâtars], are bound to him, who are fairest in their bodies [able-bodied, athletic soldiers], to throw him away into the most hidden parts of the world" (to drive them back into the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, or, into the unknown northern regions).

In chapters *iv.* and *v.* of this Yasht, Haōma prays that it may bind the murdering Turanian Frañraçyâna, and carry him away bound, as a prisoner of King Huçrava; and that Kavâ Huçrava,

the son of the daughter of Çyâvarshâna, the man slain by violence, and Agraê-ratha, the son of Naru, may slay Frañraçyâna behind Vara ('the sea') Chaêchaṣṭa, the deep, with broad waters ('the deep, abounding in waters').

Haōma itself is said to do this, as strong liquor is said to do the acts of violence or folly which men do under its influence.

In chapter *vi.* we learn that Zarathustra joined himself to the good noble Hutaōça, in order to think the law and speak and act after it. And it is added,

She shall impress the good Mazdayaçnian law from Zarathustra in my memory, and then praise, she who shall bestow on me good praise for service.

This last sentence seems to be said by the worshipper or the composer of the Yasht. But if so, it must have been said when Hutaōça was still living; unless she who shall impress it, etc., is Drvâçpa. Hutaōça might impress the law on one's memory; and supply him with excellent hymns for the services of religion; but more probably Drvâçpa was intended. The sentence is probably an interpolation. It stands alone as such, in this Yasht.

Hutaǒça seems to have been the wife of the King Vîstâçpa. "Like him," Spiegel says,

she became converted to the Mazdayaṇian religion. Zarathustra 'joins himself to her,' in order to think the law, i. e., to have it always in mind and memory, and to speak and act in accordance with it.

If correctly translated, it would seem that this rather makes her his teacher, than a convert. But nothing anywhere else in the Zend-Avesta countenances the conclusion that Zarathustra was instructed in the faith by her or by any one. May not the real meaning be,

Enable me to win to my side, to make an alliance with Hutaǒça, and persuade her to believe in the true faith and to speak and act accordingly.

Perhaps she had not become the wife of Vîstâçpa, but was about to become so; and Zarathustra desired to win her to the support of his cause, that by her he might secure the aid of her husband. Or, if already his wife, her influence over him may have been known to be great.

"Zarathustra sacrificed," it is said here, "in Airyana Vaēja of the good creation." Vîstâçpa ruled in a remote part of the country, as we know from other passages. His "conversion" was his accession to the cause.

In chapter *ix.* of the *Ram-Yasht*, Hutaǒça with many brothers, offered for the clan of the Naotaras, on a golden throne, a golden foot-stool, a golden covering, praying the air, that she might be loved, received with love, in the house of Kavi Vîstâçpa.

Chapter *vii.* of the *Gosh-Yasht* has the legend of the Berezaidhi Kava Vîstâçpa, beyond the river Daitya, who, offering, prayed that he might drive away in the combat (rout and put to flight) Asta-Aurva, the son of Viçpo-thaurvô-Açti (having a body which torments all), and having a broad helmet, great boldness, a large head; who has seven hundred active (swift) camels; and that afterwards he might in the battle, in the flight, slay the murdering Qyaonian Arêjat-Açpa, that he might rout and drive away Darshinika, the Daëva-Worshipper; that he might smite the dark (skinned) unbelievers, Çpiûjairista, the Daeva Worshipper; that he might

attain by good wisdom [i. e., reach by skillful movements and marches] the regions of Varedhaka and Qyaõnya, and devastate the Qyaonian regions with immense slaughter.

In the *Ram-Yasht*, we have, in the same form, the legend of Haoshyâñho, the Paradhata, on Taêra, the mountain united with iron, who smote two-thirds of the Mazanian Daevas and the Varéniān, wicked; that of Takma-Urupa who smote all Daevas and men, all Sorcerers and Pairikas, and ruled Aîra-Mainyûs, tamed in the form of a horse, thirty years long, at

both ends of the earth (at both extremities of the Aryan land); and I have no doubt that Aîra Mainyûs in the form of a horse means the unbelieving hordes of Tâtar horsemen, subjugated and held in subservience thirty years.

The Snake Dahaka endeavored to depopulate the seven Kareshvares, but the son of the Athwynian Clan, Thraêtaõna the Varenian, slew him and drove his followers into the mountains.

The manly-minded Kérëçaçpa, at the hidden outlet of Raiha created by Mazda, in revenge for his brother Urvakhshaya, overthrew and smote Hitaçpa [bound horse] that he might draw the chariot.

So belongs the deep [it is added], to Ahura, so does the deep bow to one ruler, so belongs Gandarewa under the water.

Gandarewa is elsewhere mentioned, as an infidel chief. "The deep," probably means the lower country, the country towards the mouth of a river.

In *Fargard i.* of the *Vendîdâd*, Kérëçaçpa is said to have been a native of and to have resided in Vaêkereta, in which Duzhaka is situated, as Thraêtaõna, the slayer of the destructive serpent, is said to have lived in Varena with the four corners. According to Spiegel, "Vaêkereta is Kabul": According to Bunsen, "Sejestan, south of Herat."

In chapter *viii.* Aurvaçâra, Lord of the regions, at the white wood, at the boundaries of the wood, escaped being slain by Haoçrava, the valiant uniter of the Aryan regions into one kingdom, he escaping while the Aryan chief smote all the unbelievers in the wood.

In the *Aban Yasht* (*Kh. Av. xxi. 5*), are some of the legends already noticed with many others.

In chapter *vi.*, verses 20 to 23, the same offering of Haôshyaîha is recited. He prayed for supreme rule over the whole Aryan country, and over the Daevas, Sorcerers, Pairikas, Çathras, Kaöyas and Karapanas; and that he might smite two-thirds of the wicked Mazanian and Varenian Daevas. These, no doubt, are all names of Turanian and Scythian Tribes. His prayer was granted. It is a legend of his reign and conquests.

Chapter *vii.*, verses 24 to 27, recites the offering of Yima, on the Mountain Hukairyâ. He prayed for rule over the same Daevas and tribes, and his prayer was granted. He is, it will not be forgotten, the hero of the second *Fargard*. I note, especially, that part of his prayer is,

that I may bring away from the Daevas [booty], both of fortune and profit, both of abundant harvests and herds, both food and glory:

because it proves what I thought to be true, that the "Daevas" are not always spirits, but hostile tribes, Scythians or Tâtars, perhaps as possessed by the evil spirits; for it is perfectly clear that Yima's prayer was for plunder and booty, to be won in war.

Chapters *viii.* and *ix.* recite the offerings of the Snake Dahâka with three jaws, in the region of *Bawri*, who asked to be enabled to depopulate the Seven Kareshvares, and of Thraêtaõna in Varëna, the four-cornered, the offspring of the Athwyanian Clan, the Strong Clan, praying that he might kill the Snake Dahâka, with three jaws, three stings, six eyes, a thousand strengths (a tribe of a thousand fighting men?), the very strong Druj, springing from the Daevas (the powerful native tribe, of Scythian or Tâtar descent and stock), the evil of the world (the scourge of the Aryan country), whom Añra Mainyûs has brought hither to the corporeal world (to the Aryan country), as the mightiest Druj, for the destruction of purity in the world (as the most powerful unbeliever, for the extermination of the true faith in the Aryan land).

May I [he prayed], when smiting him, drive away those who profit and are bound, those who are the fairest in body, thrust them away, those who in the most inaccessible parts of the country.

Professor Spiegel says that

this passage is very obscure. It seems [he says], to contain an allusion to the hiding of Dahak under the mountain Demavend.

Mr. Bleeck says that:

He himself has made an adaptation from the other passages (*Yashts* 9. 14 and 15. 24) as being a trifle more intelligible. The Zend text is identical [he says], in all three cases.

Thraêtaõna asks that, when defeating Dahâka, he may also expel from the country those who have been his allies and have profited him, small tribes, having their homes in the fastnesses of the hill-country.

Spiegel says, "*Bawri* is doubtless Babylon." Why "doubtless" he does not explain. "The Snake Dahâka" is the figurative appellation of some hostile tribe, composed, perhaps, of three bands or clans, or from three towns, and numbering a thousand warriors, imagined by those who feared and hated them, to be animated by Añra Mainyûs, as the old crusaders imagined the Saracens to be children of Mahound, and as the parentage of heretics is imputed to the devil. Those "fairest in body" were probably some tall strong race of mountaineers, who, to profit by raiding and plundering, had allied themselves with the invaders.

"Varëna with the four corners" is mentioned in the first Fargard of the *Vendîdâd*. It is variously explained. Haug considers it to be Ghilan, and Bunsen says that "it is the birthplace of the hero Thraêtaõna, the

Feridûn of Iranian legend." He also is mentioned in the first Fargard, as born there, and as slayer of the snake Dahâka. And Bunsen says:

His most celebrated exploit, the murder of the infamous tyrant Zohak [evidently Dahâka], is invariably supposed in the legend to have taken place on the Alborj, or more properly on the mountain of Demavend, to the south of the Caspian; the recollection of it, indeed, is kept up to this day, by the annual jubilee for the victory of Feridûn. The origin of the legend is seen at once to be mythological, for Thraêtaöna is the Trita of the Vedas, the slayer of the Demon Vritra, who prevents the clouds from pouring out water; but there can be little doubt that some important event in the early history of the Iranians was worked up with it.

The origin of the legend is, I venture to submit, not mythological, but historical; and the legend itself became mythological in consequence of the figurative language used. I do not find the least reason for identifying Thraêtaöna and Trita. Trita "the son of the waters," is several times mentioned in the Veda. He harnessed the horse given by Yama, and slew the mutilated Vritra. He is named with Vayu and Agni, and is supposed in one note to be a name of Indra; in another, of Yama; and in other places is evidently a Rishi. Thraêtaöna is an Iranian chief and hero whose exploits against the "Un-Aryan plagues" of Varëna, the land of four corners, after a time became mythical.

Dahâka, the serpent, with three jaws and stings, reminds us of the monster Geryon, of Greek fable, with three heads and bodies, whom Hercules killed, and drove away his flocks and herds.

x. 36. The manly-minded Kérçâçpa, behind Vara-Pishiniñha [Spiegel says, 'probably the modern Pishin or Pishing, in Eastern Sejestan; the traditions place Kérçâçpa and his family there'], offered, praying that he might slay Gándarëwa the golden-heeled, 'who is a slayer on the shores of the sea Vôru-Kasha.' 'I will run,' he said, 'to the strong dwelling of the wicked one on the broad, round far-to-walk-through.'

xi. 40. The destroying Turanian Frañraqê offered to her, in a hole in this earth, praying that he might attain the majesty which flies into the midst of the Sea Vôru-Kasha, which is peculiar to those born and yet unborn in the Aryan region, and which is peculiar to the pure Zarathustra. He did not obtain the favour.

The agile, very brilliant Kava Uç offered, praying to be chief ruler over all regions, Daevas, etc., with the same sacrifice, on the Mountain Erézifya; and obtained the favour.

The valiant uniter of the Aryan regions into one kingdom, Huçrava, behind the Vara Chaêchaçta, deep, rich in water, offered the same, with the same prayer, and with this, in addition,

That I of all the allies may first destroy the long obscurity, but not cut down the wood which destructive once damaged the understanding of my horses. [Spiegel says that this passage is obscure, and that we do not know the legend alluded to.]

It is plain that these are allegorical recitals of the struggles by different and successive chiefs against hostile tribes of unbelievers, holding portions of the Aryan country; and from the last, as well as from other passages, in the Gâthâs, that I have quoted, it is plain that once the whole land was subjugated, and remained so for a long time. Huçrava, it is said here, living beyond some river, was the first to end this domination. It is plain that this is what "destroying the long obscurity" means, but I can only conjecture that the forests had been impediments hindering his success, by preventing the free march and action of his cavalry.

xiv. 52. The strong Tuca offered, the warrior, on horseback, praying for strength for the team, health for the bodies, much power against the tormentors [the oppressors], for victory over the evil-minded [the infidels], for the disappearance from hence of the deadly hostile tormentors [i. e., for the expulsion from the Aryan land of unbelieving hordes that possessed it]. He prayed that he might slay the Aurva Hunava in Vaêshaka, at the gate Khshathro-Çaôka, the upper most in Kanha, the great, pure ['the Aurva-Hunava are, perhaps, the sons of Aurva, against whom Tuça was to fight' (*Spiegel*); the 'gate' was probably a mountain-pass]; that I may slay of the Turanians fifty of the slayers of hundreds, etc. The favour was granted him.

The Aurva-Hunava, at the same place, made the same offering, for victory over Tuça; but did not obtain the favour. (xv. 56.)

Chapter xvi. is very singular:

To her offered the former Vifra-navâza, when the victorious strong Thraêtaõna summoned him in the form of a bird, of a Kahrkaça. He flew thither during three days and three nights, to his own dwelling, not downward, not downward did he arrive nourished. He went forward towards the morning-dawn, of the third night, the strong, at the melting of the dawn, and prayed to Ardvî-çûra.

He begged her to hasten quickly to help him, and promised her offerings, if, he said,

I come away alive to the earth created by Mazda, away to my dwelling; [i. e., 'if I reach safely the Aryan land, my original home'].

She ran to him in the shape of a maiden (we have quoted the description elsewhere), seized him by the arm, and soon "he struggled mighty" to the earth created, etc., sound, uninjured as before. "Not downward," never descending to the earth; "not downward did he arrive nourished," he never descended and obtained food.

This seems to be the legend of some distant Aryan chief, summoned by Thraêtaõna to unite forces with him, one who had emigrated to an adjoining province or remote colony; and who reached him safely, without loss of men, by the aid of the water-goddess, perhaps by vessels. He came

however, from the westward, it would seem, "towards the morning-dawn;" though that, perhaps, is the *time* when he cried to Ardvî-çûra for aid; and if so, it is only meant that he had to effect the crossing of a river, to reach the Aryan land on the other side.

Jâmâçpa made the same offering to her when he saw the hosts of the Daevayaçnas advancing from afar, hastening to combat, and prayed that he might there overcome all the non-Aryans. The favour was granted. So it waṣ to Asha-Vazdâo, the son of Pouru-dakhsti, Asha-Vazdâo and Thrita, sons of Çâyuzhdri, at the high land (source), the kingly shining navel of the waters (perhaps some mountain lake). They had swift steeds, (i. e., were mounted warriors), and prayed to be enabled to smite the Dânus, the Turanian, gathering themselves together, the Kara-Açbana and the Vara-Açbana, the very strong, shining from afar, here in the wars of the world (assembled Scythian hosts, invading the Aryan lands from remote regions, with shining weapons.)

xix. 75. Vis-taurusha, the descendant of Naôtairyā, at the Water Vitanuhaiti offered to her, declaring that he had slain as many Daeva-yaçnians as he had hairs on his head, and praying to her to "pour out" for him a dry ford across that river. In the shape of a maiden she ran there, and

at the height of the whole ford, made the one waters stand still and the others flow forward, and so made a dry way across.' ['At the height of the whole ford' means that she separated the water at the bottom, cutting it in two, as it were.]

xx. 80. Yaçtô-Fryananañm offered at the shore (?) of Raiha, praying that he might smite the evil Akhtya, the dark, and answer him the ninety-nine questions, the fearful, allied to torment, when he should ask them.

The demon Akhya [Spiegel says], seems to have been a kind of Sphinx, who would let no one go without answering certain questions.

The mention of Raiha perhaps, implies a war in the north. But the Aryan hero did not want to be "let go;" but to "smite" Akhtya. Raiha is termed "the water" (xvi. 63), and elsewhere mention is made of the Steppes of Raiha. But it was the "the Water Raiha," that Vifra-navâza, marching to the assistance of Thraêtaõna, called for aid; and certainly he had not marched three days southward to reach *it*, from his home. The Steppes of Raiha are, more probably, the desert plains of Margiana, than those of the Jaxartes.

xxiv. 104. Zarathustra offered to her in Airyana-Vaêja, the Aryan country, praying that he might ally himself with Kava Vîstâçpa, the son of Aurvat-Açpa, that he might think, speak and act according to the law.

Which would seem to indicate that Vîstâçpa was not originally a believer in the creed of Zarathustra, but a convert, even if he was an Aryan. It seems, also, that Zarathustra was supposed to have lived, taught and ruled in Airyana Vaëja, the first place created by Ahura, according to the first Fargard of the *Vendîdâd*.

xxv. 107. The Bérëzaidhi, Kava Vîstâçpa, offered to her, behind the water Frazdânu, praying that he might

slay him springing from darkness, the evil-knowing [infidel, or malignant] and hostile Daeva-worshipper, and the evil Aréjat-Açpa, here in the war of the world. ['Springing from darkness' is, coming from the north country; and 'here in the war of the world,' means, in the war now being carried on here in the Aryan land. 'Aréjat-Açpa,' Spiegel says, 'is the Ardjâçp, a Turanian King, of the later mythology.]

xxvi. 111. Açpâyaödha Zairivairis, behind the water Dâitya [West of that river I think], offered to her, praying that he might smite the Pêshô-Chniha Astô-Kâna endued with much craft, worshipping the Daevas, and the infidel Aréjat-Açpa, in the wars of the Aryan country.

xxvii. 115. And Aréjat-Açpa, the son of Vaûdaëmano, offered to her at the sea Vôuru-Kasha, praying that he might smite Vîstâçpa and the Açpâyaödha-Zairivairi and the Aryan region; which was not granted.

In the *Ashi Yasht* (*Kh. Av. xxxiii. 17*), are recitals of offerings to Ashis-Vañuhi, by Haôshyañha, Yima, Thraêtaõna, Haõma, the Promoter, Huçrava, behind the Sea Chaêchaçta, Zarathustra in Airyana Vaëja, and Vîstâçpa. The prayers of each are nearly the same as in the other Yashts. Haôshyañha prays that

he may smite the Mazanian Daevas [Yima], that he may bring fat herds and long life to the creatures of Mazda, keeping away hunger, thirst, old age and death, hot wind and cold [i. e., may settle them in a temperate and healthy country].

Zarathustra prays that

he may ally himself with Hutaõça, for thinking, speaking and acting the law; [and that she may] guard the Mazdayaçnian law in the heart, and afterwards praise, and afford him good praise for the work.

Vîstâçpa prayed that he might rout in battle Asta-Aurva, the son of Viçpo-thaurvo-açti, the all-tormenting [the scourge of the Aryans], with broad helm, great bravery, large head, possessing seven hundred camels; and afterwards, the destroying Qyaonian Aréjat-Açpa, and Darshinika, the Daeva-worshipper; that he might smite down the unbelievers belonging to darkness [infidel invaders from the north], and Cpiûjairita, the unbelieving, and might 'attain as well-wise to the regions of Varedhakas and Qyaõnya' [slaying vast numbers of the Qyaonians].

This favour he obtained. "Attaining as well-wise the regions" means reaching with his troops, by his generalship, those countries, and conquering them.

In the *Zamyad Yasht* (*Kh. Av. xxxv. 19*), we are told that when the Kingly Majesty departed from Yima,

when he, untrue, began to love lying speech [i. e., probably, departed from the faith and professed false doctrines], it went in succession to Mithra, to Thraētaōna, and to Kērēçâçpa; who, after his exploit with the serpent Çruvara, smote Gaûdarëwa, the golden-heeled, who went about with open mouth, seeking to slay the corporeal world of purity [raided through the country, murdering the faithful]. He smote also the descendants of the nine robbers, the sons of Nivika, the sons of Dâstâyâni, Hitâçpa with the golden tuft, and Vaëshava, the son of Dâna and Pitaona, possessing many Pairikas. He smote Arëzo-Shamana, gifted with manly courage, and who extorts the tribute from the enemy of his race;

that he was strong, beloved and desired; and he smote Çuâvidhaka, smiting with hoofs, with stone hands, who, being a minor, proposed when he should come of age to make the earth a wheel for himself and heaven a chariot; and to capture Çpënta-Mainyûs and Añra-Mainyûs, and harness them to his chariot.

The Kingly Majesty also united itself to the Kavis, Kavata, Aipivohu, Uçadhan, Arshna, Pishina, Byarshâna and Çyâvarshâna, making all of them kings, who accomplished great deeds. And it united itself with Kavi Huçrava, also, who bound the destroying Turanian Frañraçyana, the rider of foals, the son of the maiden of Çyâvarshâna, the man slain by violence, and Aghraê-ratha, the descendant of Naru. We thus have this glimpse of ancient Aryan history, that Çyâvarshâna was overcome and killed by the Turanians, and his daughter taken as a wife by Aghraê-ratha, descendant of Naru, the Turanian chief. These were the parents of Frañracê, the destroying Turanian. So verse 77 of the *Zamyad Yasht* plainly reads; though verses 38 of the *Ashi-Yasht*, 22 of the *Gosh-Yasht*, and verse 18 of the same, seem rather to make Huçrava himself the grandson of Çyâvarshâna.

In the *Farvardin Yasht* (99, 100), is this singular passage, as to Vîstâçpa, the Pure:

He, the Mighty [it is said], whose body is the Mañthra, who has mighty weapons, the Ahurian, who with a weapon many-piercing, made a broad road for purity, who, as assistance and help, subjected himself to the Mazdayânian law; who brought forth the firm-placed, bound [law] from the Hunus, and made it sitting in the midst, high-waking, teaching (?), pure, the nourisher and beloved of the cow and of fodder.

That he made, and announced, "a broad road for purity," means that by his conquests he enabled the Ahurian faith to advance, and extend into other regions.

As to the rest, compare the *Zamyad-Yasht*, chapter 14. Here,

the Kingly Majesty attached itself to Vîstâçpa, for thinking, speaking and fulfilling the law, and driving away the Daevas. [He made a broad way, and] threw himself beneath as arm and protector of this Ahurian Mazdayânian law. [And he] brought out *the same, the fast-placed, chained by the Hunus, teaching, and made it sitting in the middle*, high, uplifted, pure, abundance and beloved of meat and fodder, when he smote those belonging to darkness [of the northern regions], possessing wicked law [being of false religion], Peshana, the Dæva-honourer, and the wicked Arêjat-Açpa and the other infidel allies, the Qyaonians. [In Verse 93], he set purity before the wicked hosts, and drove these away to the Druja [the north], out of the Aryan land.

That he threw himself beneath the law, as its arm and protector, and that as assistance and help as an ally, he *subjected* himself to it, may mean, simply, that he became a soldier of the faith, or that, being a Turanian, he became an ally of Zarathustra, and embraced the true faith. In the *Aban-Yasht* he is called the Bérêzaidhi, and Spiegel says, "it is not clear why he is called so."

The Aferîn Paigambar Zartusht (*Kh. Av. xl.*), is a blessing addressed by Zarathustra to Vîstâçpa, wishing him long life and good fortune, with the excellent qualities of the most celebrated heroes whose names we have met with in the Yashts, and of Mithra, Çraôsha, Rashnu and Râma Qâctrâ; but we obtain from it no other information in regard to him than that he was a cotemporary of Zarathustra.

As we find in the *Farvardin Yasht*, verse 106, the expression, "whose body is the Mañthra," applied also to Karaçna, the son of the daughter of Zbaurvâo, whose son Viraçpa is also mentioned, with Azâta and Frâyôdha, also his sons, it is evident that it does not ascribe a spiritual nature to him of whom it is said, but means only that he is a teacher of religion, or officiator at the ceremony of sacrifice, where the Mañthras were repeated.

The Fravashis of Arêjaihâo the Turanian, of the pure Frârâzi, the Turanian, and of Aöighman, the Turanian, are praised in verses 113, 123 and 125, of the *Farvardin Yasht*; so that it is not at all impossible that Vîstâçpa may have been a native ruler and chief.

[Haug says that] *viçta*, for *vitta*, 'having possessed,' from *vid*, 'to possess, get,' is the first part of the name *Viçtâçpa*, the original form of the Greek *Hystaspes*, meaning, 'possessing horses.' (*Essays*, 57, n.)

Açpa, in Zend, means "a horse;" and *Kava* *Vist+açpa* is the son of *Aurvat-açpa*, and slew *Arejat-açpa*, with the aid of the *Açpâyaödha* *Zairivairis*. In the *Aban-Yasht* (98), it is said:

To her offered the Hvô-vas, to her offered the offspring of Naôtara; dominion desire the Hvô-vas, *swift horses the Naôtairê*. Soon after were the Hvô-vas the

most blessed with good things; soon after was the offspring of Naōtara. *Vîstâçpa* in this region *gifted with the swiftest horses.*

Hvô-va, [Spiegel says], is the *Hvô-gva* of the Yaçna, and seems to be a family name. [It means merely 'cattle-owner.']. *Açpâyaodha* means [he says], fighting on horseback.

Aurva, i. e., *Urva+a*, Sanskrit, is the patronymic name of a Rishi or saint. As an adjective, it means "produced by *Urva*." But *uru* means "thigh," and *Urva*, the name of a saint from whose thigh the submarine fire proceeded. *Aurva!* has no connection with this Brahmanic nonsense. *Urvi* means "large," and "the earth," being the feminine of *uru*, i. e., *vri+u*. *Aurvat-açpa* probably means "breeder of horses, keeper of horses, or one chooser of or carer for horses."

Arêjat is, no doubt, from the Sanskrit verb *rij*, for the primitive *raj*; meaning, among other things, "to gain, to desire, to strive for;" whence the Latin *regere, rectus*, and the Greek *òpèγω*. From *râj*, "to govern," comes *raja*, "a king." And *Arejat-açpa* probably had the meaning of "ruler of horses," or perhaps "one covetous of horses."

Vistara, Sanskrit, is "abundance, assemblage, multitude." It is *vi+stri+a*, and *stri* is "to spread, expand," and *vi-stri*, "to spread, diffuse;" whence *vistrita*, "diffused, broad, ample;" *vistûna*, "large, great."

Viç means, in Sanskrit, "to enter, to enter in;" *vishṭa*, its perfect participle, passive, "penetrated, pervaded."

I doubt the possibility of ascertaining the exact meaning of any of these names.

Dr. Haug thus translates vv. 99 and 100 of the *Farvardin Yash*, Spiegel's translation whereof I have given at page 599 *ante*:

We worship the guardian angel of Kavi *Vîstâspa*, who speaks his own verses (such as made by him), the bold, attacker of the devils, the believer in Ahura who defiled* for the benefit of the good creation, the face of the devil and the witches [who cleft the face of the devil and the witches, that is to say, who was the arm and support of the Zoroastrian belief in the living God]; who carried away from the Hunus^o the standard [which was tied] and deposited it in the impregnable fortress, *Maidhyôishâdha*, shielding cattle and fields [favourable to cattle and fields].

If Dr. Haug is right, here, and the *Hunus* are the *Hûnâs*, what becomes of the rule that *h* in Sanskrit is never *h* in Zend?

*The words from *yodruja* to *vacatrahecha* contain fragments of an old epic song in honour of Kavâ *Vîstâspa*, with some interpolations. The metre is the Shloka.

^oThis nation is mentioned by the name *Hûnâs* in Indian writings also, see *Vishnu Purâna*, translated by H. H. Wilson (pages 177, 194). They were hostile to the Iranians, who seem to have often been engaged in war with them. They are the white Huns, who were once the terror of Europe.

I do not know what the Zend word is, that means "law" for Spiegel and "standard" for Haug. The "firm-placed, bound law" of one, and the "standard which was tied" of the other, are equally lucid and valuable.

[Spiegel remarks that] it is not clear why Kavâ Vîstâçpa is called 'The Bérézaidhi.' [Bopp says (§ 903), that *Bérézya* means 'growing,' or, with a causal signification, 'making to grow.' The root, he says, is *bärēz*, *bérēz*=Sanskrit *varh*, *vṛih*, 'to grow.]

And he recalls attention to the fact that in Sanskrit, especially in the Vedic dialect, the root *vardh*, *vṛidh*, with which *varh*, *vṛih* is originally one, is often used in its primitive form with a causal signification. He admits that he has been mistaken in deriving *bérēz*, *bérēzant* from the Sanskrit *bhraj*, "to shine."

Indh, Sanskrit, means "to kindle;" perfect *īdhe*; passive *idhya*; participle perfect *iddha*; also "to shine." *Ind* means "to have supreme power." However derived, *bérēzaidhi* is an epithet meaning, no doubt, "eminent, great," or the like.

In the *Farvardin Yasht*, the Fravashis of a great number of heroes and pious persons are praised. Among these are,

Çaêna, who praises the world (or, is praised throughout the world); who first came forth on this earth with a hundred disciples; Parshat-Gáus who is gone forwards [has emigrated?]; seven descendants of Naôtara, each of whose name is a compound, the former part of which is *Atarē*, 'fire,' i. e., *Atarē-Zantu*, *Atarē-dañhu*.

[In verse 105], Mañthravaka, the son of Çimaeça, the teacher, the lord of the congregation, who smote the most of the sinful, psalm-defiling naught Ashëmaõghas, who are without lord and master, terrible, having wicked Fravashis—in order to withstand the torment which overcomes the pure.

As the very etymology of the name shows, the Ashëmaõghas were an idle people, who scorned and despised labour. They were "naught," and lived, no doubt (of course, indeed), by the chase and marauding. They are without lord and master, because they are nomads, having no settled habitations, and no organized government, each following the banner, perhaps, of any chief whom he might affect. These the son of Çimaêça smote, to put an end to the marauding that was ruinous to the Aryans.

Arshya, "the gatherer," was the most active among the Mazdayaçnians. We are certain as to the meaning of the words rendered "gatherer" and "active."

Of the other heroes praised, we have only the names.

ZARATHUSTRA.

Zarathustra, as we have seen, is said to have offered sacrifices in Airyana Vaēja, the original and fabulous home of the Aryans. But this is a mere idle legend, for he was a contemporary of Vistâçpa, and before this chieftain a long array of Aryan heroes had warred against the Turanians and the predatory tribes of Scythians and Tâtars. It is quite certain that the home of Zarathustra was in some country south of the Oxus; and I think that we have sufficient evidence on which to decide that this country was Bactria.

In the *Farvardin Yasht* (*Kh. Av.* xxix. 13, Chapter 24, Verses 88 to 95), we find the following in regard to Zarathustra. I condense it, by omitting repetitions:

We praise the Fravashi and the holiness of the holy Zarathustra, who first thought, spoke and acted [in ceremonial observance] the true religion, to the first priest, warrior and husbandman, to the first teacher to whom it was taught, etc. Cattle, purity, word, hearing the word, rule, and all good things created by Mazda, which have a pure origin.

The gift to the Aryans of all these things, coming from Ahura Mazda, is ascribed to Zarathustra.

Who is the first priest, warrior and husbandman, who is active, who first made the wheel run forward from the Daeva and the cold man;

which means, perhaps, that he led the Aryans across the Oxus into Bactria, when Sogdiana, their home, was invaded by the Daeva-worshipping Tâtars from the northern regions of Asia;

who first of the Aryan race preached the true religion, which was to annihilate the Daevas, as a believing Mazdayaçnian, a Zarathustrian, devoted to the faith in Ahura-Mazda.

Who first of the Aryans uttered prayers against the Daevas, according to the belief in Ahura, first proved the whole infidel race to be not praiseworthy, not worthy of adoration;

for by "the whole creation of the Daevas" I understand "the infidels;" and the meaning to be that he proved to the Aryans that they were not invincible, but could be resisted successfully, and that it was base to submit to them;

he, the strong, perfectly virtuous, a Paōiryô-ṭkaêsha of the Aryan regions.

In whom the whole of the Mañthras, the true religion was announced ['the pure word']; he, the lord and master of the worlds [chief and supreme ruler of all the Aryan country], the praiser of purity [performer of the ceremonies of religious worship], the greatest, best, fairest, the asker for the law, which is the best for men.

Whom the Amēsha-Çpēntas, all having one will with the sun (for increase of the soul from believing heart), desired should be chief ruler over the country, as questioner concerning the religious creed, which is best for men [questioner of Ahura, and communicator to men of his replies].

At whose birth and growing up the waters and trees increased and augmented, and all the Aryans ('creatures created by the Holy One,' Ahura), rejoiced, saying, 'Joy unto us! The Priest is born, the holy Zarathustra! He will sacrifice for us. He has the Bareçma, and hereafter the Mazdayaçnian law will extend itself over all the Seven Kareshvares. Here will Mithras hereafter bring forth everything most valuable for the regions, and rejoice those who unite themselves. Here, in future, will the navel of the waters [the source of irrigation?], the strong, promote all that is most valuable for the regions, and those who keep themselves allied.

Maidhyô-mâo, the son of Arâcta [we learn from this last verse], first heard from Zarathustra the Mañthra and his teaching [that is, was his first disciple; and, from Verse 97, that] Çâêna first came into the Bactrian region, with a hundred followers.

In *Fargard xix.* Añra-Mainyûs is represented as rushing forth from the northern regions, and directing the Drukhs to slay Zarathustra. They run to or around him, led by the Daeva Bûti, but Zarathustra repeats the prayer Ahuna Vairyâ, and the Drukhs, discomfited, retreat, declaring to Añra-Mainyûs that they see no death in him, but that he is full of brightness. Zarathustra saw in the spirit that they sought to compass his death, and he arose and went forward, unharmed by Aka-Mana's very tormenting questions. What these were, we can only conjecture. Perhaps distressing doubts as to the reality of the existence of Ahura Mazda, supposed to be suggested by an emanation from the spirit of evil; for in one passage we have found Zarathustra expressing such a doubt.

He went, holding stones in the hand, of the size of a Kara, which he had received from Ahura, "to keep them on the earth, the broad, round, hard to run through," a description of the Aryan land, difficult for the movement of troops, and especially of cavalry; "in great strength," i. e., in large bodies,—in the dwelling of Pôrushaçpa.

He threatens Añra-Mainyûs that he will smite the

creation created by the Daevas [the Daeva-worshippers], the Naçus that the Daevas have created; the Pari whom one prays to, until the birth of Çaošhyanç the victorious, out of the water Kançaöya, from the east regions.

"The Pari whom one prays to" was, probably, a chief of the infidels, to whom part of the Aryan population had submitted, and was paying tribute.

Añra-Mainyûs begs him not to slay his creatures, the unbelievers.

Thou art [he says], the son of Pôurushaçpa, and hast life from a mother. Curse the good Mazdayaçnian law, and obtain happiness [favour and prosperity], as Vadhaghna, the Lord of the Regions has done [a renegade Aryan or relapsing Turanian Chief of some portion of the country].

Zarathustra declares that he will not do it, even to save his life; and Añra Mainyûs asks him, tauntingly, with what weapons and by whose word he will defeat the invaders. He answers:

The mortar, cup, Haõma, and these words that Ahura Mazda has spoken—these are my weapons, and the best; by the word and these weapons I will smite and annihilate; these which Çpënta-Mainyus created in the infinite time; which the Amësha-Çpëntas, the good rulers, the Wise, created.

Then he pronounced the prayer Ahuna-Vairyâ, and asked Ahura, Vohû-Manô, Asha-Vahista and Çpënta-Ârmaiti for the means to protect his people from the Drukhs. He is told to praise and invoke Ahura and the various deities and powers, and does so, ending with Çraõsha, praying that he may smite the Daevas Kunda, Bana and Vibana; he who seizes the sinful life of the men who belong to the Drujas, the godless Daevâ-worshippers.

Then Añra-Mainyûs asks what the Daevas will bring together to the head of Arëzûra? They assemble and consult.

The evil eye [they think], we will bring this together to the head of Arëzûra. Alas! The pure Zarathustra is born in the dwelling of Pôurushaçpa! How shall we compass his death? He is the weapon by which they smite the Daevas, the antagonist of the Daevas. He takes their power from the Drukhs, and puts the Daeva-worshippers to flight, the Naçus whom the Daevas have created, and the false faith. So they consult and run to the bottom of Hell.

The whole of this is a vivid picture of the beginning of the career of the Aryan liberator. The people and their chiefs had generally submitted, paying tribute to the invaders, and many accepting their religion. Zarathustra preached no new faith. Vivanhâo, the father of Yima, had worshipped Ahura beyond the Oxus, before his son led the first Iranian emigrants into Bactria. Several rulers succeeded each other after that, but some of those who are most celebrated may have been contemporaries; for many of them are said to have resided beyond various rivers, on whose

alluvial lands, no doubt, distinct colonies of Aryans had settled, each governed by its own chief.

Zarathustra determined to effect the liberation of his people, and to expel the Drukhs from the country. Considerations of prudence, regard for his own comfort, safety and interest, all deemed to be suggested by Añra Mainyûs and the Daevas, sought to dissuade him from the dangerous and apparently hopeless enterprise. Other leaders had submitted, and found it profitable; why should not he? But these considerations had no weight with him. The conquest of the country by those who scoffed at the spiritual and intellectual abstraction called Ahura Mazda, the enemies of the faith, suggested distressing doubts as to His existence and powers, as to the efficacy and potency of prayer and worship; and tempted Zarathustra to believe in the Gods who had given victory to the conquerors. But he was deaf to the questionings of unreason, and announced his reliance upon the true faith, and upon worship and prayer, as the weapons by which to attain success and the liberation of his country.

He rose and went forward, i. e., he gathered a force, and took the field. In his hand, it is said, he carried (according to Spiegel) stones of the size of a Kara, which he had received from Ahura, to keep them in the country; or (according to Haug), a shepherd's crook; announcing his intention to extirpate the unbelievers.

The people, in the part of the country not subjugated, were so constantly harassed and robbed by predatory incursions of Toorkish and Turanian horsemen, as to have no settled homes. Perhaps they were not inclined to the pursuit of agriculture; and their chief occupation, it is plain, was the raising of cattle.

It was on account of this disinclination to agriculture, that Zarathustra made the cultivation of the soil meritorious, and the equivalent of faith and religious observances.

Zarathustra is styled, in the translation, *Vispered ii. 6, 7,*

the holy earthly lord, the lord and master of the earthly creatures, of the earthly creation.

He was, therefore, the monarch over the whole Aryan country and Aryan people. These phrases mean that and no more.

His prayer to Ardvî-çûra, in the *Aban-Yasht*, shows that he effected an alliance with Vistâcpa, and converted him to the Ahurian faith, of which he became an apostle, and also a principal leader of the Aryan forces. Or, at least, he roused him to action from indifference.

In the *Ashi-Yasht* it is said that Zarathustra was the first among men to worship Asha-Vahista, Ahura and the Amêsha-Çpêntas. At his birth

and growth, Añra-Mainyûs ran away from the Aryan country, declaring that not the Yazatas drove him away, but Zarathustra, smiting him with the Ahuna-Vairyâ, with such a weapon as a stone the size of a Kata, making him hot by Asha Vahista, like metal in a furnace, and forcing him to leave the country. And Zarathustra became the favorite of Ashis-Vañuhi.

"The Strong Kingly Majesty attached itself to him, for thinking, speaking and fulfilling the law" (*Zamyad Yasht*, Ch. 13), because of all the Aryans he had the most faith, was the best ruler, the most distinguished, majestic and successful in war. The Scythian invaders fled away before him, and "the sciences" which he "furthered" expelled the Jainos from the country and drove them, by force, to take refuge among the northern unbelievers. And the only Ahuna-Vairyâ that he uttered, that which spread itself abroad, the manifold, and the other afterwards uttered loudly, caused the detested Daevas to hide themselves "in the earth," in the recesses and remote parts of the country. Frañracê the Turanian desired his Majesty, i. e., sought to overthrow him and become King of the country, but it went to Kavâ Huçrava, who slew him, and then to Vistâçpa, who conquered the northern hordes and invaded and "annexed" the country of the Qyaonians. Çaõshyanç and Açtvañ-érëto completed the conquests so begun, and established the United Aryan Empire.

The first Fragment which follows the *Khordah Avesta*, expresses the Zarathustrian faith and creed.

1. Allied with Vohû-Manô, with Asha-Vahista, with Khshathra-Vairyâ, thou shalt announce the worship, the sacred invocations, perpetually to be spoken, to the men and women of the pure Zarathustra.

2. Speak the words, O Zarathustra! For the sacrifices unto and the worship of us Amësha-Çpëntas, that by thee may be praised the waters, the plants, the Fravashis of the pure, the heavenly and the earthly Yazatas, the created gifts of the very good, the pure.

[In the *Ormazd-Yasht*, 4, 5, 9, 10], Zarathustra seeks to know from Ahura Mazda, which is the most efficacious of his names, that will most effectually punish the Daevas and men for their cruelties to the Aryans, that he may punish all Daevas and their men, all sorcerers and Pairikas;

and is told twenty names, by which he may punish these, and the Çâthras, Kavis and Karapanas; the destructive men, and two-legged Ashëmaõgha.

In the *Amshaspands' Yasht*, Zarathustra is directed to smite every Drukh, drive away every Drukh in the country; and the *Yasht Ardibehest* is altogether a recital of the exploits of Asha-Vahista, which are really those of the Aryan troops; and it is *predicted* that all the Drukhs will flee away

(i. e., it is recited, in the form of a prophecy that they *have* gone away), to the north, to the land of death.

In the *Yasht-Khordat*, the Naçu, the Hashi, the Bashi, the Çäni and the Buji are to be smitten; and the faithful are to be no more molested by them, by the hosts of many foes, the banners uplifted by many, the hostile infidels; the naked dagger, sorcerers and the Pairika Urvaçta; and the Naçu are to be driven away with stretched out weapons and hard death, and the Naçu to be smitten with the knife, destroyed in seed, and relations slain.

These are mortal, human, and not spiritual or demonic enemies.

The Daevas, so far as I have traced the meanings of their names, are vices, passions, wrongs and evils, personified.

The Naçus, it will be remembered, is said in the *Fargards* of the *Vendîdâd* that treat of the dead, to come from the north, in the shape of a fly, bringing corruption and rottenness. It is from the Sanskrit verb *naç* (the base of many forms whereof, and probably the original root, is *naño*), “to disappear, to perish;” causal, *nâcaya*, “to cause to disappear, to efface, destroy, extinguish.” It is the original of the Greek *vékus*, *vékpos*, etc., and the Latin *pernicious*, *pernecare*, *nocere*. We retain it in the word “necrology.” *Naçus* is putrefaction; and the Naçus takes the shape of a fly, because this insect deposits its eggs in putrefying flesh, and these become maggots.

Buṭ, Sanskrit, is “to kill;” and Añra-Mainyûs employed the Daeva *Bûiti* to kill Zarathustra.

Aeshma, as I have shown before, is “rapine;” and *Bushyança*, “laziness.”

Jahi, “the very hurtful, unclean and wicked man, the godless,” who, it is said in *Fargard* xxi. 1, 2, slays the pure yet unborn, or the cattle, and whom the luminaries are directed to torment, in verse 35, was, no doubt, an infidel chief; but his name is from the Sanskrit *jash*, “to kill, to wound.” *Jas*, and its causal *jasaya* have the same meaning. The suffix *i* forms feminine abstracts; as in *kṛîshi*, “the ploughing;” *rañhi*, “quickness,” (Sanskrit); and *vérēidhi*, “increase, fortune” (Zend).

Jahi is mentioned also in the *Yasht Ardibehest*, as allied with sorcerers. *Kaquji* is, perhaps, formed by reduplication from the Sanskrit *ku*, which as the former part of compound words means “bad, false, wicked, shameful, foolish,” etc.

Of the Daevas named in the *Yasht Khordat*, verse 3, with the Naçu, the Buji seem to have their name from the Sanskrit *bhuj*, “to bend, make crooked, incline one’s self, stoop,” and the word may mean “submissive-ness.” *Bashi* is from the Sanskrit *bash*, *vash*, “to hurt, kill.” *Hashi* is from the Sanskrit *çash*, *ças*, *sas*, “to hurt, kill.”

“The evil *Aktya*, the dark,” mentioned in the *Aban-Yasht*, whom Yaçtô-Fryananañm desired to smite, and to answer him the ninety-nine

questions, "the fearful, allied to torment, when *Akhtya*, the evil, dark, asks me," may be "sin, impurity," from the Sanskrit *agh*, "to sin;" *agha*, from a verb *aṅgh*, "sin, impurity." Also *aktu*, Vedic, means "night;" but how derived I do not find. Sin and darkness were synonymous. What the questions asked by *Akhtya* were, it is not possible to say with confidence; but, probably, they were the distressing and tormenting doubts, which sin and darkness force upon the mind.

In the *Mihr-Yasht*, 93, the protection of Mithra is invoked against the "evil assault of *Aēshma*, which the evil *Aēshma* causes, with *Vidhotus* created by the Daevas." *Vi*, in compounds, means "separation, privation." *Dhotus* is from *dhu* and *dhū*, "to shake off, to struggle, to resist." *Vidhotus*, therefore, is "non-resistance," or "submission."

Mogha, Sanskrit, "vain, useless." *Ās*, "to sit, abide, stay, spend time in doing something, do something a long time." *Ashemaōgha* may mean "vain, idle, useless, delaying, dilatoriness, procrastination."

In the *Bahram-Yasht*, *Karō-Maçyō* is spoken of, "under the water, in *Rañha*," as far-sighted. *Maçyō* is = Sanskrit *Matsya*, "a fish." The derivation of *Karō* is uncertain. *Khara*, Sanskrit, is "solid, sharp;" and from *char*, "to spy" is the noun *chara*, "a spy." As the Sanskrit *paschat* becomes in Zend *paskat*, I think *Karō* is the equivalent of *chara*; and that the whole name meant "spy-fish."

Rañha is probably from the Sanskrit *raṅg*, "to go, move," or *raṅgh*, "to go, to move swiftly," whence, perhaps, *rantu*, "a river;" but of what swift river it was the name is uncertain. It is said that it was very great and deep; and it may have been the Jaxartes.

Zarathustra is called, in the *Farvardin-Yasht* (152), the *Paoiryō-ṭkaēshas*; and the Fravashis of the *Paōiryō-ṭkēshas* and *Nabānazdistas* are praised, in verse 156; and

Paōiryō-ṭkēshas of the dwellings, clans, confederacies and regions, who were, who existed, who are and who shall be. [In vv. 150, 151, Spiegel says that this name means, probably, 'those of the former faith,' or 'the Patriarchs.' *Nabānazdistas* he translates by 'nearest relations.']}

Puras, Sanskrit, means "forward, before, in front, in presence, eastward, from the east." *Purā*, "formerly, of old, first, soon;" *puru*, "much, many, exceeding." *Purā*, became, in the Greek, πάροι and πάλαι. *Pura* forms *paura*, i. e., *pura+a*, "citizen, belonging to a town;" *paurava*, "descended from *Puru*;" *paurāna*, "relating to past ages;" *paurika*, "citizen," etc. *Tkaēsha* is the Sanskrit *dīkshā*, "consecration, religious observances, devotion, undergoing religious observances, engaging in a course of austeries;" from *dīksh* (originally a desiderative of *daksh*), "to hallow one's self, to prepare one's self for a sacred act;" causal, *dikshaya*, "to initiate."

It seems, therefore, that *paōiryô-tkaêsha* meant "one of the initiates of an ancient order," or, "one of a class consecrated of old to religious service;" perhaps, "an ascetic." "They," the *Farvardin Yasht* says, "first heard the precepts, and have done battle for the faith."

Navana, i. e., *nu+ana*, Sanskrit, means "praising;" *anagha*, "sinless, pure, unblameable;" and *dish̄ti*, i. e., *diç+ti*, is an exclamation implying "joy, auspiciousness." *Diç* means "to show, produce, denote, give, command;" *dish̄ta* (participle), "shown, determined, command, fate;" causal, *deçaya*, "to point out, order, govern."

The Zend *z* represents the Sanskrit *gh*; and *Nabânazdista*, may mean "director of religious praise or worship."

In the *Farvardin Yasht* (139), the Fravashis of "the pious" Hvôvi, Frêni, Thriti and Pôru-Chiçta are praised.

The first [Spiegel says], is the wife of Zarathustra; and the others, three of his daughters.

He gives no authority for this; and it is, no doubt, a mere figment of the later age.

ORIGIN OF THE ZARATHUSTRIAN RELIGION.

Dr. Haug (*Essays*, 225), by way of preliminary to the discussion of the question as to the origin of the Zarathustrian religion, first considers the relationship between it and the Brahmanic religion. He thinks that certain traces of an originally close connection are found in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta.

He first notices the use made in these books of the names Deva and Asura (Ahura in Zend). The Devas, originally the shining denizens of the sky, the luminaries of heaven, became, he says, the accursed evil Daevas of the Zend-Avesta. This proves that these luminaries were worshipped before the Zend emigration, led by Yima, crossed the Oxus; and that when Zarathustra taught his religion, he stigmatized these as creatures of Añra-Mainyûs, and inspirers of all wickedness and spoliation. So the Hebrews stigmatized Baal and Malak, though each was, originally, the sun. It proves the same thing in regard to Indra, The Light; but it does not prove that he so stigmatized the Devas as adored in the Veda. If the emigration and separation of the Indo-Aryans had not occurred until the Vedic worship had become general, all the Vedic Deities would have become demons alike; and that Agni, Varuna, Pushan and others were not so, and are not even named in the Zend-Avesta, proves that they were not known when the emigration took place. The Fire continued to be adored, but not by the name Agni; and Mithra was adored as the Light, probably his ante-Vedic meaning.

Assuming that Ahura and Asura are the same word, he remarks that in the oldest parts of the *Rig Veda*, the word "Asura" is used in as good and high a sense as in the Zend-Avesta; but that in the Purânic literature, and even in the later parts of the *Rig Veda*, it is applied to the bitterest enemies of the Devas, with whom they are constantly waging war. In the *old* Veda the highest deities are honoured with the epithet "Asura," which means "living, spiritual," signifying the divine, in opposition to the human nature.

This method of jumping from a false premise to a foregone conclusion is exceedingly vexatious, when what we want is a patient, careful, accurate diagnosis of the intellectual conceptions and notions of an ancient people, and not a gaudy picture of what it is imagined by the painter their belief *ought* to have been.

To obtain anything like a correct idea of what the Indo- and Irano-Aryans really believed, we must give, if we can find them out, to the words

used in the Veda and Zend-Avesta their most ancient, primitive and original meaning; and no translator has the right to use a word that expresses a modern notion or conception, or is a mere cant term without any meaning, like many that are constantly in use, and are especially favourable to religious disputes, when he cannot but know that it had no equivalent in the language from which he translates.

As, in Sanskrit, means, simply "to be, to exist;" *asu*, "life;" and *asura*, of course, "living;" although Benfey gives the last as meaning "eternal," in *Rig Veda i. 64. 2*. Dr. Haug had no right to say that it meant "spiritual," and thence to skip to the conclusion that it signified the divine. Long after the time of the *Rig Veda*, it was used to signify a male or female evil being. In that sense it may have been derived from a different root. There is another verb *as*, that meant "to shine;" and we have also *sur*, "to possess superhuman power, to shine;" and from the latter, *Sura*, "a God, the sun, a sage," which, with the negative participle *a* prefixed would give *Asura*. And that this is its derivative seems likely from the fact that *Suradvish* was an *asura* or demon. Or it may have come from *su*, "to beget, to bring forth, bear," and *asu*, "barren, sterile."

But the original meaning was, I have no doubt, "shining;" and *Deva Asura* meant "shining luminary;" the original verb being probably, *ash*, cognate of *ush*, "to burn," whence the Greek $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\omega$, "inflame," Latin *uro*, "burn." The sky itself is called *Asura* in *Rig Veda i. and iii.* and, as meaning "living," the word would have been inappropriately applied to the sky. The name "Asura" is repeatedly applied in the Veda to Varuna, as an epithet, but before the eighth Mandala was composed, or at least before some of the hymns in it were, other Asuras had become antagonists of Indra, and he is represented as warring against them. (See *Mand. viii. 35. 9* and *5. 3*.) When, upon the rise of Brahmanism, the Asuras became evil beings, fables were of course invented to account for it; and the legends ran that originally the Asuras, like the Gods, were good; and that dissensions arose between them, followed by war, in which the Asuras, sometimes victorious, were at last defeated forever,

There is no doubt that Ahura is the same word as Asura, and that the latter had the sense of shining, and no evil sense, at the time of the separation of the two races. Afterwards, Zarathustra selected it to be the name of the Deity; or Vivanhâo did it, before him.

Even the malignant spirits were called Devah, in the post-Vedic times. In the *Taittereya Sanhita, iii. 5. 4. 1*, we have

the Devah, destroyers of sacrificers, stealers of sacrifices, who inhabit the earth
[and in the *Atharva Veda iii. 15. 5*]: the Gods who are destroyers of happiness.

That "the Asuri metres, used in the Yajurveda, are found in the Gâthâs shows clearly that the old Gâthâ literature of the Zend-Avesta was perfectly known to the Rishis who compiled the Yajurveda, though they are never found in the *Rig Veda*," if true, would not tend to prove any relationship between the Vedic and Zarathustrian religions.

Of a great importance, for the original close relationship between the Brahmanic and Parsee religions, is, that several of the Indian Gods are actually to be found by their very names, in the Zend-Avesta, some as devils, others as angels.

The first of these is *Indra* (Aindra, mentioned in *Fargard x. 17*, with Çauru, Nâoñhaiti, Tauru and Zairichi, as Daevas, to be fought against and driven away from the dwelling, village and region.)

Burnouf proposed the identification of *Andra* and *Indra*. Spiegel says that the name *Andra* occurs in only one other passage, where he believes it interpolated. And, as quoted by Dr. Muir, he says:

It is said by some that the *Andra* of the Avesta is the *Indra* of the Vedas, that *Nâoghaithya* answers to *Nasatyas*, and *Saurva* to *Sarva*. Here, from a real fact, a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The *names* are the same in both religious systems, but how far the *things* resemble each other, can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haöma, etc.; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question.

I do not believe that the names *are* the same. Similarity is not identity, and does not prove identity.

Andh, in Sanskrit, means "to be blind;" *andha*, "blind;" *andhra*, "the name of a people." The Zend suffix *ra* makes an adjective, and would form *andra*, "blinding."

Nasatya, in Sanskrit is *na+a+satya*, *satya* meaning "true." *Nâoñhaiti* (or *Naoghaiti*) cannot be derived from that; but *naç*, the base of many forms being *nañç*, means "to be lost, to perish;" whence *naçaya*, "to destroy, to violate;" *nâca* "loss, destruction, death." As the Sanskrit *mâs*, "moon," becomes in Zend *mâoñh*; *namas*, *nëmañh*; *manas*, *manañh*; *nâs*, *nâsâ*, *nâsikâ*, "nose," *naoñha*; *as*, *asya*, *aoñh*; so *naç*, *nâca* becomes *naoñha*; and the termination *iti* made the abstract (*Bopp*, §844), *Nâoñhaiti*, "the destroying, or the destroyer, or the violator."

Çauru is either from the Sanskrit *çur*, *sûr*, "to hurt or kill;" or *çri*, "to hurt, to wound," whence *çîrna*, "withered, wasted, decayed;" *çari*, "hurtful;" *çaru*, "passion, anger;" *çarâru*, "mischievous, hurtful." And *u* in Sanskrit and Zend, as a suffix forms adjectives (*Bopp*, §925). *Çauru* therefore means "hurtful, or mischievous;" or may be a noun, "hurt, hurting, mischief."

Turv, Sanskrit, is "to overcome, to hurt;" and *tur*, "to hurt." Hence, probably, *Tauru*.

From *hṛi*, Sanskrit, “to take, seize, steal,” whence *hâraka*, “a taker, a rogue,” comes also *hairika*, “a thief;” *hâraka*, “a thief, a plunderer, a rogue.” As the Sanskrit *h* becomes *z* in Zend in many cases, *hairika* readily gives us *Zairicha*, in Zend—“the thief, robber, plunderer.”

Andra or *Aindra* is, of course, an appellation like the others with which it is associated; and has nothing to do with the Vedic light-god, *Indra*.

As little has *Caurva* (from the same root as *Cauru*) anything to do with *Çarva* or *Sharva*, as a name of Siva. Siva was not known even in the Vedic times; and as Indra does not appear in the Zend-Avesta, we must conclude that his worship had not arisen when the emigration of Yima took place.

Dr. Haug then instances Mithra, as being the Mitra of the Veda. How can it be explained, if Indra and the Devas became evil spirits to the Irano-Aryans, that Mitra did not become so likewise; or that they did not accept as gods or angels, Varuna and Aryaman as well as Mitra?

The latter, only upon the hypothesis that Mitra was known and revered at the time of the separation, and the others not until afterwards. Mitra and Varuna had become, before the Vedas were composed, the morning and evening stars. The morning star, large and brilliant, especially in that region of the world (“Lucifer, light-bearer, Φωσφόρος, light-bringer”), appearing before the dawn and announcing its coming, would naturally be noticed and worshipped long before the evening star, which merely follows the sun. And as this planet was Venus, it explains the known fact that Mitra was at first a female deity.

Aryaman was the Planet Mars, and not to be at all “recognized in the genius Airyama of the Zend-Avesta.” Nor does Aryaman, in the Vedas, mean “friend, associate, deity or genius.” He was the planet Mars.

Bhaga, another deity of the Vedas [Dr. Haug continues to say], belonging to the same class as Mitra and Aryaman (to the so-called Adityas), is to be recognized in the word *Baga* of the Zend Avesta, which word is, however, not there employed as a name of a particular divine being, but conveys the general sense, ‘god, destiny.’ From it [he says], comes the Slavic word *Bog*, ‘God.’

Bhaga, in the Veda, I concluded in *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans*, was certainly a luminary, most probably Mercury or Saturn. It is from *bhaj*, which means, among other things, “to enjoy carnally, to love, to serve, to worship,” and has in the later books various derivative meanings, “divine power, fortune, beauty, virtue,” etc. *Baghô* occurs in *Fargard xxi. 22*, in the phrase, “the Air which the *Baghas* have created;” and Spiegel considers it to mean “God.” I find in Sanskrit *vaha*, meaning “air, wind, a river,” etc., from *vah*, “to draw, carry, move, flow, breathe;” or *va*, “to

blow, as the wind;" or *vāngh*, "to move swiftly," which was probably the oldest form, and is the same as *vakh*. There is nothing in common between these wind-spirits, who create the *air* "that works on high," and the Planet *Bhaga* of the Veda. This "air," it will be remembered, is flame.

Aramati—a female genius in the Veda, and meaning devotion, piety, is apparently identical with the *Archangel Armaiti*, which has exactly the same two meanings in the Zend-Avesta She is called a virgin, who comes with butter-offerings, morning and evening, to Agni; a celestial woman, who is brought by Agni.

Aramati is an utterly unimportant female deity in the Veda, barely named, and as to whose functions nothing is known. The name is of the same meaning, etymologically, in fact, is the same word as *Ārmaiti*; and she was probably the deity of growth or production, and revered as such before the emigration of Yima.

Naraçança [Dr. Haug says], an epithet of several Vedic Gods, such as Agni, Pushan, Brahmanaspati (but chiefly of Agni), is identical with *Nairyō-cantha*. . . . The word means 'one praised by men, i. e., renowned.'

In *Mandala x. 92. 11*, "the firm-limbed Naraśansa" is named, with Yama, Aditi and others. In *Mandala v. 46. 3*, *Sainsa* is named, with Brahmaṇaspati, Bhaga and Savitṛi. Manu says that the waters are called *nârâ*, because they are the offspring of Nara. In the *Mahâbhârata*, *Nara* and *Narayana* are called Venerable Rishis; and in another passage of the same, they are Krishna and Arjuna. Narasansa is, in the original, "Nara-samsas."

The Vedic God Vayu (wind, chiefly the morning wind) is to be recognized in the Genius *Vayu* of the Zend-Avesta.

Vayu is represented in the Veda as accompanying Indra; and sometimes as the same as Indra. He is universally considered to be the Wind; but I think I have shown, in *The Faith and Worship of the Aryans* [an unpublished work of General Pike], that he was the Flame. And I am quite as clear that "The Air [Vayu] which works on high" in the *Ram Yasht*, is also Flame, as I have said in speaking of that Yasht.

Vayu is the only Vedic deity named in the Gâthâs. An Aryan deity, older than the Veda or the emigration of Yima, he is still adored, in his proper character of the Flame, both in the Vedas and Zend-Avesta, and carries us back to the time when the luminaries of the sky and powers of nature were the only gods of the Aryans.

The *Vērēthragna* of the Zend-Avesta is not the same as *Vṛitrahâ*, "Vṛitra-killer," an epithet of Indra. I think I have shown that the name means "victory."

From identity of original deities, of heroes, and of sacrificial and religious observances, set forth by him, Dr. Haug concludes that

in the Vedas, as well as in the earlier portions of the Zend-Avesta, there are sufficient traces to be discovered that the Zoroastrian religion arose out of a vital struggle against that form of the Brahmanic religion, which it had assumed at a certain early period. Both creeds are known as diametrically opposed to one another, in both scriptures. One is called the belief of the Asuras (Ahura in Zend), the other, that of the Daevas.

And he thinks that the fact that the Asuras were originally good beings, names of the Devas themselves,

clearly shows, that there must have been once a vital struggle between the professors of the Deva and those of the Ahura religion, in consequence of which the originally good meaning of *Asura* was changed to a bad one.

I do not see the force of the argument. On the contrary, the proven facts seem to me to lead to a contrary conclusion. Before the separation of the two families, not only Ahura and the Amēsha-Çpēntas were not known or conceived of, but also Agni, Indra, Varuna, and all the hypostases of the fire, except Vayu, the flame. Vishnu, the heat; Tvashtṛi, the melting power, and all the rest were as yet not heard of. Only the luminaries and certain potencies of nature were worshipped, and the Aryans or warrior race had the same deities as the other Tātar tribes inhabiting the north of Asia.

For all the divinities that continued to be revered by both, after the separation, were luminaries, like Mitra, the morning star, and other Asuras, or powers of nature and phenomena, like Armaiti, "production," and Vayu, "flame."

Among the Indo-Aryans, when the Vedas were composed, the worship of the stars had been abandoned, or these had become divinities whose original nature was forgotten, like Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman, Bhaga and Aṁsa, the planets, and the higher faith of the fire-worship had taken the place of the old star-worship; which is proven by the attributes now ascribed to the stars and by the fact that stars unknown to the Veda continued to be revered among the common people of the other family, and their worship was finally restored.

While the Zarathustrian faith had still more completely caused the old gods to be no longer revered; and afterwards the worship of Tistrya, Vañant and other stars was being revived among the Irano-Aryans, Brahmanism was growing up in India, and at last Agni and Varuna and many other of the old gods disappeared, the conception of Brahm, the source of all being had its birth, and that of the Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. India was then being conquered by one family, while the other was extending

its colonies towards Media. Each met with native tribes to overcome, all of whom worshipped the hosts of heaven; and while the Irano-Aryans, at a much earlier date, had come to regard the Devas, that is, the Lights of the Sky, as false gods, because they were worshipped by those whom it was their destiny to subjugate, the Indo-Aryans, likewise, partly for that reason, no doubt, and partly because of the growth of the Brahmanic creed, came, in the same way, to regard the Asuras as the Israelites did Baal, and the Egyptians, Typhon.

There is not the slightest expression in the Zend-Avesta to warrant even a suspicion that those whom the Irano-Aryans called Turans, Drukhs, and by their many tribal names, were of the Aryan race. On the contrary, it is perfectly evident that they were native tribes, like the Dasyus in India, occupying different portions of the country and having different names, (one of them Turans); and a large force of invading Tatars or Toorkhs "from the north country, the land of darkness," to which it is often said they were to be forced to return, and to which also the native tribes which, once conquered and converted, had apostatized and allied themselves with the Drukhs, were to be forced to flee.

The honour paid in the Veda to the memory of Yima or Yama, who led the Irano-Aryan emigration across the Oxus, and to the memories of the "fathers" who went with him and who followed him afterwards, shows that nothing had occurred, when the later Veda (i. e., the eighth to the tenth Mandala) was written, to break or weaken the bonds of friendship between the two great branches of the Aryan family; and that the stream of emigration still continued to flow on in the track of Yima.

Nor was there any ground or reason of quarrel or persecution. The Indo-Aryans hated the religion and deities of the Drukhs, because they dreaded and hated the Drukhs themselves. Religious persecutions never grew out of changes of deities in the ancient world. No religious persecution ever occurred among the Greeks and Romans; and any new god was readily accepted by them, and honoured with a place in the Pantheon. The Romans were willing to pay that honour to Christ; and the Christians were persecuted, because, lacking the same catholicism, they offered indignities to the pagan gods. The Hebrews detested Baal and Moloch, Chemosh and Remphan, because they were the gods of their enemies and oppressors; but Yehuah continued to be their Malak and Aloh and Adonai, and Solomon naturalized foreign gods at Jerusalem, and built temples to them; nor did God cease to be called Al or El.

Neither was there any reason for bitterness and persecution. Fire, the highest deity of the Indo-Aryans, continued to be, with the Irano-Aryans, the son of Ahura Mazda, Himself only the Highest Light. There are no denunciations of fire-worshippers in the Zend-Avesta; but only of

the Daevas, who had become spiritual beings, evil spirits, progeny of or emanations from Aîra-Mainyûs through Akô-Manô; and were no longer what they were to the ancestors of both families, or to the Vedic Aryans. An old name was applied to new and different beings.

The grand religious struggle, which Dr. Haug imagines,

the consequence of which was the entire separation of the ancient Iranians from the Brahmans and the foundation of the Zoroastrian religion [must have taken place, he thinks, at the time when Indra was the chief god of the Brahmans; and that this was] at that early period to which we must assign the composition of the majority of the Vedic hymns.

The Trimurti of the later religion (of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) never being alluded to in the Zend-Avesta, "we must assign to the struggle," he thinks, "a much earlier date." Of course it follows that the emigration of the Irano-Aryans took place from the country of the Seven Rivers; and that is an hypothesis that cannot be maintained.

The Priests and Prophets of the Devas [he says], are mentioned by the names *Kavi*, *Karapan* and *Uçikhs*, in the Gâthâs (*Yaç.* 32. 14; 46. 11; 44. 20; 48. 10; and 51. 14). Of these names [he says], the first is of very frequent occurrence in the Veda; the third is occasionally to be met with there; and of the second, the verb (*kalpayati*) and noun (*kalpa*) are very frequently employed. *Kavi*, which means in the classical Sanskrit, 'poet,' is, in the Vedic songs the name of seers and priests (*Rig Veda i.*, 128. 8; 142. 8; 188. 1); by drinking the Soma juice, the power of *Kavi* is attainable (*i.* 91. 14); the word therefore is applied to the Soma priests: these *Kavis* or seers, being believed to be in possession of divine revelation and secret wisdom, were consulted as prophets (*i.* 164. 6; *vii.* 86. 3). The Gods themselves, chiefly Agni, are called by this name (*ii.* 23. 1; *iii.* 14. 1.), which circumstance clearly shows that it was a high title, which could only be given to the heads and spiritual guides of the ancient Brahmanic community.

Synonymous with this name is *Uçij*, which exactly corresponds to *ucikhs* (Nom., *Yaç.*, *xliv.* 20) in the Gâthâs. It means a wise, intelligent man, as one may see from such passages as *Rig Veda ii.* 21. 5 and *x.* 46. 2, and *Shâṅkhâyana's Grihya Sûtra*, where it changes place with *Kavi*, as is the case in *Yaçna xliv.* 20, also.

By *Karapanô*, who are mentioned together with the *Kâvayas* in the Gâthâs, we must understand chiefly the sacrificial priests, the performers of the sacrifices [I really do not see *why* we 'must'], these men who are known now-a-days to the Brahmans by the name of *Shrotyas*. As to its grammatical formation, this word is derived from a root *karap*, which wholly corresponds to the Sanskrit root *kalp*, 'to perform a ceremony;' whence the word *kalpa*, 'the ritual, the doctrine of the ceremonies,' is derived.

Those two names *Kavi* and *Karapan*, designate in the fullest sense all the spiritual guides of the professors of the Deva religion, who tried to put down the worshippers of the Ahura-Mazda religion; and we necessarily find, therefore, a bad meaning attached to them in the Gâthâs. This appears the more strange, as the word *Kavi* itself forms part of highly celebrated personages of the Iranian antiquity,

such as Kavi Huçrava, Kavi Kavâta, Kavi Vistâçpa, etc.; and has become, in its derived adjectival form, *Kayanian*, the name of a whole lineage of ancient Bactrian rulers.

In *Yaçna xxxii. 14, 15*, those who are willing to see a division of the Aryan land, give aid to the Kavayas; and Zarathustra threatens to drive away the Karapas and Kevitayas, to those who are repudiated as rulers. In *Khordah Av. xxi. (Aban Yashî)*, these seem to be meant by the Çathras, Kaöyas and Karapanas.

In *Yaçna xiv. 11*, the Karapas and Kavis are said to have united themselves to the foreign rulers, in order by rapine and violence to ruin the Aryan country. In *Yaçna xlivi. 20*, the foreigners have enabled the Karapas and Uçickhschas to maraud upon the cattle of the Aryans, and the Kavas have become rich. In *Yaçna xlvi. 10* (Spiegel), I do not find either of these names. In *l. 14*, the Karapas are said to be workers of mischief to the Aryans, either by means of their raids, or in respect to the husbandry of the latter; and in verse 12, the Vaepayas and Kevinas are said not to have satisfied Zarathustra at the bridge Chinvat.

I do not see why Dr. Haug should not just as well have claimed these also, or any other of the Turanian tribes that are mentioned, for "priests, prophets, and spiritual guides of the Deva religion;" for I do not find a hint that any of them were such.

Now it is certainly not very strange that there should be a native tribe called Kavayas, Kava of Kavi, although Kava was also an Iranian title. One cannot open a Sanskrit dictionary without finding words spelled alike, but meaning very different things. For example:

Kavi, Sanskrit, i. e., *ku+i*, means in the Veda, 'a wise man, wise, a sage;' in later works 'a poet,' and is a name. It also means 'the bit of a bridle;' and *kava*, as the first part of compound words, means 'inferiority;' as in *kavaoshña*, 'slightly warm;' while *kavacha* means 'mail' (armour), and *kavara*, 'a braid of hair;' and *kavala*, 'a mouthful.' *Kâvya*, i. e., *kavi+ya* means 'coming from old sages,' in the *Mahabharata*, and in the same work is a surname of Uçanas, and *Kâveri* is the name of a river. [In *Rig Veda i. 121. 12*, Kâvyah Uçanâ is said to have made the thunderbolt and given it to Indra, and in the *Taittareya Sanhita* (*ii. 5. 8. 5* and *ii. 5. 11. 8*), we find, 'Agni was the messenger of the gods, Kâvya Uçanâs of the Asuras; Agni was the messenger of the gods, *Daiyya* of the Asuras.' (Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 86. 201.)]

For other examples of like differences of meaning, see *kâla*,

'due season, time, a black poisonous snake, and the name of a female demon, of Durgâ and Rudra.' *Soma*, 'the acid juice of the *Sarcostema viminalis* and a mountain-range,' as well as 'camphor.'

When two or three roots, composed of identically the same letters, have as many radically different meanings, the derivative words often become exact opposites. And *Kavaya*, in the Zend-Avesta was probably not an Aryan word at all, but the native name of the tribe, changed perhaps, in letters and pronunciation, in its transfer to the language of the Aryans.

That *kalpa* and *kalpayati* are found in the Veda, and that the former means "ritual," whence *karapanô* must mean "sacrificer," and that the root *kalp*, in Sanskrit, means "to perform a ceremony," is simply an etymological argument. Benfey gives

kalpa, i. e., *kliip+a*, 'able, being a match for, a sacred precept, a rule, the rules concerning rites, a day of Brahman, a period of 1,000 yugas, etc.'; and *kalpana*, 'caparisoning or decorating an elephant, ornament,' as well as 'a rule, performance, imagination.' *Karpana* is 'a spear,' and *karpala*, 'a sword.' *Klip* means 'to prosper, be fit for, fall to one's lot, serve, resolve upon, create.'

Uçij I do not find in Benfey. *Ucinara* is the name of a country, and of its people; and I find no other word from which *Uçikhschas* can come.

Dr. Haug says that the question naturally arises, how a word (*kava* or *kavi*) which marked the bitterest enemies of the Zarathustrian religion, could be applied to kings like Kavi Vîstâcpa. The answer he makes is, that before the schism, the Kavis were the heads of both communities, the Iranians and Brahmans, and became an abomination to the former, because they opposed the Zarathustrian reform, but the word being too closely connected with their ancient history, and having become the constant epithet of some of their greatest heroes, it could not be expunged, and so the adversaries of the Kavis had to rest satisfied with a slight change of the hateful word, from its original form *Kavi* into *Kavâ*, when forming part of the names of their great heroes and kings. But, as the "Priests and Prophets of the Devas" were still *Kavayas*, the change was of little import.

So *Kava* [he says], became a party name, denoting the opponents of the Deva religion. In this sense [he remarks], we find it unmistakably employed in the ancient Vedic Songs, *Kavâsakha*, or *Kavâri*, or *Kavatnu*, which all mean 'followers,' or, 'adherents of *Kavâ*', being names given to the enemies of Indra, and the despisers of the Soma drink. And, in one passage (*Rig Veda v. 34. 3*), this *Kavâ Sakha* is even called a *Maghava*, by which name the disciples and earliest followers of Zarathustra are denoted in the Gâthâs. Indra is said there to turn out the *Maghava*, who follows the *Kava* party, from his possession, which refers to the settlements (*Gâethas*) of the Iranians.

Now a perfectly conclusive answer to all this argument, founded on two or three accidental etymological resemblances, is to ask,

If it be true, why did the *Atharvans*, offerers of Soma in the Veda, continue to be the Priests of the Zarathustrian religions, often named in the Zend-Avesta as *Athravas*?

As to the *Maghavas*, mentioned in the *Gâthâ Vohu-Khshathrem*, to whom Zarathustra made the first allotment of land in the conquered country, it is derived from the Sanskrit *makkha*, "a warrior," or *magha*, "power, wealth;" and means either his soldiers, or his chief men. In the Veda, *Maghava* simply means "the great or powerful."

Sakha, in Sanskrit, means, as the latter part of a compound, "friend, associate, companion;" and *kavasakha* means, "associates of the Sages." *Kavâri* and *kavatnu* I do not find as compounds of *kava*, or, indeed, the latter at all.

The argument of Dr. Haug, that the attacks of Zarathustra were directed against the Soma worship, which he retained, ascribing to the *Haōma* (the Zend form of *Soma*) powers and functions as great and extensive as are imputed to him in the Veda; because the Iranians invented a new mode of *preparing* the sacred drink, seems to me striking instance of the facility with which almost anything can be pressed into the support of a theory.

Finally, I think it very doubtful whether the Devas of the Veda ever became the Daevas of the Zend-Avesta, at all. The latter were originally the celestial luminaries, their name being derived from the Sanskrit word meaning "the sky." But there are two words (verbs) identical with this, one of which means "to play at dice, shine, praise, be glad, mad, sleepy, etc.;" and the other, "to pain," from which are derived words meaning "to lament, miserable, lamentation, etc."

There is nothing said in the Zend-Avesta in regard to the Daevas, that hints at their ever having been regarded as the luminaries. They are "tormentors," and abstract beings, or personifications of the causes of mischief and misery. And I think that their name is from *div*, "to give pain." Otherwise derived, it would mean "the shiners."

The Zarathustrian conceptions as to the Father, the Wisdom and the Word, were clear and distinct enough. Ahura Mazda was the Very Deity, the Supreme Light, in which was immanent the Divine Mind, Intellect or Reason; and this, uttered outwardly and having a distinct actuality of existence in the universe, was Vohu-Manô, who became incarnate, dwelling in the flesh, as the human intellect and reason.

Philosophy found no difficulty in dealing with these personifications, and they caused no disputes in regard to their mode of origin or being, until the philosophic and definite expressions of Philo and other philosophers were applied by Saint John to Jesus the Christ. But after that, questions arose among Christians, incapable of solution, it being simply impossible to reconcile with one another the utterly antagonistic expressions of the

Scriptures. The attempt to explain what should have been believed without explanation and what it was impossible to understand, led to doctrines conflicting with each other and causing the birth of many heresies; and chief among these, that of Arius:

The fathers used various forms of expression [Mr. John Henry Newman says], partly taken from Scripture, partly not, with a view of signifying the fact of the Son's full participation in the Divinity of Him who is His Father, without dwelling on the mode of participation or origination, on which they dared not speculate.

They had departed from the known and accepted meanings that the words and phrases had when John used them; and they were all at sea.

Such [Mr. Newman says], were the images of the sun and its radiance, the fountain and the stream, the root and its shoots, a body and its exhalation, fire and the fire kindled from it; all which were used as emblems of the sacred mystery in those points in which it was declared in scripture, viz.: The Son's being from the Father, and as such partaker in His divine perfections. The first of these is found in Hebrews *i*, where our Lord is called 'The brightness of God's glory.'

Tertullian endeavoured to explain the relation thus:

Even when a ray is shot forth from the sun, though it be but a part from the whole, yet the sun is in the ray, inasmuch as it is the ray of the sun; nor is its substance separated, but, so to say, drawn out. In like manner there is Spirit from Spirit, and God from God. As when a light is kindled from another, the original light remains entire and undiminished, though you borrow from it many like itself, so that which proceeds from God is called at once God, and the Son of God, and the two are one.

Until Arius put the orthodox Fathers upon their guard, the subordination of the Son to the Father was admitted. Justin speaks of him as:

Worshipped in the Second place, after the Unchangeable and Everlasting Creator. [Origen says that] The Son is not more powerful than 'the Father, but subordinate; according to His own words, the Father that sent me is greater than I.' [And Basil says], Since the origin of being is derived to the Son from the Father, therefore the Father is greater, as being the cause and origin . . . and in prerogatives, inasmuch as the Father is the origin and cause of His existence. [And Irenæus, whose orthodoxy is clear and undeniable, says]: The Father is ministered to in all things by His own offspring and likeness, the Son and Holy Ghost, the Word and Wisdom, of whom all Angels are servants and subjects. [Gregory Nazianzen says]: It is plain that these designs which the Father conceives, the Word fulfils; not as a servant or not entering into them, but with full knowledge and a master's power, and, to speak more suitably, as if he were the Father.

On the other hand, Tertullian said:

They are not called two, in respect of their both being God, or Lord, but in respect of their being Father and Son; and this, moreover, not from any division in their nature, but from mutual relation, the Son being considered by us as included in the individuality of the Father. [And Origen said], Christ, who is Wisdom, issues, as though the breath, from the perfection of God Himself He is called a pure and perfect emanation from the Almighty Glory. Both these similes most clearly show the fellowship of nature between the Son and Father. For an emanation seems to be ὁμούσιος, i. e., one with that of which it is the emanation As will proceeds out of the mind, and neither tears the mind, nor is itself separated or divided from it, in some such manner we must conceive that the Father has begotten the Son, who is his image. [Basil said] 'If Christ be the Power of God, and the Wisdom, and these be uncreate, and co-eternal with God (for He never was without Wisdom and Power), then, Christ is uncreate, and co-eternal with God.'

But this tended to obliterate the notion of the Son's personality, i. e., to introduce the heresy of Sabellianism; and so Paulus of Samosata and Marcellus held that the Divine Word was but the temporary manifestation of God's glory in the Man Christ.

The Stoics had represented the Platonic Logos under two aspects, the *ἐνδιάθετος* and the *προφορικός*, i. e., the internal thought and purpose of God, and its external manifestation, as if in words spoken. These terms were received into the Church; the first standing for the Word, as hid from Everlasting in the bosom of the Father (identically the Çpēntā-Mainyû of Zarathustra), while the other was the Son sent forth into the world (identically Vohû-Manô), in apparent separation from God, with His Father's name and attributes upon Him, and His Father's will to perform. Athanasius, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril and others adopted this idea, and called the change of state in the Eternal Word, from immaturity in the Father, to manifestation and action, or genesis.

Theophilus says:

God, having His own Logos within Him, begat Him together with His Wisdom, putting them forth before the world. He has this Logos as the minister of His works, and did all things through Him. . . . The Prophets were not in existence when the world was made; but the Wisdom of God, which is in Him, and His Holy Logos, who is ever present with Him. [Elsewhere, he speaks of] The Logos, eternally seated in the heart of God before anything was made, He possessed this Counsellor, as being His mind and providence. And when God purposed to make all that he had deliberated on, He begat this Logos and put it forth, being the First-born, antecedent to the whole creation; not however Himself losing the Logos, but begetting it and yet everlastinglly communing with it.

And Hippolytus says:

God was alone, and there was no being coeval with Him, when He willed to create the world. . . . Not that He was without Logos, Wisdom or Counsel. They were all in Him; He was all. At the time and in the manner He willed, He manifested His Word . . . through whom He made all things. . . . Moreover, he placed over them His word, whom He begat as His Counsellor and instrument; whom He had within Him, invisible to creation, till He manifested Him, uttering the Word, and begetting Light from Light . . . and so another stood by Him; not as if there were two Gods, but as though light from light or a ray from the sun.

As the Deity could not be conceived of as divisible, so that His Wisdom could be said to be part of Him; as the whole Deity thinks and acts, in every divine thought and deed; and as "to emanate" means "to flow forth and out of," and "to utter" means "to put forth and out of and beyond one's self;" as a thought that is thought and a word that is said are not the intellect that thinks the one and speaks the other,—the orthodox faith on all this subject seems to me to admit of being summed up thus; these two propositions are irreconcilable, and neither of them by itself is within my comprehension,—wherefore, I believe both.

The Arian heresy was that the Son was a creature, of a substance that once was not, made before the worlds, after the pattern of the Attribute Logos or Wisdom, existing in the Divine Mind, gifted with the illumination of that Wisdom, and therefore called after it. Its personal being dated from its manifestation. The true Wisdom of God, Arius held, was one with Him; the Incarnate Logos was not that true Wisdom, but a semblance of it. The Son had an origin; the Father was unoriginate. The Son was not part of the unoriginate; but He was in being before time, perfect God, the Only-begotten, unchangeable; before which generation, creation or appointment by constitution, He was not. The Father was invisible to the Son; but the Son was made by Him Wisdom, Power, the Spirit, Truth, the Word, the Glory and the Image of God, and God cannot create a being superior to Him.

Finally, the semi-Arians called the Son *όμοιούσιος* with the Father, not a creature, but truly the Son, born of the substance, *οὐσία*, of the Father, yet not simply God, as the Father was; of a substance like in all things, except in not being the Father's substance; maintaining at the same time, that though the Son and Spirit were separate in substance from the Father, still they were so included in His glory, that there was but one God; and though the Son had a beginning, it was before time.

Such were the ultimate developments of the ideas of Zarathustra.

APPENDIX.

The Sanskrit letters are classed as follows:

Gutturals	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>k, h, g, gh, n (ñ, Müller).</i>
Palatals	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>ch, chh, j, jh, n (ñ, Müller).</i>
Linguals	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>t, th, d, dh, ñ.</i>
Dentals	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>t, th, d, dh, n.</i>
Labials	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>p, ph, b, bh, m.</i>
Semi-vowels	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>y, r, l, v.</i>
Sibilants and Aspirates	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>ç (ś, Bopp; ś, Müller); sh, s, h.</i>
Vowels	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>a, å, i, ï, u, û, ri, rî.</i>
Anuswara and Visarga	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>m̄, h̄.</i>

The Zend letters were probably pronounced much like their equivalents in the Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit vowels are pronounced like the vowels in Italian. But the short *a* has rather the sound of the English *a* in 'America'. The aspiration of the consonants is heard distinctly. Thus *kh* is said, by English scholars, who have learned Sanskrit in India, to sound almost like *kh* in 'ink-horn'; *th*, like *th* in 'pot-house'; *ph* like *ph* in 'topheavy'; *gh* like *gh* in 'loghouse'; *dh* like *dh* in 'madhouse'; *bh* like *bh* in 'hobhouse'.

The guttural *n* has the sound of *ng* in 'king'.

The palatal letters *ch* and *j* have the sounds of *ch* in 'church' and *j* in 'join'.

The ordinary pronunciation in English of *t*, *d* and *l* is what Hindus would call *lingual*, and the Sanskrit dentals are distinguished by bringing the tip of the tongue against the very edge of the upper front teeth. The dental *s* sounds like *s* in 'sin'; the lingual *sh* like *sh* in 'shun'; the palatal *ç* (or *ś*) like *ss* in 'session'.

The real anusvara is a very slight nasal, like *n* in French 'bon'.

The Zend, Professor Bopp says, is 'a language we are, however, unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanskrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old Northern with the Gothic.'

After careful consideration of the opinions of Anquetil, Rask, Burnouf and others, as to the values of the letters of the Zend alphabet, he gives them as follows:

Simple vowels: *a*, *ĕ*, *â*, *i*, *î*, *u*, *o*, *û*.

Diphthongs: *ê*, *ôi*, *âi*, *ô*, *âo*, *âu*.

Gutturals: *k* (before vowels and *v*), *c*, hard (principally before consonants), *kh* (from *sw* before vowels and *y*), *g*, *gh*.

Palatals: *ch*, *j*

Dentals: *t* (before vowels and *y*), *t̪* (before consonants and at the end of words), *th* (before whole and semi-vowels), *d*, *d̪h*.

Labials: *p*, *f* (the latter before vowels, semi-vowels, nasals and *s*), *b*.

Sibilants and *h*: *s* (*c*), *sh*, *s*, *zh* (or like the French *j*), *z*, *h*.

Nasals: *n* (before vowels, semi-vowels, and at the end of words), *n* (before strong consonants), *aŋ* (before sibilants, *h*, *th*, *f*, *m* and *n*), *ŋ* (between *a* or *âo* and *h*, and between *a* and *r*), *n* (between *i* or *ê* and *h*), *m*.

The Zend is written, like the Semitic languages, from right to left; while the Sanskrit is written from left to right. We have for explanation of this variance, the close connection of the Persians with the Chaldaeans.

The Zend *eu* corresponds etymologically to the Sanskrit *ō*, or diphthong formed by *a* and *u*, as in *paseus*, Zend, for *paśōs*, Sanskrit, from *paśu*, 'flock,' which in Latin became *pecus*. But this change is not universal.

The short *o* frequently holds the place in Zend of the Sanskrit *u* and never corresponds to any other Sanskrit vowel. In the diphthong *āu*, in particular, in Sanskrit, we have generally the Zend *āo*, but we sometimes find *āu*, as, for example, *gāus*, 'ox', is more frequent than *gāos*, for the Sanskrit *gāus*.

The Sanskrit *ē* is sometimes replaced in Zend by *ōi*. The Sanskrit syllable *swa* becomes *kha* or *qa* in Zend, as in *Khafna* or *qafna*, 'sleep', for *swapna*, Sanskrit. So *khanha* nominative, *khaṇrēm* accusative, from *swasā*, 'sister' (Latin *soror*), *swasārem* (*sororem*), and *kharēno*, 'splendour', as related to *swar*, 'heaven', and *sur*, 'to shine'. But *sw* does not universally become *kh*; and *swa*, in particular, in an isolated position and with a possessive signification, much oftener appears in the shape of *hva* or that of *hava*.

Khudā, in Persian, is 'God'. *Swadatta*, in Sanskrit, is 'self-given', for which we have in Zend, *Khadāta*, 'created by itself'. It has often been maintained that our word 'God' is derived from *Khuda*, and that its primal signification has been discovered through the Zend. But this Bopp doubts.

The Germanic forms, especially in the older dialects, approximate much more to the Sanskrit than to the modern Persian. In the Gothic, *sw* remains unaltered or becomes *sl*. *Swasi*, 'sister', in Sanskrit becomes *Khwāhar* in Zend, but ir. Gothic is *svistar*.

The Sanskrit sonant *j* is often replaced by other letters in Zend; by *z* as in *zāta*, 'born', for *jāta*; or by *sh* as in *shenu* (Latin *genu*), 'knee', for the Sanskrit *janu*. The Zend also favours *dh* for *d*, in the middle of words, between two vowels, as in *dadhāmi*, 'I give', for the Sanskrit *dadāmi*; and in *Mazda-dhata* (Latin, *datum*, *data*), 'given by Ormuzd,' 'created'; *yedhi*, 'if', for the Sanskrit *yadi*; *pādha*, 'foot' (Latin *pes*, *pedis*), for the Sanskrit *pada*.

The Sanskrit *p* is transformed in Zend into *f* by the retroactive aspirative power of *a* following *r*, *s* or *n*. Thus the Sanskrit preposition *pra* (Latin *pro*; Greek *προ*) becomes, in Zend, *fra* (English, *fro*, *from*), and the primitive words *ap*, 'water' (Latin *aqua*), and *kērēp*, 'body' (Latin *corpus*), form in the nominative, *āfs* and *kērēfs*; on the other hand, in the accusative, *apēm*, *kērēpēm* or *kēhrpēm*. The Sanskrit *bh* sometimes becomes *f*; *nābhi*, 'navel' (Sanskrit), becoming in Zend *nāfo*, and *subhadra*, 'very fortunate, very excellent, a title of Vishnu,' becomes *hufēdhris*.

Madhya, 'middle,' becomes *maidhya*, in Zend; *bhavanti*, 'they are,' *barvanti*; in the first person plural, *mahi* in Zend corresponds to the Veda termination *masi*, and in the genitive of the stems or inflective bases in *a*, *a-hē* in Zend stands for *a-sya* in Sanskrit; *frādaēṣāēm*, 'I shewed' (Zend) is from *prādaēṣayam*, Sanskrit. The Sanskrit, *bruvē*, 'I say,' becomes in Zend *mrūyē*, and *dwē*, 'two,' *duyē*. Where *r* ends a word in Sanskrit, an *e* is always appended to it in Zend, making, for example, *datare*, 'creator, giver;' *hvare*, 'sun'; *taruna*, Sanskrit, 'young,' is in Zend, *turuna* or *tauruna*, and *vasu*, 'thing, riches' ['being, existence,' *ovrūa*] is converted into *Vohu*.

Daça, 'ten'; *çata*, 'hundred'; *paçu*, 'beast,' are common to both languages. *Çtāras*, 'the stars'; *çtaūmi*, 'I praise'; *açti*, 'he is'; *açthi*, 'bones'; *skandha*, 'shoulder,' in Sanskrit, become in Zend, *çtārō*, *çtāomī*, *açti*, *açtañm*, *çkanda*.

The semi-vowel *v* regularly hardens into *p* after *ç* in Zend. Hence *çpā* (nomin. 'dog'), *çpānēm* (accus. 'dog'), *vīçpa* ('all'), *açpa* ('horse'), corresponding to the Sanskrit *çwā*, *çwanām*, *viçwa*, *açwa*.

Çpēnta, 'holy,' is not corresponded to by a Sanskrit *Swanta*, which must have originally been in use, and which the Lithuanian *szanta-s* indicates. From the Zend *açpa*, also, the transition is easy to the Greek *ἴππος*, which is less obvious in the case of the Indian *açwa*.

We have in Zend, *aētaêshañm* and *aētaêshva*, for the Sanskrit *ētēshām*, 'theirs' or 'of them,' and *ētēshu*, 'in his'; and *mashya*, 'man,' for *manuṣhya*. For the Sanskrit *kṣh*, we find almost always *ks*; for example, *ksathra* (Zend), 'king'; Sanskrit, *kṣhatra*. In many Zend words, the Sanskrit *kṣh* abandons the guttural, and appears as *sh*; thus, *dakṣhiṇa*, 'dexter,' becomes *dashina* (Lithuanian *déšzinè*, 'the right hand'), and *akshi*, 'eye,' becomes *ashi*.

The Sanskrit *s* often becomes *h* in Zend. Compare, for example:

Zend	English	Sanskrit
<i>hâ</i>	they	<i>sâ</i>
<i>hapta</i>	seven	<i>sapta</i>
<i>hakérēt</i>	once	<i>sakṛit</i>
<i>ahi</i>	thou art	<i>asi</i>
<i>ahmāi</i>	to this	<i>asmai</i>
<i>hvarē</i>	sun	<i>Swar</i> (Heaven)
<i>hvar</i>	his	<i>swa</i>

And *jihwa*, 'tongue,' in Sanskrit, changes into *hizva*, in Zend. *Sahasra*, 'thousand,' becomes *hazanra*, and *çuṣhka*, 'dry,' becomes *huska* (Latin *siccus*).

We have in Sanskrit *mē*, 'mine, to me,' and *tē*, 'thine, to thee,' and in Zend, *hē*, 'his, to him,' from a lost Sanskrit *sē*, and these words, with little change, are still in common use—in English, 'he, me, thee'; in French, *moi, soi, toi*.

The ancient Sanskrit termination *as* appears in Zend as *ô*. The Sanskrit *mâs*, 'moon,' is in Zend *mâo*; *mâs-cha*, 'and the moon,' gives us *Mâoscha*, and *masam* (accus.) *mâonhēm*; *âsa*, 'was,' becomes *âonhâ*; and *âsâm*, 'theirs, of them,' *âonhañm*.

The Sanskrit *h* never corresponds with the Zend *h*; *s*, which was probably pronounced like the French *z*, for the most part answers to the Sanskrit *h*. Compare for example:

Sanskrit	English	Zend
<i>aham</i>	I	<i>azēm</i>
<i>hasta</i>	hand	<i>zašta</i>
<i>sahasra</i>	thousand	<i>hazanra</i>
<i>hanti</i>	he strikes	<i>zainti</i>
<i>vahati</i>	he carries, bears	<i>vazaiti</i>
<i>hi</i>	for	<i>zi</i>
<i>jihwa</i>	tongue	<i>hizva</i>
<i>mahat</i>	great	<i>mazô</i>

Sometimes *z* appears in the place of the Sanskrit *j* [pronounced *dsch*], so that the *d* sound is suppressed and only the sibilant portion is represented. Thus *yaj*, 'to adore,' becomes *yaz*, and from the Sanskrit root *juṣh*, 'to please or gratify,' comes *zaôsha*, 'to please.'

The Sanskrit termination *âm* is always changed to *añm*, in Zend; *adadâm*, 'I gave,' becomes *dadhañm*, and *pâdânâm*, 'of the feet,' *pedum*, *pâdhanañm*.

The *l* is wanting in the Zend, though it exists in the Persian, and is found there even in words that are not of Semitic derivation. No people, remaining by itself, without commixture with a foreign element, would wholly abandon a letter in familiar use, in a hundred centuries, and the absence of the *l* in the Zend must have been owing to the

incorporation into itself by the Bactro-Aryan race, of a numerous native people, unable to pronounce the *l*, which therefore in the ordinary spoken language gradually was disused, until the sound disappeared altogether.

The identity of origin of the Sanskrit, Zend and Gothic is proven by the most ample testimony, of which the following self-samenesses of words are but a very little part. Compare, remembering that, according to Grimm's law, the Gothic, in relation to the Greek and Latin, and, with certain limits, also to the Sanskrit and Zend, substitutes aspirates for the original tenues, *h* for *k*, *th* for *t* and *f* for *p*; tenues for medials, *t* for *d*, *p* for *b* and *k* for *g*, and medials for aspirates, *g* for *ch*, *d* for *th* and *b* for *f*. The other dialects of Gothic do the same, with the exception of the High German. Grimm's table is:

<i>Greek</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Ch</i>
<i>Gothic</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>K</i>	<i>G</i>	
<i>Old High-German</i>	<i>B (V)</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>Z</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Ch</i>
Sanskrit	Zend		Gothic				English	
<i>tri</i>	<i>thri</i>		<i>thir</i>				three	
<i>twē</i>	<i>thwōi</i>		<i>thus</i>				to thee	
<i>pra</i>	<i>fra</i>		<i>fra</i>				in (sep. prep.)	
<i>prīṇāmi</i>	<i>âfrînámi</i> (I bless)		<i>friyô</i>				I love	
<i>ap</i> (water)	<i>afs</i>		<i>ahva,</i>				a river	
<i>bibharti</i>	<i>baraiti</i>		<i>bairith,</i>				he carries	
<i>bhrâtaram</i> (acc.)	<i>brâtarém</i>		<i>brôthar</i>				brother	
<i>ubhân</i> (n. ac. v. da.)	<i>uba</i>		<i>bai</i>				both	
<i>bhuj</i>			<i>brûkan</i>				to use	
<i>abhi</i>	<i>abi, aiwi</i>		<i>bi</i>				(prep.)	
<i>madhya</i>	<i>maidhya</i>		<i>midya</i>				middling	
<i>bandh</i>	<i>bandh</i>		<i>brudan</i>				bind	

Other identics with the Zend are:

Sanskrit, *śrâvayâmi*, 'I speak, recite'; Zend, *érâvayêmi*; Old High German, *scrirumês*, 'we have exclaimed.' Sanskrit *bhû*, 'to be'; Zend *bû*; Lithuanian *bu* (future *bûsu*, 'I will be'); Latin *fu*; Greek *phu*.

Sanskrit *éti*; Zend *aéti*, 'he goes'; Lithuanian *ei-ti*.

Sanskrit *pri*, 'to love'; Zend *frî*; Gothic *friyô*, 'I love.'

Sanskrit *vach*, 'to speak'; Zend *vach* (*aôcta*, 'said, he said'); Greek *eh* for *feh*; Latin *voc* (in *voco*); Old High German *wah*, *wag* (*kiwahu*, 'made mention').

Sanskrit *pat*, 'to fall, to fly'; Zend *pat*, 'to fly'; Greek *pipto*, *petaō*; Latin *pet*, in *peto*, *impeto*, etc.; Gothic *fath*; Old High German *ved*, in *vedara*, 'feather.'

Sanskrit *jan*, 'to beget'; Zend *zan*, *sazami*, 'I beget'; Sanskrit *jajanmi*; Greek *Gen*; Latin *Gen* (*gignomai*, *genos*, *gigno*, *genus*); Gothic *kin*, 'to germinate,' *kuni*, 'gender.'

From the Sanskrit root *kar* or *kri*, Sanskrit *karoti*, 'makes, he makes'; Zend *kérênaôiti*, 'he makes'; *kérênaôit*, 'he made,' *kérênuûidhi*, 'make or do them'; Old High German *karawan* or *garawan*, 'to prepare'; Latin *creo*, *cura*, *ceremonia*; Greek *kaino*, *kratos*, *prasso*, *pragma*.

Sanskrit *vah*, 'to drive'; Zend *vaz*; Latin *veh-o*; Greek *ochos*, 'wagon,' for *Fochos*.

Sanskrit *grah*, 'to take'; original form in Vedas, *grabh*; Zend *gerew*, 'to take'; Gothic *greipa*, *graip*, *gripum*; English *grip*, *grab*; Greek *grîphos*, *gripos*, 'net.'

Sanskrit *brih*, 'to increase'; Zend *bérêz*, *barêz*, 'high, lofty.'

Sanskrit *vid*, 'to know'; Zend *vîd*; Latin *vid-eo*, 'I see'; Greek *eido*, 'I see'; Gothic *vid*; Old High German *viz*; English *wit*, meaning 'know'.

Sanskrit *jiv*, 'life'; Zend *jva*, nominative *jvô*, 'living'; Greek *zao*; Lithuanian *gywa-s*, 'alive', *gywata*, 'life'; Gothic *guiva*, nominative *guivs*, 'alive'; French *vif*; Latin *viv* (in *vivo*, *vivus*).

Sanskrit *ruch*, 'to shine'; Zend *raôch*, *rayochayêiti*, 'shines, splendet'; Latin *luc*, in *lux* (*luc-s*) *luceo*; Greek *luc*, *lukos*, *lukophôs*, *luchnos*; Gothic *luh*, whence *lanhmâri*, 'lightning,' *lanhatyan*, 'to lighten,' *liuhath*, 'light,' *lukam*, 'lamp.'

Sanskrit: *pitar*, 'father'; *bhratar*, 'brother'; *matar*, 'mother'; *duhitar*, 'daughter'; *swasar*, 'sister.'

Zend: *paita*; *brâtar*; *dughdhar*.

Greek: *πατήρ*, 'father'; *φρατηρ*, *φρατωρ*, 'one of the same clan'; *μητηρ*, 'mother'; *θυγατηρ*, 'daughter.'

Latin: *pater*, *frater*, *mater*, *soror*.

Gothic: *fadar*, *brôthar*, *dauhtar*, *svistar*.

Old High German: *vater*, *pruodar*, *tohtar*, *suëstar*.

Lithuanian: *motë*, 'mother'; *brolis*, 'brother'; *duktë*, 'daughter'; *sessù*, 'sister.'

Gaelic: *mathair*, 'mother'; *brahair*, 'brother.'

Cymric: *mam*, 'mother'; *brawd*, 'brother'; *chwaer*, 'sister.'

Russian: *batia*, 'father'; *mater*, *mat*, 'mother'; *dszcer*, 'daughter'; *brat*, 'brother'; *sestia*, 'sister.'

In Lithuanian, *pati*, is 'Lord;' *wiess-pati-s*, 'landlord'; Zend, *vîs-paiti*, 'Lord of the region.'

The Sanskrit *vrikas*, 'wolf,' is, in Zend, *véhikô*; and hence the *wehr-wulf* of the Germans. The noun meaning 'speech' or 'voice' is thus declined, in Sanskrit, Zend, Latin and Greek.

SINGULAR.

	Sanskrit	Zend	Latin	Greek
Theme	<i>Vâch</i>	<i>Vâch</i>	<i>Vôc</i>	" <i>Ṅp</i>
Nominative	<i>Vâk</i>	<i>Vâc-s</i>	<i>Voc-s</i>	" <i>Ṅp-s</i>
Accusative	<i>Vâch-am</i>	<i>Vach-em</i>	<i>Vocem</i>	" <i>Ṅp-a</i>
Instrumental	<i>Vâch-â</i>	<i>Vâch-a</i>		
Dative	<i>Vâch-ê</i>	<i>Vâch-ê</i>		
Ablative	<i>Vâch-as</i>	<i>Vâch-aṭ</i>	<i>Voc-e (d)</i>	
Genitive	<i>Vâch-as</i>	<i>Vâch-ô</i>	<i>Voc-is</i>	" <i>Ṅp-os</i>
Locative	<i>Vach-i</i>	<i>Vâch-i</i>	<i>D. Voc-i</i>	<i>D. 'Ṅp-i</i>
Vocative	<i>Vak</i>	<i>Vâc-s</i>	<i>Voc-s</i>	" <i>Ṅp-s</i>

DUAL.

N. Acc. V. or I. D. Abl. G. L.	<i>Vâch-aū</i> <i>Vâch-â</i> <i>Vag-bhyam</i> <i>Vâch-os</i>	<i>Vach-ao</i> <i>Vach-a</i> <i>Vach-ô</i> <i>Vâch-ô</i>		<i>D. G. ḥp-oīn</i>
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PLURAL.

N. V.	<i>Vach-as</i>	<i>Vâch-ô</i>	<i>Voc-es</i>	" <i>Ṅp-es</i>
Accus.	<i>Vâch-as</i>	<i>Vâch-ô</i>	<i>Voc-es</i>	" <i>Ṅp-as</i>
Instr.	<i>Vâg-bhis</i>			
D. Abl.	<i>Vâg-bhyas</i>		<i>Voc-ibus</i>	
Gen.	<i>Vâch-âm</i>	<i>Vâch-añm</i>	<i>Voc-um</i>	
Loc.	<i>Vâk-šhu</i>	<i>Vâk-shva</i>		<i>Ṅp-si</i>

APPENDIX

The Old Slavonic has preserved a dual. Its agreement with the Sanskrit and Zend is not to be mistaken. Compare:

	Sanskrit	Zend	Old Slavonic
N. Acc. V. m.	<i>ubhâ (Ambo, Vedic)</i>	<i>uba</i>	<i>oba</i>
f. n.	<i>ubhê</i>	<i>ubê</i>	<i>obye</i>
I. D. Ab. m. f. n.	<i>ubha-bhyam</i>	<i>ubôî-bya</i>	<i>I. D. obye-ma</i>
G. L. m. f. n.	<i>Ubhay-os</i>	<i>Ubôy-o</i>	<i>Oboy-û</i>

Compare also:

Sanskrit	Old High German	Old Slavonic
<i>Syâ, hæc (this)</i>	<i>syu, dyu</i>	<i>tâ-ya</i>
<i>tyâm, hanc</i>	<i>dya</i>	<i>tû-yü</i>
<i>tyê, hi</i>	<i>dyê</i>	<i>ti-i</i>
<i>tyâs, hæ, has</i>	<i>dyô</i>	<i>ty-ya</i>
<i>tyâni, hæc</i>	<i>dyu</i>	<i>ta-ya</i>

The comparative is expressed in Sanskrit by the suffix *tara*, feminine *tarâ*; and the superlative by *tama*, feminine *tamâ*. In the Zend, these Suffixes are *tara* and *tëma*. Thus: Sanskrit *punya-tara*, *punya-tama*, 'more pure, most pure,' from *punya*, 'pure'; Zend, *huskôtara*, 'more dry,' from *huska*, 'dry,' and *Çpêntôtëma*, 'most holy,' *çpënta*, 'holy.'

The following table of the numerals strikingly shows the common descent of the several languages of which we are speaking:

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Lithuanian	Gothic	Old Slavonic
1. <i>êka</i>	<i>aêva</i>	<i>hen</i>	<i>unus</i>	<i>wiena-s</i>	<i>aina</i>	<i>yedin</i>
2. <i>dwan</i>	<i>dva</i>	<i>duō</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>dû-dwi</i>	<i>twaï</i>	<i>dva</i>
3. <i>tri</i>	<i>thri</i>	<i>treis</i>	<i>tres</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>thri</i>	<i>tri</i>
4. <i>chatwar</i>	<i>chathwar</i>	<i>tessares</i>	<i>quatuor</i>	<i>keturi</i>	<i>fidvôr</i>	<i>chetwyri</i>
5. <i>panchan</i>	<i>panchan</i>	<i>pénte</i>	<i>quinque</i>	<i>penki</i>	<i>fimf</i>	<i>pyaty</i>
6. <i>shašh</i>	<i>cvas</i>	<i>hex</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>szeszi</i>	<i>saihs</i>	<i>shesty</i>
7. <i>saptan</i>	<i>haptan</i>	<i>hepta</i>	<i>septem</i>	<i>septyni</i>	<i>sibun</i>	<i>sedmy</i>
8. <i>ashtan</i>	<i>astan</i>	<i>öktö</i>	<i>octo</i>	<i>asztûni</i>	<i>ahtau</i>	<i>osmy</i>
9. <i>navan</i>	<i>navan</i>	<i>ennea</i>	<i>novem</i>	<i>dewyni</i>	<i>niun</i>	<i>devyaty</i>
10. <i>daçan</i>	<i>daçan</i>	<i>deka</i>	<i>decem</i>	<i>deszimt</i>	<i>taihun</i>	<i>desyat</i>

German	Russian	Gaelic	Cymric	English	French	Ang. Sax.
1. <i>ein</i>	<i>odin</i>	<i>aon</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>án</i>
2. <i>zwei</i>	<i>diva</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>deux</i>	<i>iva</i>
3. <i>drei</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>trois</i>	<i>thri</i>
4. <i>vier</i>	<i>czetyre</i>	<i>ceithar</i>	<i>pedwar</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>quatre</i>	<i>feovar</i>
5. <i>fünf</i>	<i>piat'</i>	<i>coig</i>	<i>pump</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>cinq</i>	<i>fif</i>
6. <i>sechs</i>	<i>szest'</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>chwêch</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>six</i>
7. <i>sieben</i>	<i>sedm'</i>	<i>seachd</i>	<i>saith</i>	<i>seven</i>	<i>sept</i>	<i>sesfon</i>
8. <i>acht</i>	<i>osm'</i>	<i>ochd</i>	<i>wyth</i>	<i>eight</i>	<i>huit</i>	<i>eahta</i>
9. <i>neun</i>	<i>dewiat'</i>	<i>noi</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>neuf</i>	<i>nigon</i>
10. <i>zehn</i>	<i>desiat'</i>	<i>deich</i>	<i>deg</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>dix</i>	<i>tyn</i>

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Lithuanian	Gothic	Old Slavonic
11. <i>ēkâda-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>aēvande-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>hendeca</i>	<i>undecim</i>	<i>wienolika</i>	<i>ainlif</i>	<i>yedinyi-na-</i> <i>desyat</i>
12. <i>dwâda-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>dvada-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>dōdeka</i>	<i>duodecim</i>	<i>dwylika</i>	<i>tvalif</i>	<i>vitayi-na-</i> <i>desyat</i>
13. <i>troyôda-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>thrida-</i> <i>çan</i>	<i>triskai-deka</i>	<i>tredecim</i>	<i>trylika</i>		
14. <i>chatun-</i> <i>daçan</i>	<i>chathru-</i> <i>daçan</i>	<i>tessares-kaideka</i>	<i>quatuor-decim</i>	<i>keturo-likā</i>		<i>chetyrina-</i> <i>desyat</i>
20. <i>vinçati</i>	<i>vîçaiti</i>	<i>eikatti</i>	<i>viginti</i>	<i>dwides-zimt</i>	<i>twaitigus</i>	
30. <i>triñçat</i>	<i>thriçata</i>	<i>triakonta</i>	<i>triginta</i>	<i>trides-zimtis</i>	<i>threis-tigus</i>	
40. <i>chatwâr-</i> <i>iñçat</i>	<i>chathwar-</i> <i>ěçata</i>	<i>tessare-konta</i>	<i>quadra-ginta</i>	<i>keturiøs-deszimtis</i>	<i>fidwor-tigus</i>	
100. <i>çatam</i>	<i>çatäm</i>	<i>hecaton</i>	<i>centum</i>	<i>szimta-s</i>	<i>taihun-têhund</i>	<i>sto</i>
200.						<i>tvahunda</i>
1000. <i>sahasran</i>		<i>chilioi</i>	<i>mille</i>			<i>tauzandi</i>

The original personal pronouns of the Aryans, also, remain the common property of all the branches of the race, and all the sister dialects agree with one another surprisingly in this point, that the nominative singular *first person* is from a different base from that from which the oblique cases come. It is, in Sanskrit, *aham*; Zend, *azäm*; Greek, *ἐγώ*; Latin, *ego*; Gothic, *ik*; Lithuanian, *asz*; Old Slavonic, *az*; Russian, *ia*.

The *am* of *aham* is termination merely, as in *twam*, 'thou,' *ayam*, 'this,' and *swayam*, 'self,' and as in the plural, *vayam*, 'we,' *yúyam*, 'ye.'

The oblique cases, in Sanskrit have in the first person *ma*, and in the second, *twa*, as theme lengthened in some cases by the admixture of an *i*; whence *mē*, *twē*.

The plural in the pronoun of the first person, also, in most of the Indo-European languages, is distinct in base from the singular, which Bopp ingeniously explains on the ground that 'I' is properly incapable of a plural, for there is but one I (to myself), and the notion 'we' comprehends 'me' and an indefinite number of *other* individuals, each of which may even belong to a different species, while by *leones* a plurality of individuals is represented, of which each is a *lion*. The first person plural (we) is, in Sanskrit, *vayam*; in Zend *vaêm*, but in the Veda, we find *asmē* used for *vayam*, formed from the theme *asma*, from which also, in the common Sanskrit, all the oblique cases proceed, to which also the Greek allies itself, commencing even with the nominative, for the most genuine Æolic form "*ammes*" stands, by assimilation, for "*asmes*". The same is the case with *ummes* *ūmēs* answering to the Vedic *yushmē*. In *asmē*, *ammes*, the simple vowel *a* is the characteristic element of the first person, for the rest of the word occurs also in the second person [and so it is in *aham*, which is but *a* and *am*, the *h* being interposed for ease of pronunciation, and the *am* being found as well in *twam*, *vayam*, etc.]. And so, Bopp says, if the I is actually formally expressed in this plural base, *asma*, *sma*, which occurs also isolated, being a pronoun of the third person, *a-sme* signifies 'I and they,' as *yushnte*, 'thou and they,' so that the singular 'I' and 'thou' would be expressed by *a* and *yer*, the *yu* being probably a softening of *tu*.

The whole declension of the personal pronouns is exceedingly interesting, showing, as it does, to what an extent the different languages agree in their processes of inflexion,

as if they followed a law enacted by their common ancestors, and to which they instinctively adhered. I place here only a small portion of the whole of the pronouns of the first and second persons:

	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Lithuanian	Old Slavonic
Nom- native	aham	azēm	'egōn	ego	ik	asz	az
	twam	tūm	toún	tu	thu	tù	ty
Accusa- tive	mām, mā twām, twā	mañm, mā thwañm, thwā	mē	mē	mik	manen	mya
			tē	tē	thuk	tawen	tya
Dative	mahyam mē tubhyam thwē, tē	mē, mōi thwōi, tē, tōi	'emin moi tein toi	mihi tibi	mis thus.	man taw	mnye, mi tebya, ti

PLURAL

	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Lithuanian	Old Slavonic
Nominative	vayam	vaēm	" ammes	nos	veis	més	my
	asmē yūyam yushmē	yūshēm yūs	" ummes	vos	yus	yus	vy
Accusative	asmān nos yushman vas	nō vō	" amme " umme	nos vos	unsis izvis	mūs yūs	ny vy
	asmat yuşhmat	yusmat			nobis vobis		
Abla- tive	asmabhis				nobis	mumis	nami
	yushmabhis				vobis	yumis	bami

In the Cymric, 'me', 'we', 'thee', 'you', are *mi*, *ni*, *ti* and *chwi*.

The close relationship between Zend and Sanskrit is not only shown by the identity of a multitude of words in every part of speech, but even more convincingly by the grammatical forms common to both. For these, I must be content to refer the student to the three volumes of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, translated by Eastwick, and published at London in 1856. I must do no more than glance at that, and even in regard to the essential sameness of words select only here and there.

'Here,' 'there,' and 'where' are, in Sanskrit, *atra*, *tatra*, and *yatra*; in Zend, *ithra*, *avathra* and *yathra*. In Gothic, 'thence' is *thathrō*; 'whence' *hvathro*, and 'from elsewhere' *abyathro*. In Sanskrit, 'elsewhere' is *anyatra*.

In Sanskrit, *kadā* and *tadā* are 'when' and 'then.' In Lithuanian, *kadà* and *tadà*; in old Slavonic, *kogda* and *togda*.

Verbs, in Sanskrit, have five moods, the indicative, potential, imperative, precative and conditional, and there are in the Vedas, fragments of a mood which in the principle of its formation, corresponds to the Greek subjunctive. The same moods, even to this

subjunctive, exist in Zend. The indicative, in Sanskrit, has six tenses; the other moods, only one each, and the Zend has all the Sanskrit tenses, except one. 'In the Vedas, traces are apparent of a further elaboration of the moods into various tenses, and it may hence be inferred that what the European languages, in their development of the moods, have in excess over the Sanskrit and Zend, dates, at least in its origin, from the period of the unity of the language.'

The verbs of the Aryan languages offer us an even more interesting subject for study than the nouns. 'With respect to the personal signs, the tenses and moods fall, most evidently, in Sanskrit, Zend and Greek, into two classes. The one is fuller, the other more contracted, in its terminations. To the first class belong those tenses which, in Greek, we are accustomed to call the principal; namely, the present, future, and perfect or reduplicated preterite, whose terminations, however, have undergone serious mutilations in the three sister languages. . . . To the second class, belong the augmented preterites, and in Sanskrit and Zend, all the moods not indicative, with the exception of the present of the subjunctive, and of those terminations of the imperative which are peculiar to this mood, and are rather full than contracted.'

In Latin, where the fuller form of *mi* stood, the terminations excepting in the cases of *sum* and *inguam*, has vanished altogether. On the other hand, the original final *m* has everywhere maintained itself. Hence, in the future of the verb *amare*, we have *amabo*, but in the imperfect, *amabam*, as we have *eram*, *sim*, *amem*, as, in Sanskrit, *abhavam* and *âsam*, 'I was'; *sâyam*, 'I may be'; *kâmeyâyam*, 'I may love.'

The aboriginal separation into the full and mutilated terminations is also found in the Gothic. The concluding *t* of the secondary forms, as in the Greek, has vanished. Hence, *bairih*, *bairand*, answering to the Sanskrit *bharati*, *bharanti*. In the first person singular, the full termination *mi* (with the exception of *im*, 'I am'), has, in remarkable accordance with the Latin, quite disappeared, while the concluding *m* of the secondary forms has kept its place in the resolved form of *u*.

In the Old Slavonic, the secondary forms have, in the singular, entirely abandoned the personal consonants, while the primary forms give the expression of the second person singular with wonderful accuracy, as *shi* or *si*.

The character of the first person is, in the singular, as well as plural, in its original shape, *m*. The *full* characteristic of the first person singular is, in the primary form of the transitive active, *mi*, and spreads itself, in Sanskrit and Zend, over all verbs without exception. In Greek, however, peculiarities of dialect excepted, it extends only over such as answer to the second chief Sanskrit conjugation, which comprises but a small proportion of the verbs. The other Greek verbs have quite suppressed the personal termination, and their *co*, like the Latin *o*, answers to the Sanskrit *â*, that precedes the termination *mi*. The middle passive *mai*, which spreads itself over all classes of Greek verbs, proves that they all have had a *mi* in the active, and in this all prevalent conservation of the character of the first person in the middle-passives, the Greek maintains a conspicuous advantage over its Asiatic cognates, which, in the singular of the middle, as well in the primary as in the secondary forms, have suffered the *m* to vanish without leaving a trace.

We find, in what has been said above [of which I have but quoted here and there a sentence] a very remarkable confirmation of the maxim, that the various members of the great family of languages now under discussion, must of necessity mutually illustrate and explain each other, since not even the most perfect among them have been handed down to us uncorrupted in every part of their rich organism. For while the ending *mai* is still extant in all its splendour in the modern-Greek passive, the corresponding Sanskrit form lay in ruins at that period when the oldest existing sample of Indian literature, the Vedas, were composed, the antiquated language of which has conveyed to us so many

other remnants of the primæval type of the family. On the other hand, Homer, in all the overwhelming variety of his present and future forms, was compelled to forego the terminating *mi*, which was the mother of his *mai*, which is the only existing termination in the Sanskrit, and which to this day the Lithuanian utters in the following verbs:

Lithuanian	English	Sanskrit	Greek
<i>esmi</i>	I am	<i>asmi</i>	ἐμμὶ, εἰμὶ
<i>eimi</i>	I go	<i>êmi</i>	εἴμι
<i>dâmi</i>	I give	<i>dadâmi</i>	διδωμι
<i>dêmi</i>	I lay	<i>dadhâmi</i>	Τίθημι
<i>stowmi</i>	I stand	<i>tiṣṭhâmi</i>	ἵστημι
<i>edmi</i>	I eat	<i>admi</i>	
<i>sêdmi</i>	I sit	<i>ni-ṣhîdâmi</i> (I sit down)	
<i>gièdmi</i>	I sing	<i>gadâmi</i> (I say)	
<i>gêlbmi</i>	I help	<i>kalpayâmi</i> (I make, I prepare)	
<i>seîgmi</i>	I guard		
<i>sangmi</i>	I preserve		
<i>miegmi</i>	I sleep		
<i>liekmi</i>	I leave	<i>rahami</i> (I forsake)	
Old Sclavonic	English	Sanskrit	
<i>yesmy</i>	I am	<i>asmi</i>	
<i>vyemy</i>	I know	<i>vêdmi</i>	
<i>vyedyaty</i>	they know	<i>vidanti</i>	
<i>damy</i>	I give	<i>dadâmi</i>	
<i>dadyaty</i>	they give	<i>dadati</i>	
<i>yamy</i>	I eat	<i>admi</i>	
<i>yadaty</i>	they eat	<i>adanti</i>	

Bopp considers the termination *mi* to be a weakened form of the syllable *ma*, which, in Sanskrit and Zend, lies at the foundation of the oblique cases of the simple pronoun, as theme. The secondary form rests on a further weakening of *mi* to *m*, which though it be of most remote antiquity, as would appear from its striking accordance with the sister languages of Europe, still does not belong to those times when the organization of the language was yet flourishing in all its parts, and in full vigour. 'I do not, at least, believe,' he says, 'that in the youth of our family of languages, there was already a double series of personal terminations. . . . The gradual prevalence of the mutilated terminations is illustrated by the fact, that, in Latin, all the plurals still end in *mus*, in Greek in *μεν* (*μες*), while in Sanskrit, the corresponding form *mas* only remains in the primary forms, and even in these, shows itself not infrequently in the mutilated form *ma*.'

And yet these two kinds of terminations are found in all the derivative languages, so that they existed before even the earliest emigration. How long before that, the process of change began, which at length softened *mi* into *m*, in the secondary forms, and how much longer before that, which softened the *ma* of the primary forms into *mi*, cannot even be conjectured, but these changes, at least, prove to us that there was a long youth of the Aryan race, before any migration had taken place.

The following is a summary view of the points of comparison, which Bopp obtains for the first person of the transitive active form:

SINGULAR.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	German	Lithuanian	Old Slavonic
<i>tiṣṭhāmi</i>	<i>histami</i>	<i>histēmi</i>	<i>sto</i>	<i>*stam</i>	<i>stowmi</i>	<i>stoyuń</i>
<i>dadāmi</i>	<i>dadhami</i>	<i>didōmi</i>	<i>do</i>		<i>dūmi</i>	<i>damy</i>
<i>asmi</i>	<i>ahmi</i>	<i>ěmmi</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>esmi</i>	<i>yesmy</i>
<i>bharāmi</i>	<i>barami</i>	<i>phérō</i>	<i>fero</i>	<i>baira</i>		
<i>vahāmi</i>	<i>vazami</i>	<i>ěchō</i>	<i>vehō</i>	<i>viga</i>	<i>wežū</i>	<i>vežuń</i>
<i>tiṣṭhēyam</i>		<i>histaiēn</i>	<i>stem</i>			
<i>dadyām</i>	<i>daidhyañm</i>	<i>didoiēn</i>	<i>dem</i>			
(a) <i>syām</i>	<i>hyāñm</i>	<i>e(s)iēn</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>siyan</i>		
<i>bharēyam</i>		<i>(pheroīn)</i>	<i>feram</i>	<i>bairan</i>		
<i>avaham</i>	<i>vazēm</i>	<i>eicho</i>	<i>vehēbam</i>		<i>wežian</i>	

DUAL.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	German	Lithuanian	Old Slavonic
<i>tiṣṭhāvas</i>					<i>stowiwà</i>	<i>stořva</i>
<i>dadwas</i>					<i>dūdawa</i>	<i>dadeva</i>
<i>bharāvas</i>				<i>bairōs</i>		
<i>vahāvas</i>				<i>vigōs</i>	<i>wežawà</i>	<i>veževa</i>
<i>bharēva</i>				<i>bairaiva</i>		
<i>vahēva</i>				<i>wigaiva</i>		<i>vežeъva</i>
<i>avahâva</i>					<i>wežēwa</i>	

PLURAL.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	German	Lithuanian	Old Slavonic
<i>tiṣṭhāmas</i>		<i>histamēs</i>	<i>stamus</i>	<i>*stāmēs</i>		
⊗ <i>tiṣṭhāmasi</i>	<i>histāmahi</i>				<i>dūdame</i>	<i>damy</i>
<i>dadmas</i>		<i>didōmēs</i>	<i>damus</i>			
⊗ <i>dadmasi</i>	<i>dadēmahi</i>					
<i>bharāmas</i>		<i>phérōmēs</i>	<i>ferimus</i>	<i>bairam</i>		
⊗ <i>bharāmasi</i>	<i>barāmahi</i>					
<i>vahāmas</i>		<i>ěchōmēs</i>	<i>vehimus</i>	<i>vigam</i>	<i>wežamē</i>	<i>vežom</i>
⊗ <i>vahāmasi</i>	<i>vazāmahi</i>					
<i>tiṣṭhēma</i>		<i>histaiēmēs</i>	<i>stēmus</i>			
<i>dadyāma</i>		<i>didōiēmēs</i>	<i>dēmus</i>			<i>stoim</i>
<i>bharēma</i>		<i>phēroīmēs</i>	<i>ferāmus</i>	<i>bairaima</i>		<i>dashdymy</i>
<i>vahēma</i>		<i>echōiēmēs</i>	<i>vehāmus</i>	<i>vigaima</i>		
<i>avahāma</i>	<i>vazáma?</i>	<i>ěichōmes</i>	<i>vehēbamus</i>		<i>wézēme</i>	<i>vežyem</i>

*The forms marked * belong to the Old High German; the unmarked forms to the Gothic.

⊗These are in the Vedic dialect.

SANSKRIT AND ZEND.

I take the following tables from Dr. Muir's second volume of *Original Sanskrit Texts* with some additions from other works, and some corrections (as I deem them), of the meaning of an occasional Zend word.

NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ETC.

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>yebhyas</i>	<i>yaēibyo</i>	to whom
<i>yadi</i>	<i>yēdhi, yēzi</i>	if
<i>mithuna</i>	<i>mithwan</i>	a pair
<i>giribhyas</i>	<i>gairibyo</i>	to hills
<i>ukta</i>	<i>aokhta</i>	spoken
<i>strī</i>	<i>çtri</i>	woman
<i>antar</i>	<i>añtarē</i>	within
<i>dataram</i>	<i>dâtârem</i>	giver
<i>gaus</i>	<i>gâus</i>	cow
<i>kas, kâ, kim</i>	<i>ko, kâ, kat</i>	who (masc. fem. neut.)
<i>kva</i>	<i>kva</i>	where
<i>gharma</i>	<i>gärëma</i>	warm
<i>vṛitrahān</i>	<i>vérēthrajan</i>	slayer of enemies
<i>vṛitraghna</i>	<i>vérēthraghnya</i>	victorious
<i>mantra</i>	<i>manthra</i>	hymn, sacred song
<i>pada</i>	<i>pâdha</i>	foot
<i>pâdânâm</i>	<i>pâdhanañm</i>	feet (genit. plu.)
<i>ap</i>	<i>ap, afs</i>	water
<i>subhadra</i>	<i>hufêdhri</i>	very good, of good lineage
<i>turya</i>	<i>tuirya</i>	fourth
<i>tritaya</i>	<i>thrishva</i>	three, a third
<i>chatushṭhaya</i>	<i>chathrushu</i>	four, a fourth
<i>atharvâñnam</i>	<i>âthrvanäm</i>	priest (acc.)
<i>asmai</i>	<i>ahmai</i>	to him
<i>svar</i>	<i>hvarë</i>	sun
<i>sva</i>	<i>hva</i>	own (his, etc., own)
<i>jihvâ</i>	<i>hizva</i>	tongue
<i>sahasra</i>	<i>hazañra</i>	thousand
<i>mâhântam</i>	<i>mazâoñtem</i>	great (acc. masc.)
<i>yûyam</i>	<i>yúzhêm</i>	you
<i>vâri</i>	<i>vairi</i>	water, sea, river
<i>tanu</i>	<i>tanu</i>	body
<i>çayânam</i>	<i>çayanäm</i>	sleeping (acc.)
<i>Sapta Sindhavas</i>	<i>hapta-hiñdu</i>	Land of Seven Rivers
<i>ârya</i>	<i>airyâ</i>	valiant, noble
<i>soma</i>	<i>haõma</i>	<i>sarcostema viminalis</i>
<i>anya</i>	<i>anya</i>	other
<i>viçva</i>	<i>viçpa</i>	all
<i>sarva</i>	<i>haurva</i>	all, whole, healthy

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>upama</i>	<i>upama</i>	highest
<i>ugra</i>	<i>ughra</i>	vehement
<i>taruṇa</i>	<i>tauruna</i>	tender
<i>savya</i>	<i>havya</i>	left (side)
<i>rajishīḥa</i>	<i>razista</i>	most upright
<i>dūra</i>	<i>dūra</i>	far
<i>nedhishṭa</i>	<i>nazdistā</i>	near
<i>crlā</i>	<i>çrira</i>	beautiful
<i>prathama</i>	<i>fratēma</i>	first
<i>agra</i>	<i>aghra</i>	first
<i>pūrva</i>	<i>paurva</i>	former
<i>çyāva</i>	<i>çyāva</i>	black
<i>kṛiṣṇa</i>	<i>kereṣa</i>	lean
<i>sakṛit</i>	<i>hakereṭ</i>	once
<i>āvīś</i>	<i>āvish</i>	manifest
<i>yama</i>	<i>yēma</i>	twin
<i>andha</i>	<i>añdāo</i>	blind
<i>antima</i>	<i>añtēma</i>	furthest, last
<i>esha</i>	<i>aēsha</i>	this
<i>atra</i>	<i>athra</i>	here
<i>adhaba</i>	<i>adhara</i>	laver
<i>arvan</i>	<i>aurvañl</i>	horse
<i>spaṣ</i>	<i>spaṣ</i>	spy, guardian
<i>drishṭi</i>	<i>darsti</i>	view
<i>stuti</i>	<i>çtūiti</i>	praise
<i>stotar</i>	<i>çtaotar</i>	praiser
<i>sthūnā</i>	<i>çtūna</i>	pillar
<i>ratha</i>	<i>ratha</i>	chariot
<i>gāthā</i>	<i>gātha</i>	verse, poem, ode, song
<i>pītu</i>	<i>pītu</i>	food
<i>rai</i>	<i>rai</i>	wealth, glitter
<i>hiranya</i>	<i>zaranya</i>	gold
<i>peças</i>	<i>paēcañh</i>	form
<i>ahan</i>	<i>azan</i>	day
<i>çarad</i>	<i>carēdha</i>	autumn, year
<i>asta, kshaya</i>	<i>asta, khshaya</i>	house [rule]
<i>angushtha</i>	<i>añgusta</i>	thumb, finger
<i>vana</i>	<i>vana</i>	forest, tree
<i>kaçyapa</i>	<i>kaçyapa</i>	tortoise
<i>tamas</i>	<i>temañh</i>	darkness
<i>bhūmī</i>	<i>būmi</i>	earth
<i>meshā</i>	<i>maêsha</i>	sheep
<i>varāha</i>	<i>varāza</i>	boar
<i>ukshan</i>	<i>ukhshan</i>	bull
<i>kshiṇka</i>	<i>khshīra</i>	milk
<i>isha</i>	<i>ishu</i>	arrow
<i>dhanvan</i>	<i>thanvana</i>	bow
<i>bhaga</i>	<i>bâga</i>	lot, fortune
<i>bhaktā</i>	<i>bakhta</i>	allotted, fate

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>sakhi</i>	<i>hakhi</i>	friend
<i>ojas.</i>	<i>aojañh</i>	vigour
<i>kshattra</i>	<i>khshathra</i>	royalty, dominion
<i>vaça</i>	<i>vaçañh</i>	power
<i>kṛishti</i>	<i>karsti</i>	ploughing, cultivation
<i>praçna</i>	<i>frashna</i>	question
<i>pārshṇi</i>	<i>pāshna</i>	heel
<i>dasta</i>	<i>zaçta</i>	hand
<i>mushṭi</i>	<i>musti</i>	fist
<i>griva</i>	<i>grīvā</i>	neck
<i>pāñcu</i>	<i>pāñcnu</i>	dust
<i>parçu</i>	<i>pereçu</i>	rib
<i>matsya</i>	<i>maçya</i>	fish
<i>parṇa</i>	<i>parēna</i>	feather, wing
<i>parṇin</i>	<i>pērēnin</i>	bird
<i>charman</i>	<i>charēman</i>	hide
<i>açru</i>	<i>açru</i>	tear
<i>amça</i>	<i>âça</i>	part
<i>vakshatha</i>	<i>vakhshatha</i>	increase
<i>yakshma</i>	<i>yaçka</i>	consumption, sickness
<i>adhvan</i>	<i>adhwan</i>	road
<i>artha</i>	<i>arētha</i>	object, profit
<i>anartha</i>	<i>anarētha</i>	useless, wrong
<i>vyartha</i>	<i>vyarētha</i>	vain, desecration
<i>amṛita</i>	<i>amērētāt</i>	long life, non-dying
<i>dhānya</i>	<i>dāna</i>	grain
<i>viç</i>	<i>viç</i>	people, tribe
<i>tāyu</i>	<i>tāyu</i>	thief
<i>garbha</i>	<i>garēwa</i>	fœtus
<i>putra</i>	<i>puihra</i>	son
<i>anta</i>	<i>añta</i>	end
<i>kshudha</i>	<i>shudha</i>	hunger
<i>giri</i>	<i>gairi</i>	maintain
<i>parvata</i>	<i>paurvata</i>	mountain
<i>visha</i>	<i>vis, visha</i>	poison
<i>kanya</i>	<i>kanyā</i>	damsel
<i>bhrātar</i>	<i>brātar</i>	brother
<i>svasar</i>	<i>gañhar</i>	sister
<i>çvaçura</i>	<i>qaçura</i>	father-in-law
<i>çvaçrū</i>		mother-in-law
<i>vidhavā</i>		widow
<i>jani, gna</i>	<i>jēni, ghēna</i>	woman, wife
<i>martya</i>	<i>marēta</i>	mortal, man
<i>jīvā, jīvita</i>	<i>jīti, jīsti</i>	life
<i>tanu</i>	<i>tanu, tanus</i>	body
<i>majjā</i>	<i>masga</i>	brain
<i>çiras</i>	<i>çara</i>	head
<i>asthi</i>	<i>açti, açta</i>	bone
<i>dant</i>	<i>dantan</i>	tooth

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>stonā</i>	<i>fstâna</i>	female breast
<i>jânu</i>	<i>zhnu</i>	knee
<i>prishṭha</i>	<i>parsti</i>	back
<i>ushṭra</i>	<i>ustra</i>	camel
<i>go</i>	<i>gâo</i>	ox, cow
<i>çukara</i>	<i>hu</i>	boar
<i>khara</i>	<i>khara</i>	ass, a wild ass
<i>makshikâ</i>	<i>makshi</i>	fly
<i>kṛimi</i>	<i>kérēma</i>	worm
<i>ayas</i>	<i>ayañh</i>	iron
<i>vrîhi</i>	<i>berejya</i>	rice
<i>yava</i>	<i>yava</i>	barley
<i>dâru</i>	<i>dâuru</i>	wood
<i>dvâra</i>	<i>dvâră</i>	door
<i>chakra</i>	<i>chakhra</i>	wheel
<i>deva</i>	<i>daêva</i>	deity, luminary, evil spirit (Z.)
<i>asman</i>	<i>açman</i>	stone, heaven
<i>jinâ, genâ</i>	<i>zem</i>	earth
<i>mitra, mihira</i>	<i>mithra</i>	friend, associate
<i>vasishṭha</i>	<i>añha Vahista</i>	best, paradise
<i>mâs</i>	<i>mâoñh</i>	moon, month
<i>stâr (Vedic)</i>	<i>çtâre</i>	star
<i>abhra</i>	<i>awra</i>	cloud
<i>megha,</i>	<i>maegha</i>	cloud
<i>kshapâ</i>	<i>kshap</i>	night
<i>hima</i>	<i>zimâ</i>	winter, cold
<i>vâta</i>	<i>vâta</i>	wind
<i>gandha</i>	<i>gañti</i>	smell, bad smell
<i>namas</i>	<i>nêmeñh</i>	adoration, worship
<i>manas</i>	<i>manañh</i>	mind, intellect
<i>guṇa</i>	<i>gaona</i>	quality, colour
<i>drugdha</i>	<i>draogha</i>	injury, lie
<i>třishṇâ</i>	<i>tarshna</i>	thirst
<i>kârya</i>	<i>kâra</i>	work
<i>bhishaj</i>	<i>bhaêshaza</i>	physician
<i>ishtika (?)</i>	<i>istya</i>	brick
<i>yâtu</i>	<i>yâtu</i>	sorcerer, sorcery
<i>rathyâ</i>	<i>raithya</i>	road
<i>sthâna</i>	<i>çtâna</i>	place, threshold
<i>dâha</i>	<i>dâgha</i>	burning, mark of burn
<i>ârâma</i>	<i>râman</i>	rest, pleasure, garden
<i>drapsa</i>	<i>drafsha</i>	drop, spark, banner, lightning
<i>tokman</i>	<i>taokhman</i>	blade of grain, seed
<i>sangama</i>	<i>hañjamana</i>	an assemblage
<i>dûra</i>	<i>dûra</i>	far
<i>medishṭha</i>	<i>nazda</i>	near
<i>mahat</i>	<i>maz, mazañt</i>	great
<i>nema</i>	<i>naêma</i>	half
<i>çukra (bright)</i>	<i>çukhra</i>	red

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>çveta</i>	<i>çpaēta</i>	white
<i>çyāma, çyāva</i>	<i>çpitama</i>	most noble
<i>Asura</i>	<i>çpēnta</i>	beneficent
<i>pūrṇa</i>	<i>Ahura</i>	light
<i>tigma, tikshna, tejas, tij</i> (to sharpen)	<i>çyāva</i>	black, brown
<i>dīrgha</i>	<i>pērēna</i>	full
<i>rāma</i>	<i>tighra, tizhin</i>	sharp, sharpness
<i>sthāvara</i>		
<i>kva, kutra, kuha</i> (Vedic)	<i>daregha</i>	long
<i>na</i>	<i>rāma</i>	pleasant, pleasantness, happy
<i>tvam</i>	<i>çtawra</i>	firm
<i>sva</i>	<i>kuthra</i>	where?
<i>antar</i>	<i>na</i>	not
<i>upari</i>	<i>tūm</i>	thou
<i>paçhat, paçcha</i>	<i>qa, hava, hva</i>	you, own, self
<i>vimçati</i>	<i>añtare</i>	within
<i>shashti</i>	<i>upairi</i>	above
<i>saptati</i>	<i>paçkat; paçcha</i>	after
<i>açtī</i>	<i>viçaiti</i>	twenty
<i>navati</i>	<i>khshasti</i>	sixty
<i>çata</i>	<i>haplāiti</i>	seventy
<i>vâk</i>	<i>astāiti</i>	eighty
<i>nâmâ</i>	<i>navaiti</i>	ninety
<i>nar</i>	<i>çata</i>	a hundred
<i>çwa, çwan</i>	<i>hvo-gva</i>	owner of cattle
<i>vâhu</i>	<i>vach</i>	voice, speech
<i>vakshas, ukshan</i>	<i>naman, nañman, nemano, nmano</i>	name
<i>purû</i>	<i>nri</i>	man
<i>ruch</i>	<i>çpa</i>	dog
<i>þreç</i>	<i>vâzu</i>	arm
<i>khar</i>	<i>ocshan</i>	oxen
<i>maushaya</i>	<i>pôuru</i>	much
<i>siddha</i>	<i>raoch</i>	lustre, light
<i>yajata</i>	<i>fras</i>	request, inquiry
<i>vrika</i>	<i>svar</i>	shine
<i>hariman</i>	<i>mashya</i>	man
<i>ahis</i>	<i>shaistem</i>	perfect
<i>ahan</i>	<i>yazata</i>	adorable
	<i>vérhka</i>	wolf [wehr-wolf]
	<i>zarvan</i>	time
	<i>azis</i>	snake
	<i>açna</i>	a day

VERBAL ROOTS AND FORMS.

Sanskrit	Zend	English
râj	râz	to shine
jush	zush	to love
rud	rud	to weep
ruh	rud	to grow
rudh	rud	to stop
idh	id	to kindle
çuch	çuch	to glow
dharsh	darêsh	to dare
much	much	to loose
muh	mugh	to bewilder, be bewildered
van	van	to love
van	van	to smite
gâ	gâ	to sing
chi	chi	to gather
chi+vi	chi+vi	to distinguish
dru	dru	to run
ram	ram	to rest
gar (<i>girati</i>)	gar	to swallow
gar (<i>grinâti</i>)	gar	to praise
gar (<i>jâgarti</i>)	gar	to awake
çiksh	çakhsh	to learn
nî	nî	to lead
var	var	to cover
gam	gam	to go
nam	nam	to bend
khan	kan	to dry
druh	druj	to injure, lie
paç	paç	to bind
dvish	dvish	to hate, offend
dhan	dvân	to sound
ish	ish	to wish
kam	kam	to desire
su	hu	to bring forth
smar	mar	to remember
sthâ+ut	çtâ+uç	to rise
kart	kareñ	to cut
da	da	to cut, divide
jar	zar	to grow old
ji	ji	to conquer
bhî	bî	to fear, frighten
karsh	karêsh, kash	to draw
bhaj	baz, bakhsh	to divide, bestow
pâ	pâ	to protect
pâtar	pâtar	protector
trâ	thrâ	to deliver
trâtar	thrâtar	deliverer
ush	ush	to burn

APPENDIX

Sanskrit	Zend	English
dah	daz	to burn
iç	iç	to be powerful
bandh	bañd	to bind
badhnamî	bañdami	I bind
dădărça	dădărësa	I saw
vahâmi	vazami	I carry
vahati	vazaiti	he carries
vahanti	vazénti	they carry
vahantah	vazeñto	carrying (nom. plu.)
bharati	baraiti	he carries
bharanti	baréñti	they carry
pracharati	fracharaiti	he goes forward
vicharanti	vîchareñti	they roam
bhavati	bavaiti	he is
bhavanti	bavañti, bavañti	they are
bhavishyantam	bûshyañtem	about to be
dadâti	dadhâiti	he gives
dadâmi	dadhâmi	I give
dădmäsi	dădêmahi	we give
tâpayati	tâpayêiti	he warms
âtâpayati	âtâpayêiti	he kindles, or lights
pradêçayeyam	frâdaêçaêm	may I enjoin
jagmushîm	jaghmûshîm	to go (acc. fem. perf. part. of <i>gam</i>)
stauti	ctaoiti	he praises
staumi	ctaomi	I praise
studhi	(avi) çtuidhi	praise thou
astaut	çtaoþ	he praised
hanti	jaiñti	he kills
hantu	jañtu	let him kill
yaj	yaz	to sacrifice
yajate	yazaitê	he sacrifices
yajâmahe	yazamaidê	we sacrifice
yajante	yazeñtê	they sacrifice
prîñâmi	âfrînâmi	I love, vow
prîñîmasi	frînâmahi	we love
veda	vaêdâ	I know
veda	vaêdâ, vaêdha	he knows
vettha	vôiqtâ	thou knowest
vidyat	vîdyât	he may know
vidvan	vîdvâo, vîdhvao	knowing, wise
vindanti	vindeñti	they find
avâmi	avâmi	I protect
kshayasi	khshayêhi	thou rulest
vashti	vasti	he desires
asmi	ahmi	I am
asi	ahi	thou art
asti	açti	he is
santi	heñti	they are
astu	açtu	let him be

Sanskrit	Zend	English
<i>santu</i>	<i>heṇtū</i>	let them be
<i>santam</i>	<i>heṇtem</i>	being (acc. sing.)
<i>santah</i>	<i>hento</i>	being (nom. plur.)
<i>kṛiṇomi</i> (Vedic)	<i>kerenaomi</i>	I do
<i>kṛiṇoshi</i>	<i>kerenūishi</i>	thou dost
<i>kṛiṇoti</i>	<i>kerenaοiti</i>	he does
<i>kṛiṇvantī</i>	<i>kerenvaiṇti</i>	they do
<i>kṛiṇavāni</i>	<i>kerenavâni</i>	may I do
<i>kṛiṇuhi</i>	<i>kerenûidhi</i>	do thou
<i>akṛiṇot</i>	<i>kerenaot</i>	he did
<i>grabh</i> (Vedic)	<i>garew, garefsh</i>	to take
<i>bhar</i>	<i>bar</i>	to bear
<i>āp</i>	<i>ap, āf</i>	to obtain
<i>çru</i> (<i>çriṇoti</i>)	<i>çru</i>	to bear
<i>mar</i>	<i>mar</i>	to die
<i>svap</i>	<i>qap-qafç</i>	to sleep
<i>svapna</i>	<i>qafna</i>	sleep
<i>char</i>	<i>char</i>	to wander, graze
<i>pach</i>	<i>pach</i>	to cook
<i>jnā</i>	<i>zâ</i>	to know
<i>han</i>	<i>jan</i>	to strike
<i>tras</i>	<i>tareç</i>	to fear
<i>trasa</i>	<i>tarsti</i>	fear, trembling
<i>mih</i>	<i>miz</i>	to piss
<i>taṇas</i>	<i>taṇnu</i>	heat, fever
<i>prachh</i>	<i>pareç</i>	to ask
<i>dham</i>	<i>dam</i>	to blow (as wind or breath)
<i>jâta</i>	<i>zâta</i>	born
<i>tan</i> (<i>tanoti</i>)	<i>tan</i>	to extend
<i>varsh, var, vari</i> (water)	<i>vâr</i>	to rain
<i>ni+dhâ</i>	<i>ni+dâ</i>	to place
<i>pra+sthâ</i>	<i>fra+stâ</i>	to send, go forward
<i>pat</i>	<i>paṭ</i>	to fall, to fly
<i>dhi</i> (Vedic)	<i>dî</i>	to perceive, see
<i>çudh</i>	<i>çud</i>	to cleanse, wash
<i>mard</i>	<i>mared</i>	to grind, rub, etc.
<i>dhâr</i>	<i>dâr</i>	to hold
<i>kshar</i>	<i>khshar</i>	to flow
<i>chhid</i>	<i>çkeñd, çchiñd</i>	to cut, break
<i>svan</i>	<i>qan</i>	to sound, call, read
<i>çak</i>	<i>çach</i> (to give, learn) <i>ĕrežu, aṣu</i>	to be able, make quick

APPENDIX

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>pitar</i>	<i>patar</i>	<i>patēr</i>	<i>pater</i>	father
<i>mātar</i>	<i>mātar</i>	<i>mētēr</i>	<i>mater</i>	mother
<i>tāta</i>		<i>tetta</i>	<i>tata</i>	father
<i>nānā</i>		<i>nannē</i>		mother, aunt
<i>bhrātar</i>	<i>brātar</i>	<i>phratria</i> (a clan)	<i>frater</i>	brother
<i>svasar</i>	<i>qañhar</i>		<i>soror</i>	sister
<i>duhitar</i>	<i>dughdar</i>	<i>thugatēr</i>		daughter
<i>naptar, napāt</i>	<i>naþa</i>	<i>anepsios</i>	<i>nepos</i>	grandson, cousin
<i>naptrī</i>	<i>napti</i>		<i>neptis</i>	grand-daughter
<i>devar, devara</i>		<i>daer</i>		husband's brother
<i>snushā</i>		<i>nuos</i>	<i>nurus</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>jāmātar</i>	<i>zāmātar</i>	<i>gambros</i>	<i>gener</i>	son-in-law
<i>çvaçura</i>	<i>qaçura</i>	<i>hekuros</i>	<i>socer</i>	father-in-law
<i>çvaçrū</i>		<i>hekura</i>	<i>socrus</i>	mother-in-law
<i>pitrīviya</i>		<i>patrōs</i>	<i>patruus</i>	father's brother
<i>sūnu</i>	<i>hunu</i>	<i>huios</i>		son
<i>vidhavā</i>			<i>vidua</i>	widow
<i>nara</i>	<i>nara</i>	<i>anēr</i>		man
<i>jani, gnā</i>	<i>jēni</i>	<i>giñē</i>		woman
<i>vīra</i>		<i>hērōs</i>	<i>vir</i>	man (virile), hero
<i>vīratā</i>			<i>virtus</i>	virtue (manliness)
<i>çūra</i>	<i>çurā</i>	<i>kurios</i>	<i>curia, quirites</i>	strong, hero, lord
<i>rājan</i>			<i>rex</i>	King
<i>rājnī</i>			<i>regina</i>	Queen
<i>jaras</i>	<i>zaurvā</i>	<i>gēras</i>		old age
<i>jaran</i>	<i>zaorura</i>	<i>gērōn</i>		old man
<i>yuvan</i>	<i>yavan</i>		<i>juvenis</i>	young man
<i>pati</i>	<i>paiti</i>	<i>posis</i>	<i>potis, potens</i>	lord, husband, able
<i>patnī</i>		<i>potnia</i>		mistress, honourable
<i>âtman</i>		<i>atmos, aütmēn</i>		breath, soul, vapour
<i>an</i> (to breathe)		<i>anemos</i>	<i>animus</i>	wind, mind
<i>kriip</i> (to make)	<i>kerefs</i> (nōm.)		<i>corpus</i>	body
<i>kridaya</i>	<i>zaredhaya</i>	<i>kardia</i>	<i>cor</i>	heart
<i>çiras</i>	<i>çara</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>cerebrum</i>	head, brain
<i>kapâla</i>		<i>kephale</i>	<i>caput</i>	head
<i>akshi</i>	<i>ashi</i>	<i>ōps, ökös, ökkös</i>	<i>oculus</i>	eye
<i>nâs, nâsâ,</i> <i>nâsikâ</i>	<i>nâoñha</i>		<i>nâsus, nâres</i>	nose
<i>bhrû</i>	<i>brvat</i>	<i>ophrus</i>		eye-brow
<i>âs, âsyâ</i>	<i>âoñh</i>		<i>ōs</i>	face
<i>dat, dantam</i> (acc.)	<i>dañtan</i>	<i>odonta</i>	<i>dentem</i> (acc.)	tooth
<i>hânu</i>		<i>genus</i>	<i>gena</i>	jaw, chin, cheek
<i>nakha</i>		<i>onux, onukhos</i> (gen.)	<i>unguis</i>	nail
<i>jambha</i>		<i>gomphos</i>		tooth
<i>gir</i>		<i>gērus</i>		speech
<i>bâhu</i>	<i>bâzu</i>	<i>pēkhus</i>		arm

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Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>asthi</i>	<i>ačti</i>	<i>osteon</i>	<i>ös</i>	bone
<i>kravya, kravis</i>		<i>krēas</i>	<i>caro</i>	raw flesh, flesh
<i>pād, pāda</i>	<i>pādha</i>	<i>pūs, podos</i> (gen.)	<i>pes, pedis</i> (gen.)	foot
<i>pādāti</i>		<i>pezos</i>	<i>pedes</i> (<i>peditis</i>)	footman
<i>pāda</i>		<i>pēdon</i>		field
<i>jānu</i>	<i>zhnu</i>	<i>gōnu</i>	<i>genu</i>	knee
<i>udara</i>	<i>udara</i>		<i>uterus</i>	belly
<i>jaṭhara</i>		<i>gastēr</i>		belly
<i>antra</i>		<i>entēron</i>	<i>venter</i>	entrails, belly
<i>yakṛit</i>		<i>hēpar</i>	<i>jecur</i>	liver
<i>nābhi</i>		<i>omphalos</i>	<i>umbilicus</i>	navel
<i>çrōṇi</i>	<i>graoni</i>	<i>klonis</i>	<i>clunis</i>	hip, end of spine
<i>kukshi</i>		<i>kokhōnē</i>	<i>cox</i>	belly, hip-bone, etc.
<i>plīhan</i>		<i>splen</i>	<i>lien</i>	spleen
<i>keça, kesa,</i> <i>keçara, kesara</i>			<i>cæsaries</i>	hair of the head
<i>ādhas</i>		<i>ūthar</i>	<i>über</i>	udder
<i>sakṛit</i>		<i>skor, skatos</i> (gen.)	<i>stercus</i>	dung
<i>āyus</i>		<i>aiōn</i>	<i>ævum</i>	life
<i>toka, takman</i>		<i>tekos, teknōn</i>		child
<i>paçu</i>	<i>paçu</i>	<i>pou</i> (?)	<i>pecu</i>	cattle
<i>go</i>	<i>gāo</i>	<i>būs</i>	<i>bos</i>	ox
<i>sthūra</i>	<i>ctaora</i>	<i>tauros</i>	<i>taurus</i>	bull, steer
<i>açva</i>	<i>açpa</i>	<i>hippos</i>	<i>equus</i>	horse
<i>avi</i>		<i>oīs</i>	<i>ovis</i>	sheep
<i>aja</i>		<i>aiz</i>		goat
<i>çvan</i>	<i>çpā, çāni</i>	<i>kuōn</i>	<i>canis</i>	dog (nom.)
<i>çvānam</i>	<i>çpānēm</i>	<i>kuna</i>	<i>canem</i>	dog (acc.)
<i>ākara, sūkara</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>sus, hus</i>	<i>sus</i>	hog
<i>vṛika</i>	<i>vehrka</i>	<i>lukos</i>	<i>lupus</i>	wolf
<i>r̥iksha</i>		<i>arktos</i>	<i>ursus</i>	bear
<i>lopāçaka</i>		<i>alōpēx</i>		jackal, fox
<i>mūsh, mūsha</i>		<i>mūs</i>	<i>mus</i>	mouse
<i>vi</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>oiōnos</i>	<i>avis</i>	bird
<i>vartikā</i>		<i>ortux</i>		quail
<i>hamsa</i>		<i>khēn</i>	<i>anser</i>	goose
<i>kuhūka, kokila</i>		<i>kokkux</i>	<i>cuculus</i>	cuckoo
<i>kārava</i>		<i>corax</i>	<i>corvus</i>	crow
<i>uliṅka</i>		<i>tetrix</i>	<i>ulula</i>	owl
<i>tittiri</i>			<i>pīca</i>	partridge
<i>pīka</i>				Indian cuckoo, magpie
<i>udra, urdra</i>		<i>hudros, enudris</i>		otter, water serpent (beaver?)
<i>ahi</i>	<i>azhi</i>	<i>ěkhis, echidna</i>	<i>anguis</i>	snake
<i>karka</i>		<i>karkinos</i>	<i>cancer</i>	crab
<i>çarabha</i>		<i>karabos</i>	<i>scarabæus</i>	locust, beetle
<i>puluka</i>		<i>psulla, psullos</i>	<i>pulex</i>	insect, flea
<i>makshikā</i>	<i>makshi</i>	<i>muīa</i>	<i>musca</i>	fly
<i>Varuṇa</i>		<i>uranos</i>		Planet Jupiter, heaven

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>Dyaus</i>		<i>Zeus</i>	<i>Divus</i> (title)	sky, Zeus
<i>divya</i>		<i>dīos</i>	<i>divus</i>	celestial, divine
<i>Dyaus Pitar</i>		<i>Zeus pater</i>	<i>Diespiter</i> (Jupiter)	Dyaus, father, sky, progenitor
<i>deva</i>	<i>daeva</i>	<i>theos</i> (?)		luminary, evil spirit, God
<i>divasa, dīva</i>			<i>dies</i>	day, by day
<i>naktam, naktā</i>		<i>nukta</i> (acc.)	<i>noctem</i> (acc.)	night
<i>ushas</i>	<i>usha, ushahina</i>	<i>ēōs, auōs</i>	<i>aurora</i>	dawn
<i>agni</i>			<i>ignis</i>	fire
<i>mās, māsa</i>	<i>māoñh</i>	<i>mēn, mēnē</i>	<i>mensis</i>	moon, month
<i>star</i> (Vedic), <i>tāra</i>	<i>gtāre</i>	<i>astēr, astron</i>	<i>astrum</i>	star
<i>çaru</i>		<i>keraunos</i>		thunderbolt
<i>nabhas</i>		<i>nēphos</i>	<i>nubes</i>	sky, cloud
<i>abhra</i>	<i>awra</i>	<i>ombros, aphros</i>	<i>imber</i>	cloud, rain, foam
<i>uda, udaka</i>		<i>hudōr</i>	<i>unda</i>	water, wave
<i>aþ, āpas</i> (nom. pl.)	<i>aþ</i>		<i>aqua</i>	water
<i>çankha</i>		<i>konkhos</i>	<i>concha</i>	shell, cockle
<i>hima</i>	<i>zima</i>	<i>kheiōn, kheimon</i>	<i>hiems</i>	winter, snow
<i>chhāyā</i>		<i>skia</i>		shadow, the earth
<i>go, gma</i>		<i>gē, gaia</i>		earth
<i>kshmā</i>	<i>zem</i>	<i>khamai</i>		the earth, on the ground
<i>kshoṇi</i>		<i>kthōn</i>		the earth
<i>kakud, kak-</i> <i>udmal</i>			<i>cacumen</i>	peak, mountain
<i>ajra</i> (Vedic)		<i>agros</i>	<i>ager</i>	field
<i>dru, druma</i>	<i>dru</i>	<i>dru, drumos</i>		tree, wood
<i>dāru</i>	<i>dāuru</i>	<i>doru</i>		wood, spear
<i>madhu</i>	<i>madhu</i>	<i>methu</i>	<i>mel</i>	honey, wine (metheglin)
<i>yava</i>	<i>yava</i>	<i>zea</i>		barley
<i>andhos</i>		<i>anthos</i>		plant, flower
<i>ayas</i>			<i>aes</i>	iron, copper
<i>rajata</i>	<i>erēzāta</i>	<i>arguros</i>	<i>argentum</i>	silver
<i>aþas</i>			<i>opus</i>	work
<i>aþnas</i>		<i>aphenos</i>	<i>op̄es</i>	wealth
<i>pur, purī</i>		<i>pōlis</i>		city
<i>dama</i>	<i>demāna</i>	<i>domos</i>	<i>domus</i>	house
<i>veça (okas?)</i>		<i>Foikos</i>	<i>vicus</i>	house, village
<i>dvār</i>		<i>thura</i>	<i>fores</i>	door
<i>rai</i>			<i>rēs</i>	thing, possession
<i>svapna (svaþ,</i> <i>to sleep)</i>	<i>qafna</i>	<i>hypnos</i>	<i>sopor, somnus</i>	sleep
<i>açman</i>	<i>açman</i>	<i>akmōn</i>		stone, anvil, thunderbolt
<i>çarkarā, karkara</i>			<i>calx</i>	limestone

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Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>nau</i>		<i>naus</i>	<i>navis</i>	ship
<i>aritra</i>		<i>eretmos</i>		oar
<i>aritar</i>		<i>eretēs</i>		rower
<i>aksha</i>		<i>axōn</i>	<i>axis</i>	axle
<i>kshura</i>		<i>xuron</i>		razor
<i>paraçu</i>		<i>pēlēcus</i>		axe
<i>asi</i>			<i>ensis</i>	sword
<i>kratu</i> (Vedic)	<i>khratu</i>	<i>kratos</i>		strength, power
<i>vanas</i> (<i>van</i> , to love)	<i>van</i>		<i>Venus</i> , <i>Venus-tas</i>	beauty, Venus
<i>pathin</i>	<i>pathan</i>	<i>patos</i>		road, path
<i>āgas</i>		<i>agos</i>		sin, guilt
<i>dhūma</i>		<i>thumos</i>	<i>fumus</i>	smoke, spirit
<i>budhma</i>	<i>buna</i>	<i>puthmen</i>	<i>fundus</i>	bottom
<i>chakra</i>	<i>chakhra</i>	<i>kuklos</i>	<i>circus</i>	wheel, circle, etc.
<i>dhūpa</i>		<i>tuphos</i>		incense, smoke
<i>kalama</i>		<i>kalamos</i>	<i>calamus</i>	reed
<i>sthāṇā</i> , <i>sthāla</i> (thick)	<i>ctūna</i>	<i>stulos</i>		pillar
<i>kumbha</i>		<i>kumbē</i> , <i>kumbos</i>		vessel, jar
<i>svara</i>		<i>surinx</i>	<i>susurrus</i>	sound, pipe, whisper
<i>marmara</i>		<i>mormuro</i> (to murmur)	<i>murmur</i>	murmur
<i>khalīna</i> , <i>khalina</i>		<i>khalīnos</i>		bridle, etc.
<i>aṁhos</i>	<i>azañh</i>	<i>ankhō</i> (to strangle)	<i>ango</i> (to afflict)	straits
<i>ūrja</i> , <i>ūrjas</i>		<i>orgē</i>		sap, power, passion
<i>ojas</i>		<i>angē</i>		brilliance
<i>makha</i>		<i>makhē</i> (battle), <i>makhaira</i> (sword, knife)	<i>mactare</i> (to kill)	sacrifice
<i>sana</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>henos</i>	<i>senex</i>	old
<i>mandā</i>			<i>mundus</i>	ornament, world
<i>kona</i>		<i>gōniā</i>		corner
<i>rasa</i>		<i>drosos</i>	<i>ros</i>	liquid, dew
<i>kūpa</i>		<i>kupē</i> , <i>gupe</i>		hole, well
<i>stūpa</i>		<i>tumbos</i>	<i>tumulus</i>	mound
<i>phulla</i>		<i>phullon</i>	<i>folium</i>	flower, leaf
<i>arjana</i>		<i>ergon</i>		earning, work
<i>puru</i> , <i>pulu</i> (Vedic)	<i>pouru</i>	<i>pōlus</i>	<i>plus</i>	much, more
<i>uru</i> , <i>prithu</i>		<i>eurus</i> , <i>platus</i>		broad
<i>guru</i>		<i>barus</i>	<i>gravis</i>	heavy
<i>garīyas</i>			<i>gravius</i>	heavier
<i>garishṭha</i>			<i>gravissimus</i>	heaviest
<i>varishṭha</i>		<i>aristos</i> (?)		best
<i>laghu</i>		<i>elakhus</i>	<i>levis</i>	light, small

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Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>laghishṭha</i>		<i>elakhistos</i>	<i>levissimus</i>	lightest
<i>mahān</i>	<i>mazos</i>	<i>megas</i>	<i>magnus</i>	great
<i>mahīyān</i>		<i>meizōn</i>	<i>major</i>	greater
<i>mañhishtha</i> (Vedic)	<i>mazista</i>	<i>megistos</i>	<i>maximus</i>	greatest, venerable
<i>bahu</i>		<i>pakhus</i>		great, thick
<i>āṣu</i>		<i>ōkus</i>	<i>ocior</i>	swift, swifter
<i>mṛidu</i>		<i>bradus</i>		soft, slow
<i>tanu</i>			<i>tenuis</i>	slender
<i>rudhira</i>		<i>eruthros</i>	<i>ruber</i>	blow, red
<i>gharma</i>		<i>thermos</i>	<i>formus</i>	heat, hot
<i>çushka</i>	<i>hisku, huska</i>		<i>siccus</i>	dry
<i>pūrṇa</i>		<i>pleos</i>	<i>plenus</i>	full
<i>dīrgha</i>		<i>dolikhos</i>		long
<i>barbara, varbara</i>		<i>barbaros</i>	<i>barbarus</i>	barbarous
<i>sama</i>	<i>hama</i>	<i>homos</i>	<i>similis</i>	like
<i>sthira</i>		<i>stereos</i>		firm
<i>bala</i> (strong, strength)			<i>validus</i> (<i>valeo</i>)	strong
<i>dakshiṇa</i>	<i>dashina</i>	<i>dexios</i>	<i>dexter</i>	right (side)
<i>nava</i>	<i>nava</i>	<i>neos</i>	<i>novus</i>	new
<i>sāmi</i>		<i>hēmi</i>	<i>sēmi</i>	half
<i>madhya</i>	<i>maidhya</i>	<i>mesos</i>	<i>medius</i>	middle
<i>ekatara</i>		<i>hekateros</i>		one of two
<i>satya</i>		<i>eteos</i>		true
<i>svādu</i>		<i>hēdus</i>	<i>svavis</i>	sweet
<i>āma</i>		<i>ōmos</i>		raw
<i>uttara</i>		<i>husteros</i>		subsequent
<i>pīvan, pīna</i>		<i>piōn</i>		fat
<i>dhrishṭa</i>		<i>thrasus</i>		bold, rash
<i>ārdra</i>		<i>ardō</i>		moist, to moisten
<i>pṛicni</i>		<i>pērnos</i>		speckled
<i>kalya, kalyāṇa</i>		<i>kālos</i>		agreeable, beautiful
<i>palita</i>		<i>polios</i>	<i>pallidus</i>	hoary, pale
<i>mala</i> (dirt), <i>malina</i>		<i>mēlas</i>	<i>mālus</i>	dirty, black, bad
<i>kala</i>		<i>kelainos</i>	<i>caligo</i> (darkness)	black
<i>tumula, tumala</i>			<i>tumultus</i> (tumult)	noisy

PREPOSITIONS, PARTICLES AND PRONOUNS.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>sam</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>con</i>	with
<i>pari</i>	<i>pairi</i>	<i>peri</i>	<i>per</i>	round
<i>upari</i>	<i>upairi</i>	<i>huper</i>	<i>super</i>	above (upper)
<i>upa</i>		<i>hupo</i>	<i>sub</i>	near, under
<i>prati</i>	<i>paiti</i>	<i>pros, proti</i>		towards
<i>pra</i>	<i>fra</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>prō</i>	before
<i>antar</i>	<i>añtare</i>	<i>entos</i>	<i>inter, in tuo</i>	within
<i>apa</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>apo</i>	<i>ab</i>	away
<i>api</i>	<i>avi</i>	<i>ēpi</i>		towards, on
<i>abhi</i>	<i>aibi, aiwi</i>	<i>amphi</i>		towards, round
<i>samā, samayā</i>		<i>hama</i>		together
<i>pāram, pāra</i>	<i>pāra</i>	<i>perā</i>		other side, beyond
<i>parā</i>		<i>para</i>		past
<i>puros, purā</i>	<i>parō</i>	<i>paros</i>		before
<i>tar (to cross), tīras</i>	<i>tarō</i>	<i>terma</i> (limit)	<i>trans</i>	across
<i>su</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>eu</i>		well
<i>dus</i>	<i>dush</i>	<i>dus</i>		ill
<i>sumanas</i>	<i>humanañh</i>	<i>eumenēs</i>		kindly-minded
<i>durmanas</i>	<i>dusmanañh</i>	<i>dusmenēs</i>		evil-minded
<i>nūnam</i>	<i>nū</i>	<i>nūn</i>	<i>nunc</i>	now
<i>a, an</i>	<i>a, an</i>	<i>a, an</i>	<i>in</i>	(privative particle)
<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nē</i>	<i>ne (fas), non</i>	(negative)
<i>nanu</i>			<i>nonne</i>	is not?
<i>kas, kis</i>	<i>ko, chis</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>quis</i>	who?
<i>makis, mākis</i>	<i>mā+chis</i>	<i>ātis, mētis</i>	<i>nemo, neguis</i>	no one, let no one
<i>kim, kad</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>quid</i>	what?
<i>kataras</i>	<i>katāro</i>	<i>poteros</i>	<i>uter</i>	which of two?
<i>itaras</i>		<i>hētēros</i>	<i>alter</i>	other
<i>ubhi</i>	<i>uba</i>	<i>ampho</i>	<i>ambo</i>	both
<i>anya</i>	<i>anya</i>	<i>enioi</i>		other, some
<i>kva, kuha, kutra</i>	<i>kva, katha, kuthra</i>	<i>pū, kū</i> (Ionic)	<i>quo</i>	where?
<i>kutah</i>		<i>pothen</i>		whence?
<i>kati</i>	<i>chaiṭi, chvanṭ</i>	<i>pōsoi, kosoi</i> (Ionic)	<i>quot, quotus, quantus</i>	how many?
<i>tati</i>		<i>tosoi</i>	<i>tot</i>	so many
<i>kadā</i>	<i>kadha</i>	<i>pote, kote</i> (Ionic)	<i>quando</i>	when?
<i>tadā</i>	<i>tadha</i>	<i>tote</i>		then
<i>yadā</i>	<i>yadâ</i>	<i>hote</i>		when
<i>tatas</i>		<i>tothen</i>		thence
<i>yatas</i>		<i>hothen</i>		whence
<i>ittham, ittha</i> (Vedic)	<i>uiti, avatha</i>		<i>item, ita</i>	thus
<i>paçchāt, paçcha</i>	<i>paçkāt, paçnē</i>	<i>opisthen</i>	<i>post</i>	after
<i>makshu</i>			<i>mox</i>	quickly, shortly
<i>anti</i>		<i>anti</i>	<i>ante</i>	opposite, near, before
<i>ati</i>		<i>eti</i>		beyond, further
<i>mithas</i>		<i>meta</i>		mutual, with
<i>ha</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>que</i>	and

APPENDIX

NUMERALS.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>dir</i>	<i>dva</i>	<i>duo</i>	<i>duo</i>	two
<i>trayas, tisras</i> (fem.)	<i>thrâyô, tishâro</i> (fem.)	<i>treis</i>	<i>tres</i>	three
<i>chatvâras</i>	<i>chathwâro</i>	<i>tessares</i>	<i>quatuor</i>	four
<i>panchan</i>	<i>pañchan</i>	<i>pente</i>	<i>quinque</i>	five
<i>shaṭ</i>	<i>khshvas</i>	<i>hex</i>	<i>sex</i>	six
<i>sap्तian</i>	<i>hăptan</i>	<i>hepta</i>	<i>septem</i>	seven
<i>ashṭan</i>	<i>astan</i>	<i>okto</i>	<i>octo</i>	eight
<i>navan</i>	<i>navan</i>	<i>hennea</i>	<i>novem</i>	nine
<i>daçan</i>	<i>daçan</i>	<i>deka</i>	<i>decem</i>	ten
<i>viṁsati</i>	<i>vîçaiti</i>	<i>eikosi</i>	<i>viginti</i>	twenty
<i>çatam</i>	<i>çatem</i>	<i>hekaton</i>	<i>centum</i>	hundred
<i>prathamas</i>	<i>frätemo</i>	<i>prôtos</i>	<i>primus</i>	first
<i>dvitîyas</i>	<i>daibityo, bityo</i>	<i>deuteros</i>	<i>secundus</i>	second
<i>tritîyas</i>	<i>thrityo</i>	<i>tritos</i>	<i>tertius</i>	third
<i>chaturthas,</i> <i>turyas</i>	<i>tûiryo</i>	<i>tetartos</i>	<i>quartus</i>	fourth
<i>panchaḥas</i> (Vedic), <i>panchamas</i>	<i>pukhdho</i>	<i>pemptos</i>	<i>quintus</i>	fifth
<i>shashṭhas</i>	<i>khstvo</i>	<i>hektos</i>	<i>sextus</i>	sixth
<i>saptamas</i>	<i>haptatho</i>	<i>hebdomos</i>	<i>septimus</i>	seventh
<i>ashṭamas</i>	<i>astemo</i>	<i>ogdoos</i>	<i>octavus</i>	eighth
<i>navamas</i>	<i>naomo, nâumo</i>	<i>hennatos</i>	<i>nonus</i>	ninth
<i>daçamas</i>	<i>daçemo</i>	<i>dekatos</i>	<i>decimus.</i>	tenth
<i>dvis</i>	<i>bizhvâṭ, bis</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>bis</i>	twice
<i>tris</i>	<i>thrizhvat, thris</i>	<i>tris</i>	<i>ter</i>	thrice
<i>dvidhâ</i>		<i>dikha</i>		in two ways
<i>tridhâ</i>		<i>trikha</i>		in three ways
<i>chaturdhâ</i>		<i>tetrakha</i>		in four ways
<i>panchadha</i>		<i>pentakha</i>		in five ways
<i>parut</i>		<i>perusi</i>		last year
<i>parutna</i>		<i>perusinos</i>		of last year
<i>hyas</i>		<i>khes</i>	<i>heri</i>	yesterday
<i>hyastana</i>			<i>hesternus</i>	of yesterday

VERBS AND PARTICIPLES.

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>dar</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>derō</i>	<i>do</i>	to tear, flay
<i>dâ, dadâmi</i>	<i>dadhâmi</i>	<i>didōmi</i>		to give
<i>dâtar</i>	<i>dâtar</i>	<i>dotēr</i>	<i>dator</i>	giver (masc.)
<i>dâtrî</i>		<i>doteira</i>	<i>datrix</i>	giver (fem.)
<i>dâna</i>	<i>dâta, dâthra</i>	<i>dōron</i>	<i>donum</i>	gift
<i>dhâ, dadhâmi</i>		<i>tithēmi</i>		to place
<i>sthâ, tishthâmi</i>	<i>çtâ, histâmi</i>	<i>histēmi</i>	<i>sto</i>	to stand, place
<i>asthâm</i>		<i>esten</i>		I stood
<i>sthâman</i>			<i>stamen</i>	strength, thread
<i>miçrayâmi, mik-shâmi</i>		<i>mignumī</i>	<i>misceo</i>	to mix
<i>star, strinômi</i>	<i>çtar</i>	<i>stornumi, strōnnumi</i>	<i>sterno</i>	to spread
<i>stariman</i>	<i>çtarema</i>	<i>strōma</i>	<i>stramen</i>	bed, litter, carpet
<i>bhar</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>pherō</i>	<i>fero</i>	to bear
<i>bhâra</i>		<i>phoros, phortion</i>		load
<i>bhu</i>	<i>bû</i>	<i>phuō</i>	<i>fui</i>	to be, I was
<i>lih, lehmi</i>		<i>leikhō</i>	<i>lingo</i>	to lick
<i>tan, tanômi</i>	<i>thañj</i>	<i>tanuō, teinō</i>	<i>tendo</i>	to stretch
<i>tatâna</i>			<i>tetendi</i>	I stretched
<i>jam, jajanmi</i>	<i>zam</i>	<i>gennaō</i>	<i>gigno</i>	to beget
<i>janitar</i>	<i>zâthar</i>	<i>genetōr</i>	<i>genitor</i>	begetter
<i>janitrî</i>		<i>geneteira</i>	<i>genetrix</i>	bringer forth
<i>jâta</i>	<i>zata</i>		<i>gnatus</i>	born, son
<i>janus</i>	<i>gaona</i>	<i>genos</i>	<i>genus</i>	birth, kind
<i>prajâ, prajâti</i>			<i>progenies</i>	progeny
<i>jnâ, jânâmi</i>	<i>zâ</i>	<i>gignôscō</i>	<i>gnosco</i>	to know
<i>jnâta</i>		<i>gnotos</i>	<i>(g)notus</i>	known
<i>ajnâta</i>		<i>agnotos</i>	<i>ignotus</i>	unknown
<i>nâman, (jnâman)</i>	<i>nôman</i>	<i>onoma</i>	<i>(g)nomen cognomen</i>	name, surname
<i>tudâmi</i>			<i>tundo</i>	to wound, to beat
<i>tutôda</i>			<i>tutudi</i>	I have beaten
<i>sêv, sap</i>		<i>sebōmai</i>		to reverence
<i>lubhyati</i>		<i>liptomai</i> (to long for)	<i>lubet</i>	he desires (Sk.), it pleases (Latin)
<i>tup</i>		<i>tuptō</i>		to hurt, beat
<i>ad</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>edō</i>	<i>edo</i>	to eat
<i>adana, anna</i>		<i>edânos, edētus</i>		eatable, food
<i>vah, vahâmi</i>	<i>vaz, vasâmi</i>	<i>ocheomai</i>	<i>veho</i>	to carry
<i>avâkshît</i>			<i>vexit</i>	he carried
<i>skand</i>			<i>scando</i>	to go, ascend
<i>lip, limpâmi</i>		<i>aleiphō</i>		to anoint
<i>sarp</i>		<i>herpō</i>	<i>serpo</i>	to creep
<i>sarpa</i>		<i>hérpēton</i>	<i>serpens</i>	serpent
<i>vâstu, vas (to dwell)</i>		<i>fastu</i>		habitation, city
<i>vas</i>	<i>vañh</i>	<i>hennumi</i>	<i>vestio</i>	to clothe

APPENDIX

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>vastra</i>	<i>vaçtra</i>	<i>hesthēs</i>	<i>vestis</i>	clothing, garment
<i>vâ</i>	<i>vâ</i>	<i>aō, aemi</i>		to blow
<i>vâla</i>	<i>vâta</i>			wind
<i>pat, patâmi</i>		<i>petomai</i>	<i>peto</i>	to fall, fly, seek
<i>aþaptam</i>		<i>epiptron</i>		I fell
<i>aþaplat</i>		<i>epipte</i>		he fell
<i>patatri</i>		<i>peteinos</i>		winged
<i>çad</i>	<i>çad</i>		<i>cado</i>	to fall
<i>sad, sidami</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>hezōmai</i>	<i>sedeo</i>	to sink, sit
<i>sadas</i>		<i>hēdos</i>	<i>sedes</i>	seat
<i>chhid, chhin-</i>		<i>schizō</i>	<i>scindo</i>	to cut
<i>admî</i>				
<i>chhindanti</i>			<i>scindunt</i>	they cut
<i>bhid, bhinadmi</i>			<i>findo</i>	to cleave
<i>bhindanti</i>			<i>findunt</i>	they cleave
<i>tarþ</i>		<i>terpō</i>		to be satisfied, please
<i>dam</i>		<i>damað, damnēmi</i>	<i>domo</i>	to subdue
<i>arindama</i>		<i>hippodamos</i>		subduer, of foes (Sk.), of horses (Gr.)
<i>labh</i>		<i>lambanō</i>		
<i>lapsye</i>		<i>lēpsomai</i>		
<i>anj</i>	<i>anj</i>		<i>ungo</i>	
<i>anktum</i>			<i>unctum</i>	
<i>þlu</i>		<i>pleō</i>	<i>fluo, pluo</i>	
<i>man, manye,</i>		<i>mnaómai</i>	<i>memini</i>	
<i>mnâ, manâmi</i>				
<i>manas</i>	<i>manañh</i>	<i>mēnos</i>	<i>mens</i>	mind, intellect
<i>hu, juhomî</i>		<i>kheo</i>		to pour out
<i>huta</i>		<i>khutos</i>		poured out, offered
<i>daç</i>	<i>daç</i>	<i>daknō</i>		to bite
<i>dash̄a</i>		<i>dēktos</i>		bitten
<i>kar, karômi</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>krainō</i>	<i>creo</i>	to do, fulfil, create
<i>âs, âse</i>	<i>âh</i>	<i>hēmai</i>		to sit
<i>âste</i>		<i>hēstai</i>		he sits
<i>vam</i>	<i>vam</i>	<i>emeō</i>	<i>vomo</i>	to vomit
<i>svid</i>		<i>hidroō</i>	<i>sudo</i>	to sweat
<i>sveda</i>		<i>hidros</i>	<i>sudor</i>	sweat
<i>ard</i>			<i>ardeo</i>	to afflict, to be on fire
<i>svan</i>			<i>sono</i>	to sound
<i>stan</i>		<i>stenō</i>	<i>tono</i>	to groan, sound, thunder
<i>stanayitnu</i>			<i>tonitru</i>	thunder
<i>lu</i>		<i>luō</i>	<i>luo</i>	to cut, loose, pay
<i>vart</i>			<i>verto</i>	to be, turn
<i>varttatê</i>			<i>vertit</i>	he is, turns
<i>êmi (from i)</i>		<i>eimi</i>	<i>eo</i>	I go
<i>mar</i>	<i>mar</i>		<i>morior</i>	to die
<i>mriþyu</i>	<i>mérëþyu</i>		<i>mors</i>	death
<i>mrita</i>	<i>[ava] mérëta</i>		<i>mortuus</i>	dead
<i>martya</i>	<i>märëta</i>	<i>brötös</i>	<i>mortalis</i>	mortal

APPENDIX

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Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>amṛita</i>	<i>amarhka,</i> <i>amṛētāt</i>	<i>ambrotos</i>	<i>immortalis</i>	immortal
<i>amṛitam</i>		<i>ambrosia</i>	<i>ambrosia</i>	ambrosia
<i>darç</i>		<i>derkomai</i>		to see
<i>vid, vēdmi</i>	<i>vid</i>	<i>feidō</i>	<i>video</i>	to know, see
<i>vēda</i>		<i>foida</i>	.	I know
<i>vidma</i>		<i>fidmen</i>	<i>vidimus</i>	we know, see
<i>vettha</i>		<i>vistha</i>		thou knowest
<i>chi, chiketi</i>			<i>scio</i>	to perceive, know
<i>pū, punāmi</i>			<i>puto, purus</i> (pure)	to cleanse
<i>tap</i>	<i>tafs</i>		<i>tepeo</i>	to be hot
<i>prachh, p̄rich-</i> <i>hāni</i>	<i>p̄arēç</i>		<i>precor</i>	to ask, pray
<i>śpaç</i>	<i>çpaç</i>	<i>skeptomai</i>	<i>specio</i>	to see, observe
<i>tras</i>	<i>tareç</i>	<i>trēō</i>	<i>timeo</i>	to fear, frighten
<i>naç</i>	<i>naçus</i> (cor- ruption)	<i>nekus</i> (corpse)	<i>necare, nex</i>	to perish, kill
<i>sparç</i>			<i>spargo</i>	to touch, scatter
<i>masj, majjāmi</i>			<i>mergo</i>	to sink, merge
<i>lag</i>		<i>legō</i>	<i>lego</i>	to touch, lay, gather
<i>p̄rich (parch)</i>		<i>p̄lekō</i>	<i>plecto</i>	to touch, twine
<i>p̄rikta</i>		<i>p̄lektos</i>	<i>plexus</i>	touched, twined
<i>ark</i>	<i>arej</i>	<i>arkhō</i>		to be worthy, rule
<i>lôch, lôk</i>		<i>leusso</i>		to look
<i>âloka</i>		<i>leukos</i> (white)	<i>lux</i>	light
<i>ruch</i>	<i>ruch</i>	<i>leukos</i> (white)	<i>luceo, lux</i>	to shine
<i>vach, vachmi</i>	<i>vach</i>		<i>voco</i>	to speak, call
<i>vâch</i>	<i>vâch</i>	<i>ops</i>	<i>vox</i>	voice
<i>taksh</i>	<i>tash</i>	<i>tiktō, teukhō</i>	<i>texo</i>	to fabricate, beget
<i>takshan</i>		<i>tekton</i>	<i>tector</i>	carpenter, weaver
<i>budh</i>		<i>þunthanomaiō</i>	<i>puto</i>	to think, ascertain
<i>vap</i>	<i>vap</i>	<i>huþtainō</i>		to weave
<i>vriñish, varsha</i>	<i>vâr</i>	<i>herse, erse</i>		rain, dew
<i>bhanj, bhanajmi</i>		<i>frēgnumi</i>	<i>frango</i>	to break
<i>bhuj</i>			<i>fruor</i>	to enjoy
<i>bhukta</i>			<i>fructus</i>	enjoyed, fruit
<i>krip, kalp</i>			<i>carpo</i>	to cut, pluck
<i>bhaj, bhaksh</i>		<i>phagō</i>		to obtain, eat
<i>kup</i>			<i>cupio</i>	to be excited, angry, desirous
<i>çru, çrinomi</i>	<i>çru</i>	<i>kluō</i>	<i>cluo</i>	to hear
<i>jīv</i>	<i>jīv</i>	<i>bioō</i>	<i>vivo</i>	to live
<i>van</i>	<i>van</i>		<i>venero</i>	to love, worship
<i>kshan</i>		<i>kteinō, klinnūmi</i>		to kill
<i>kshi</i>		<i>eukti-menos, peri-</i> <i>kti-ones</i>		to dwell, well-built, dwellers around
<i>guh, gudh, gud-</i> <i>ha (hidden)</i>		<i>keuthō</i>		to hide
<i>kir</i>		<i>krinō</i>	<i>cerno</i>	I scatter, separate

APPENDIX

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>pâ, pibâmi</i>	<i>pâ</i>	<i>pinô</i>	<i>bibo, potare</i>	I drink
<i>pâpau</i>		<i>pepôka</i>		I have drunk
<i>pâtum</i>		<i>pôtos</i>	<i>potus</i>	drunk
<i>gar, jâgarmi</i>		<i>egeir, egeirô</i>		I wake, rouse
<i>ajigar</i>		<i>egregora</i>		he awoke, I am awake
<i>pish, pinashmi</i>		.	<i>pinso</i>	I pound
<i>pishta</i>			<i>pistus</i>	pounded
<i>kamp</i> (to tremble)		<i>kamptô (?)</i>		to bend
<i>(ni)dhana</i>		<i>thanatos</i>		death
<i>bhañâmi</i>		<i>phôneô</i>		I speak
<i>sîv, sîvyâmi</i>		<i>(kas) suô</i>	<i>suo</i>	I sew, patch
<i>syûta</i>			<i>sutus</i>	sewn
<i>nah</i>			<i>necto</i>	I bind
<i>drâmi</i>		<i>(apo) dranai, didraskô</i>		I run
<i>adrämäm</i>		<i>edramon</i>		I went, ran
<i>aþâdrân</i>		<i>apedran</i>		they ran
<i>diç</i>	<i>diç</i>	<i>deiknumi</i>	<i>dico</i>	I show, tell
<i>adiksham</i>		<i>edeixa</i>	<i>dixi</i>	I showed, told
<i>adikshata</i>		<i>edeixate</i>	<i>dixistis</i>	ye showed, said
<i>mâ, mâmi, mimê</i>	<i>mâ</i>	<i>metreô</i>	<i>metior</i>	I measure
<i>matra</i>		<i>metron</i>	<i>metrum</i>	a measure, metre
<i>trap</i>		<i>trepô</i>		I am ashamed, I turn
<i>trup, truph, trump</i>		<i>thruuptô</i>		to hurt, break
<i>yat</i>		<i>zêtô</i>		to strive, seek
<i>mard</i>			<i>mordeo</i>	to rub, crush, bite
<i>mamarda</i>			<i>momordi</i>	I rubbed, crushed, bit
<i>medh</i>		<i>medomai</i>		to understand, to think on
<i>nij</i>		<i>nizô</i>		to cleanse
<i>âp</i>	<i>ăp</i>	<i>haftô</i>	<i>(ad) ipiciscor</i>	to obtain, touch fit
<i>apta</i>			<i>aptus</i>	bind (root)
<i>bandh</i>	<i>bañd</i>			to yoke, join
<i>yuj, yunajmi</i>	<i>yuj</i>	<i>zeugnumi</i>	<i>jungo</i>	joined
<i>yuktos</i>	<i>yukhto</i>	<i>zeuktos</i>	<i>junctus</i>	yoke
<i>yuga</i>		<i>zugon</i>	<i>jugam</i>	to cut, break
<i>lup, lumpâmi</i>			<i>rumpo</i>	dissolved, broken
<i>luptas</i>			<i>ruptus</i>	to follow
<i>sach</i>		<i>hepomai</i>	<i>sequor</i>	to shine, burn
<i>bhraj</i>		<i>phlegô</i>	<i>fulgeo</i>	to roast
<i>bhrijj</i>		<i>phrugô</i>	<i>frigo</i>	to run
<i>dhâv</i>		<i>theô</i>		to cook
<i>pach</i>	<i>pach</i>	<i>pepto</i>	<i>coquo</i>	cooked
<i>pakva</i>		<i>pepôn, peptos</i>	<i>coctus</i>	to fall
<i>lamb, ramb</i>			<i>labor</i>	to venerate
<i>yaj</i>	<i>yaz</i>	<i>hazomai</i>		venerable, holy
<i>yajya</i>		<i>hagios</i>		

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>sru, sravāmi</i>		<i>reo</i>		to flow
<i>snu, snaumi</i>		<i>neo, nao</i>		to flow, swim
<i>stambh</i>		<i>stembo</i>		to prop, shake
<i>stambh</i>		<i>etaphon</i>		to be stupefied, confounded
<i>stambha</i>		<i>thambos</i>		stupefaction, astonishment
<i>trâ, trai</i>		<i>tēreo</i>	<i>traho</i>	to deliver, keep, draw
<i>mi, minami,</i>		<i>minutho</i>	<i>minus</i>	to destroy, diminish
<i>minomi</i>				
<i>lap</i>		<i>lakō</i>	<i>loqui</i>	to speak
<i>graddhâ</i>			<i>credo</i>	to believe
<i>çi, çete</i>	<i>çî, çâiti, çâêtê</i>	<i>keitai</i>		he lies
<i>çank</i>			<i>cunctor</i>	to doubt, delay
<i>anch, anka</i>	<i>añku</i>	<i>ankulos</i>	<i>uncus</i>	to bend, crooked, hook
<i>piç</i>		<i>poikillo</i>	<i>pingo</i>	to paint
<i>gunj</i>		<i>gonguzo</i>		to murmur
<i>aj</i>	<i>az</i>	<i>ago</i>	<i>ago</i>	to lead, to drive
<i>mrij (marj)</i>	<i>marez</i>	<i>omorgnumi</i>		to wipe
<i>vrij (varj)</i>		<i>eirgo</i>		to exclude
<i>sthag</i>		<i>stego</i>	<i>tego</i>	to cover
<i>sprih (sparh)</i>		<i>sperkhomai</i>		
<i>hary</i>		<i>khairo</i>		
<i>naç</i>	<i>naç</i>		<i>nanciscor,</i> <i>nactus</i>	to obtain, obtained anoint
<i>ghar, gharâmi,</i>		<i>khrio</i>		
<i>jigharmi</i>				
<i>tij</i>	<i>tij</i>	<i>stizo</i>	<i>(di)stinguo</i>	to be sharp, pierce, distinguish
<i>tigma</i>		<i>stigmē</i>		sharp, point
<i>trish (tarsh)</i>	<i>taresh</i>	<i>tersomai</i>	<i>torreo</i>	to thirst, be dry, roast
<i>dâ, dyâmi</i>		<i>deo, didêmi</i>		to bind
<i>daman</i>		<i>desmos</i>		bond
<i>dî</i>		<i>diemai, diomai</i>		to fly, haste, chase
<i>skhad, skhand</i>		<i>skedannumi</i>		to shed, spill, scatter
<i>par, piparmi</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>perao</i>		to cross
<i>par, piparmi</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>pimplêmi</i>	<i>(im)pleo</i>	to fill
<i>pû</i>	<i>pû</i>	<i>putho</i>	<i>puteo</i>	to be putrid
<i>bhâ</i>		<i>phaino</i>		to appear
<i>bhâs</i>		<i>phaos</i>		light
<i>bhî, bibhêmi</i>		<i>phebomai</i>		to fear
<i>idh</i>		<i>aitho</i>		to burn
<i>smar</i>	<i>mared</i>		<i>memor</i>	to recollect, mindful
<i>sphalamî,</i>		<i>sphallo</i>	<i>fallo</i>	to hesitate, deceive
<i>sphulamî</i>				
<i>vaksh</i>	<i>vaksh</i>	<i>anxo</i>	<i>angeo</i>	to increase
<i>ga, jigâmi</i>	<i>gâ</i>	<i>baino</i>		to go
<i>agâm</i>		<i>eben</i>		I went
<i>raksh</i>		<i>alexo</i>		to protect
<i>kvan</i>		<i>kanazo</i>	<i>cano</i>	to sound, sing

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	English
<i>much, munchāmi</i>		<i>apo (mūsso)</i>	<i>mungo</i>	to remove, free, wipe
<i>stigh</i>		<i>steikho</i>		to ascend, walk
<i>hlād</i>		<i>kekhlāda</i>		to rejoice, be wanton
<i>sphar, sphur</i>		<i>aspairo, spairo</i>		to quiver
<i>mṛi, mṛināmi</i>		<i>marnamai</i>		to kill, fight
<i>r̥iñomi</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ornumi</i>	<i>oriri</i>	to go, rise, excite
<i>ōrta</i>		<i>ōrto</i>	<i>ortus</i> (risen)	he rose
<i>çinj</i>		<i>sizo</i>		to hiss
<i>sphurj, sphūrj</i>		<i>spharageo</i>		to thunder, crack
<i>k̥it</i>	<i>kareṭ</i>	<i>kertomeo</i>		to cut, cutting (as language)
<i>nid</i>		<i>oneidizo</i>		to reproach
<i>rad</i>			<i>radere, rodere</i>	to scratch, split, gnaw
<i>manyu</i>		<i>mainomai</i>		anger, to rage
<i>çam, çram</i>		<i>kamno</i>		to be tired
<i>d̥ay</i>	<i>dâ</i>	<i>daio</i>		to divide
<i>bharv</i>		<i>p̥herbo</i>		to eat

English	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Lithua'n	Gothic	Russian	Gaelic	Cymric
Sun	<i>suryâs</i> <i>sunâs</i>	<i>hware</i>	<i>helios</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>sauṭē</i>	<i>sauil</i>			<i>haul</i> <i>huan</i>
Moon	<i>mâs</i>	<i>maô</i>				<i>sunna</i>	<i>soluce</i>		
Month	<i>masas</i>		<i>mahya mén</i> (plu.)		<i>mensis</i>	<i>menü</i>	<i>menoths,</i> <i>mena</i>	<i>miesiac</i>	<i>mios</i>
Star	<i>târan</i>	<i>astar</i>	<i>astron</i>			<i>astrum</i>			
Light	<i>astran</i>		<i>tereon</i>		<i>stella</i>		<i>stairno</i>		
Fire	<i>agnis</i>		<i>Aiglē</i>		<i>ignis</i>	<i>ugnis</i>	<i>anhus</i>	<i>ogn'</i>	
	<i>âtars</i>	<i>âthrâ</i>							
Splendour	<i>lankas</i>		<i>luke</i>	<i>lux</i>		<i>liahath</i>	<i>lirez</i>		<i>Uag</i>
Light	<i>tviṣâ</i>				<i>szwesa</i>			<i>swiet</i>	
Shade	<i>éhâyâ</i>		<i>skia</i>					<i>sien</i>	
Shadow	<i>abhram</i>			<i>umbra</i>					
Day	<i>dinas</i>		<i>daōs</i>	<i>dies</i>	<i>diena</i>	<i>dags</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>dydd</i>
Day	<i>divas</i>								
Night	<i>niç, niçâ</i>		<i>nux</i>	<i>nox</i>	<i>naktis</i>	<i>nahts</i>	<i>nocz</i>	<i>noiche</i>	
Heat or	<i>iddham</i>		<i>aithos</i>	<i>æstus</i>					
Burning	<i>aidhas</i>			<i>æstas</i>					<i>aodh</i>
Snow	<i>himan</i>		<i>cheima</i>	<i>hiems</i>	<i>ziema</i>			<i>zima</i>	
Winter	<i>haiman</i>								
Cold	<i>jalan</i>		<i>kēlas</i>	<i>geliu</i>	<i>szaltis</i>			<i>choloo</i>	
Cold	<i>jalitan</i>								
Breath, Air	<i>vayus</i>		<i>aēr</i>	<i>aēr</i>					
Heaven	<i>atma</i>	<i>asma</i>							
Breath	<i>ânas,</i> <i>ânilas</i>			<i>anemos</i>	<i>animus</i>				<i>awel</i>
Breath, Soul or Spirit	<i>âtman</i>		<i>atmos</i>			<i>ahma</i>			

English	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Lithua'n	Gothic	Russian	Gaelic	Cymric
Wind	<i>vātas,</i> <i>vātis</i>		<i>aētēs</i>	<i>ventus</i>	<i>wēsis,</i> <i>wejas</i>		<i>winds</i>	<i>wictr</i>	<i>gaoth</i>
Vapour	<i>dhukas,</i> <i>dhupas</i>		<i>thuos,</i> <i>thumos,</i> <i>tūphos</i>		<i>dussas,</i> <i>dumas</i>			<i>duch,</i> <i>dym</i>	
Atmos., cloud	<i>nabhas</i>		<i>nephos</i>	<i>nubis</i>				<i>nebo</i>	<i>neamh</i>
Water	<i>udan</i>		<i>udos</i>	<i>udum</i>	<i>wandu</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>woda</i>		
Liquid	<i>vaudan</i>		<i>udōr</i>	<i>unda</i>					
Water	<i>ap</i>		<i>opos</i>	<i>aqua</i>	<i>uppē</i>	<i>ahwa</i>			
Liquid	<i>apnas</i>				<i>amnis</i>				
Water	<i>vari</i>	<i>vairi</i>							
Sea	<i>miras</i>			<i>mare</i>	<i>marē</i>	<i>marei</i>	<i>moré</i>	<i>muir</i>	<i>mōr</i>
Earth	<i>gaus</i>		<i>gē, gaia</i>			<i>gawi</i>			
Earth	<i>ira</i>		<i>era</i>			<i>airtha</i>			<i>ard</i>
Earth	<i>dhaba</i>			<i>tena</i>					<i>dacar</i>
Soil, foun- dation	<i>talan</i>		<i>le'</i>	<i>tellus</i>				<i>talamh</i>	
Being	<i>Vasu</i>	<i>Vohu</i>	<i>ousia</i>			<i>uisan</i>	<i>weszez'</i>		
Rat	<i>musas</i>		<i>mus</i>	<i>mus</i>			<i>mysz</i>		
Cock	<i>kukutas</i>		<i>kikkos</i>				<i>koczet</i>		
Tooth	<i>dat,</i> <i>dantas</i>		<i>odous,</i> <i>odōn</i>	<i>dens</i>	<i>dantis</i>	<i>tunthus</i>			<i>dant</i>
Birth, race	<i>janus</i>		<i>genos</i>	<i>gens,</i> <i>genus</i>	<i>gymis</i>	<i>kuni</i>			<i>kun</i>
Father	<i>pitar</i>	<i>paiti</i>	<i>pātēr</i>	<i>pater</i>			<i>fadar</i>	<i>vatia</i>	
Wife, woman	<i>strī</i>	<i>strî</i>							
Woman	<i>jani</i>	<i>gēnâ</i>	<i>gunē</i>			<i>guens</i>	<i>zena</i>		<i>cena</i>
Horse	<i>asvas</i>	<i>as̄pa</i>	<i>ikkos,</i> <i>hippos</i>	<i>equus</i>				<i>eäch</i>	
Ox, steer	<i>sthuras</i>		<i>tauros</i>	<i>taurus</i>		<i>stiurs</i>			
Ram, sheep, ewe	<i>avis</i>		<i>oīs</i>	<i>ovis</i>	<i>awis</i>	<i>awi</i>	<i>owen</i>	<i>uan</i>	<i>oen</i>
Goat	<i>bukkes</i>		<i>bēcon</i>						<i>bwch</i>
Buck	<i>bukka</i>		<i>bēkē</i>						
Product	<i>sus</i>								
Hog	<i>sukaras</i>		<i>sus</i>	<i>sus</i>			<i>swinia</i>		

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INDEX TO APPENDIX.

The Appendix, a most valuable contribution to Linguistics, though largely compiled from the works of others, was prepared by this master of linguistics.

It consists principally of tables which afford a comparative arrangement of word-forms from the languages of the first generation from the older Aryan; the intimate connection of these secondary languages; their descent from the Aryans of the first emigration of the Proto-Aryans; and the descent of these languages from the Aryan as the mother-tongue, and thus proves the descent of the peoples of Northern Europe from the Aryans.

Baron Bunsen, one of the great masters of linguistics, well said: "The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listing to with regard to ante-historical periods."

These tables show comparisons of the Zend, Sanskrit, Gothic, Old Sclavonian, Lithuanian, Russian, Cymric, Gaelic, Greek, Latin, Old High-German, German, French and English.

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